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THE LIFE

AND

EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL;

by

The Rev. W. J. Conybeare, M.A. & The Rev. J. S. Howson, M.A.

VOL. II.

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LONDON,
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN & LONGMANS

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THE

LIFE AND EPISTLES

OF

ST. PAUL.

BY

THE REV. W. J. CONYBEARE, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE;

AND

THE REV. J. S. HOWSON, M.A.

PRINCIPAL OF THE COLLEGIATE INSTITUTION, LIVERPOOL.

111343 ac

"It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty that we should at all times and in all places give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, according to whose most true promise the Holy Ghost came down from heaven, lighting upon the Apostles, to teach them, and to lead them to all truth; giving them boldness with fervent zeal constantly to preach the Gospel to all nations; whereby we have been brought out of darkness and error, into the clear light and true knowledge of thee, and of thy Son Jesus Christ." — *Proper Preface to the Trisagium for Whitsunday.*

"Ἀφέντες τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, Παῦλον προστησώμεθα μόνον τοῦ λόγου συνίστορα, κἂν τούτῳ θεωρήσωμεν οἷόν ἐστι ψυχῶν ἐπιμέλεια. Ὡς ἂν δὲ ῥᾷστα τοῦτο γνοίημεν, τὰ Παύλου αὐτὸν περὶ Παύλου φησὶν ἀκούσωμεν. . . Νομοθετεῖ δούλοις καὶ δεσπόταις, ἄρχουσι καὶ ἀρχομένοις, ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξίν, σοφίᾳ καὶ ἀμαθίᾳ· πάντων ὑπερμαχεῖ, πάντων ὑπερεύχεται. . . κῆρυξ ἐθνῶν, Ἰουδαίων προστάτης." — GREG. NAZ. *Oratio Apologetica.*

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SUPPLEMENTAL COINS. (Vol. II.)

COIN OF EPHESUS.

(This and the Coin engraved immediately below, are due to Mr. Akerman, as well as those in pp. 10 and 17. The word *νεωκόρων* is on the reverse.)

COIN OF EPHESUS.

(See above. The sacred *ἀπήνη* of Diana is on the reverse.)

COIN OF ANTIOCH IN PISIDIA.

(From the British Museum. See 2 Tim. iii. 11., comparing Vol. I. p. 211. The oxen illustrate the Roman mode of marking out by a plough the *colonial* limits. See Vol. I. p. 314. Other coins of this particular colony are engraved on p. 183.)

ERRATA AND ADDENDA. (Vol. II.)

P. 5. Apollos. Winer remarks that this abbreviated form of the name *Apollonius* is found in Sozomen. It is, however, very rare; and it is worth observing that among the terra-cottas found at Tarsus (described Vol. I. p. 275. note) is a circular disc which has the the name ΑΠΟΛΛΩC inscribed on it in incursive Greek.

31. notes 6 and 7. Add "(LXX.)."

104. l. 22. Insert reference to note 8.

106. note 3. for "1 Cor. vii. 13." read "1 Cor. iii. 17."

177. l. 1. for "III. 1." read "VIII. 1."

180. l. 4. for "VIII. 2." read "VIII. 28."

184. margin, for "outsiard" read "outward."

233. l. 31. for "rigging" read "rig."

280. l. 16. Berenice. Titus seems to have been only prevented from marrying this beautiful and profligate princess by the indignant feeling of the Romans. See Dio Cass. lxvi. 15. Βερενίκη ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Ἀγρίππα ἦλθε. . . . ἡ δὲ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ᾤκησε, καὶ τῷ Τίτῳ συνεγίγνετο· προσεδοκᾶτο δὲ γαμηθήσεσθαι αὐτῷ, καὶ πάντα ἤδη ὡς καὶ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ οὖσα ἐποίει· ὥστ' ἐκεῖνον, δυσχεράναντας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ τούτοις ἠσθημένον, ἀποπέμψασθαι αὐτήν. The name of Berenice is so mixed up with the history of the times, and she is so often mentioned, both by Josephus and by Roman writers, that it is desirable to put together here some of the principal notices of her life and character. She was first married to her uncle, Herod, King of Chalcis; and after his death she lived with her brother, Agrippa, not without suspicion of the most criminal intimacy (φήμης ἐπισχούσης ὅτι τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνήει. Joseph. Ant. xx. 7. 3.) Compare Juvenal, vi. 155.:—

"Adamas notissimus et Berenices
In digito factus pretiosior: hunc dedit olim
Barbarus incestæ, dedit hunc Agrippa sororī."

It was during this period of her life that she made that marriage with Polemo, king of Cilicia, which has been alluded to in the earlier part of this work. (Vol. I. p. 27.) Soon she left Polemo and returned to her brother: and then it was that St. Paul was brought before them at Cæsarea. After this time, she became a partisan of Vespasian. (Berenice partes juvabat, florens ætate formaque, et seni quoque Vespasiano magnificentia munerum grata, Tac. Hist. ii. 81.) Her connection with Vespasian's son is mentioned by Suetonius (Tit. 7.) and by Tacitus (Hist. ii. 2.), as well as by Dio Cassius. The one redeeming passage in her life is the patriotic feeling she displayed on the occasion alluded to, Vol. II. p. 250. (See Joseph. B. J. II. 15, 16.)

P. 303. note 9. for "ἅνιοι," read "ἅγιοι."

314. note 4. for "hunc" read "hanc."

324. note 1. for Myra (and also Patara), see vol. iii. of the Trans. of the Dilettanti Society.

328. l. 19. for "weathered" read "weather."

333. note 1. for a notice of St. Paul's fountain, see Pashley, ii. 259.

Ib. note 2. We ought to add that Pashley says that that Lutro is called Katopolis in reference to the upper town, i. 193.

354. See the Essay on Mr. Smith's work in the North British Review (p. 208.) for some remarks on the Maltese language, especially on the Arabic name of what is still called the Apostle's fountain (*Aym-tal-Ruzzul.*)

— Poppæa. One of the coins alluded to is engraved below. But it is right to say that its genuineness is suspected.

(From an illustrated edition of the Hist. Aug. Scriptores.)

ILLYRICUM
MACEDONIA
Philippi
Amphipolis
Thessalonica
Berea
Alexandria Troas
Troas
Assos
ACHAIA
Corinth
Cenchrea
Athens
Chios
Ephesus
Samos
Trogyllium
Miletus
Cos
Rhodes
Patara
Phrygia
GALATIA
ASIA
Antioch
CYPRUS
CRETE
Ptolemais
Cæsarea
Jerusalem
JUDÆA
SYRIA
MAP TO ILLUSTRATE
ST PAUL'S 3RD MISSIONARY JOURNEY.
Roman Miles.
0 50 100 150 200 250
English Miles.
0 50 100 150 200 250
The supposed route of the Apostle is indicated by the coloured line, & its direction is shown by the arrows. See Map of 2nd Journey
Longitude East 24 or Greenwich
London Published by Longman & Co 1852.
W Hughes

THE

LIFE AND EPISTLES

OF

ST. PAUL.

CHAPTER XIV.

"And the magicians did so with their enchantments; but they could not: then the magicians said, 'This is the finger of God.'" — Exod. viii. 18, 19.

DEPARTURE FROM ANTIOCH. — JOURNEY THROUGH PHRYGIA AND GALATIA. — APOLLOS AT EPHESUS AND CORINTH. — ARRIVAL OF ST. PAUL AT EPHESUS. — DISCIPLES OF JOHN THE BAPTIST. — THE SYNAGOGUE. — THE SCHOOL OF TYRANNUS. — MIRACLES. — EPHESIAN MAGIC. — THE EXORCISTS. — BURNING OF THE BOOKS.

THE next period of St. Paul's life opens with a third journey through the interior of Asia Minor.[1] In the short stay which he had made at Ephesus on his return from his second journey, he had promised to come again to that city, if the providence of God should allow it.[2] This promise he was enabled to fulfil, after a hasty visit to the metropolis of the Jewish nation, and a longer sojourn in the first metropolis of the Gentile Church.[3]

It would lead us into long and useless discussions, if we were to speculate on the time spent at Antioch, and the details of the Apostle's occupation in the scene of his early labours. We have already stated our reasons for believing that the discussions which led to the Council at Jerusalem, took place at an earlier period[4], as well as the quarrel between St. Peter and St. Paul concerning

[1] Acts xviii. 23.

[2] Acts xviii. 21. See Vol. I. p. 455.

[3] See the end of Ch. XIII.

[4] See note at the end of Ch. VII. for the answers to Wieseler's arguments on this subject.

the propriety of concession to the Judaizers.[1] But without knowing the particular form of the controversies brought before him, or the names of those Christian teachers with whom he conferred, we have seen enough to make us aware that imminent dangers from the Judaizing party surrounded the Church, and that Antioch was a favourable place for meeting the machinations of this party, as well as a convenient starting-point for a journey undertaken to strengthen those communities that were likely to be invaded by false teachers from Judæa.

It is evident that it was not St. Paul's only object to proceed with all haste to Ephesus: nor indeed is it credible that he could pass through the regions of Cilicia and Lycaonia, Phrygia and Galatia, without remaining to confirm those Churches which he had founded himself, and some of which he had visited twice. We are plainly told that his journey was occupied in this work, and the few words which refer to this subject imply a systematic visitation.[2] He would be the more anxious to establish them in the true principles of the Gospel, in proportion as he was aware of the widely spreading influence of the Judaizers. Another specific object, not unconnected with the healing of divisions, was before him during the whole of this missionary journey,—a collection for the relief of the poor Christians in Judæa.[3] It had been agreed, at the meeting of the Apostolic Council (Gal. ii. 9, 10.) that while some should go to the Heathen, and others to the Circumcision, the former should carefully "remember the poor;" and this we see St. Paul, on the present journey among the Gentile Churches, "forward to do." We even know the "order which he gave to the Churches of Galatia" (1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2.). He directed that each person should lay by in store, on the first day of the week, according as God had prospered him, that the collection should be deliberately made, and prepared for an opportunity of being taken to Jerusalem.

We are not able to state either the exact route which St. Paul followed, or the names of the companions by whom he was attended. As regards the latter subject, however, two points may be taken for granted, that Silas ceased to be, and that Timotheus continued to be, an associate of the Apostle. It is most probable that Silas remained behind in Jerusalem, whence he had first accom-

[1] Neander is inclined to assign the misunderstanding of the two Apostles to this time. So Olshausen. See Vol. I. p. 238.

[2] Ἐπιστηρίζων πάντας τοὺς μαθητάς. Acts xviii. 23. Notice the word καθεξῆς.

[3] The steady pursuance of this object in the whole course of this journey may be traced through the following passages:—1 Cor. xvi. 1—4.; 2 Cor. viii. ix.; Rom. xv. 25, 26.; Acts xxiv. 17.

panied Barnabas with the Apostolic letter[1], and where, on the first mention of his name, he is stated to have held a leading position in the Church.[2] He is not again mentioned in connection with the Apostle of the Gentiles.[3] The next place in Scripture where his name occurs, is in the letter of the Apostle of the Circumcision (1 Pet. v. 12.), which is addressed to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. There, "Silvanus" is spoken of as one not unknown to the persons addressed, but as "a faithful brother unto them;" — by him the letter was sent which "exhorted" the Christians in the north and west of Asia Minor, and "testified that that was the true grace of God wherein they stood;" — and the same disciple is seen, on the last mention of his name, as on the first, to be cooperating for the welfare of the Church, both with St. Peter and St. Paul.[4]

It may be considered, on the other hand, probable, if not certain, that Timotheus was with the Apostle through the whole of this journey. Abundant mention of him is made, both in the Acts and the Epistles, in connection with St. Paul's stay at Ephesus, and his subsequent movements.[5] Of the other companions who were undoubtedly with him at Ephesus, we cannot say with confidence whether they attended him from Antioch, or joined him afterwards at some other point. But Erastus (Acts xix. 22.) may have remained with him since the time of his first visit to Corinth, and Caius and Aristarchus (Acts xix. 29.) since the still earlier period of his journey through Macedonia.[6] Perhaps we have stronger reasons for concluding that Titus, who, though not mentioned in the Acts[7], was certainly of great service in the second missionary journey, travelled with Paul and Timotheus through the earlier part of it. In the frequent mention which is made of him in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, he appears as the Apostle's laborious minister, and as a source of his consolation and support, hardly less strikingly, than the disciple whom he had taken on the previous journey from Lystra and Iconium.

Whatever might be the exact route which the Apostle followed from

[1] See Vol. I. p. 238. and p. 272.

[2] Ἡγούμενος. Acts xv. 22. See Tate's Horæ Paulinæ, p. 54., and the Index, p. 198.; also pp. 238. 272.

[3] His name is in the Salutation in the Epistles to the Thessalonians, but not in any subsequent letters. Compare 2 Cor. i. 19.

[4] Compare again the account of the Council of Jerusalem and the mission of Silas and Barnabas.

[5] See Acts xix. 22.; 1 Cor. iv. 17., xvi. 10.; 2 Cor. i. 1.; Rom. xvi. 21.; Acts xx. 4.

[6] See Tate, pp. 52, 53.

[7] Wieseler, indeed, identifies him with Justus, who is mentioned xviii. 7. See the note on this subject, Vol. I. p. 227.

Antioch to Ephesus, he would certainly revisit those Churches, which twice[1] before had known him as their teacher. He would pass over the Cilician plain on the warm southern shore[2], and the high table-land of Lycaonia on the other side of the Pass of Taurus.[3] He would see once more his own early home on the banks of the Cydnus[4]; and Timothy would be once more in the scenes of his childhood at the base of the Kara-Dagh.[5] After leaving Tarsus, the cities of Derbe, Lystra, and Iconium, possibly also Antioch in Pisidia[6], would be the primary objects in the Apostle's progress. Then we come to Phrygia and Galatia, both vague and indeterminate districts, which he had visited once[7], and through which, as before, we cannot venture to lay down a route.[8] Though the visitation of the Churches was systematic, we need not conclude that the same exact course was followed. Since the order in which the two districts are mentioned is different from that in the former instance[9], we are at liberty to suppose that he travelled first from Lycaonia through Cappadocia[10] into Galatia, and then by Western Phrygia to the coast of the Ægean. In this last part of his progress we are in still greater doubt as to the route, and one question of interest is involved in our opinion concerning it. The great road from Ephesus by Iconium to the Euphrates, passed along the valley of the Mæander, and near the cities of Laodicea, Colossæ, and Hierapolis; and we should naturally suppose that the Apostle would approach the capital of Asia along this well-travelled line.[11] But the arguments are so strong for believing that St. Paul was never personally at Colossæ[12], that it is safer to imagine him following some road further to the north, such as that, for instance, which, after passing near Thyatira, entered the valley of the Hermus at Sardis.[13]

[1] He had been in Lycaonia on the first and second missionary journeys, in Cilicia on the second; but he had also been there at least once since his conversion.

[2] See Vol. I. p. 23., and the allusions to the climate in Ch. VI. and VIII.

[3] See again Ch. VI. and Ch. VIII. for Lycaonia and Mount Taurus.

[4] See Vol. I. pp. 24. and 53.

[5] See Ch. VI. and Ch. VIII., with the map on p. 200. and the engraving on p. 281.

[6] See Vol. I. p. 290.

[7] Acts xvi. 6.

[8] See Ch. VIII.

[9] Compare Acts xvi. 6. with xviii. 23. In both cases we should observe that the phrase ἡ Γαλατικὴ χώρα is used. See what is said on the expression "churches of Galatia," p. 292.

[10] This is Wieseler's view. For the province of Cappadocia, see Vol. I. p. 267. The district is mentioned Acts ii. 9. and 1 Pet. i. 1.

[11] See Vol. I. pp. 289–291., also 292.

[12] From Col. ii. 1. we should naturally infer that St. Paul had never been personally among the Colossians. See Wieseler on this subject, and on the question whether the Apostle visited Colossæ from Ephesus, p. 51. and p. 440., note. For a full discussion on the other side, where all Lardner's arguments are considered, see Dr. Davidson's Introduction.

[13] See Leake's map. The characteristic scenery of the Mæander and Hermus is described in

Thus, then, we may conceive the Apostle arrived at that region, where he was formerly in hesitation concerning his future progress [1],—the frontier district of Asia and Phrygia[2], the mountains which contain the upper waters[3] of the Hermus and Mæander. And now our attention is suddenly called away to another preacher of the Gospel, whose name, next to that of the Apostles, is perhaps the most important in the early history of the Church. There came at this time to Ephesus, either directly from Egypt by sea, as Aquila or Priscilla from Corinth, or by some route through the intermediate countries, like that of St. Paul himself[4], a "disciple" named Apollos, a native of Alexandria. This visit occurred at a critical time, and led to grave consequences in reference to the establishment of Christian truth, and the growth of parties in the Church; while the religious community (if so it may be called) to which he belonged at the time of his arrival, furnishes us with one of the most interesting links between the Gospels and the Acts.[5]

Apollos, along with twelve others[6], who are soon afterwards mentioned at Ephesus, was acquainted with Christianity only so far as it had been made known by John the Baptist. They "knew only the baptism of John."[7] From the great part which was acted by the forerunner of Christ in the first announcement of the Gospel, and from the effect produced on the Jewish nation by his appearance, and the number of disciples who came to receive at his hands the baptism of repentance, we should expect some traces of his influence to appear in the subsequent period, during which the Gospel was spreading beyond Judæa. Many Jews from other countries received from the Baptist their knowledge of the Messiah, and carried with them this knowledge on their return from Palestine. We read of a heretical sect, at a much later period, who held John the Baptist to have been himself the Messiah.[8] But in a position intermediate between this deluded party, and those who were travelling as teachers of the full and perfect Gospel, there

several parts of Hamilton's travels. See especially ch. viii.—x., xxviii.—xl.; also li., lii., and especially Vol. I. pp. 135. 149. We may observe that, on one of his journeys, nearly in the direction in which St. Paul was moving, he crossed the mountains from near Afium Kara Hissar (Synnada) to visit Yalobatch (Antioch in Pisidia). The Apostle might easily do the same.

[1] Acts xvi. 6—8.

[2] Some description of this district is given, p. 298.

[3] This part of the table-land of the interior is what is meant by τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη, Acts xix. 1 It is needless to say that the word "coasts" in the Authorised Version has no reference to the sea. So Herodotus uses the expression τὰ ἄνω τῆς Ἀσίας, i. 177.

[4] Κατήντησεν.

[5] See the excellent remark of Olshausen on the whole narrative concerning Apollos and the other disciples of John the Baptist.

[6] See Acts xix. 1—7.

[7] Acts xviii. 25. Compare xix. 3.

[8] The Zabeans. See Olshausen. So in the Clementine Recognitions are mentioned some "ex discipulis Johannis, qui magistrum suum veluti Christum prædicarunt." (I. 54. 60.)

were doubtless many, among the floating Jewish population of the empire, whose knowledge of Christ extended only to that which had been preached on the banks of the Jordan. That such persons should be found at Ephesus, the natural meeting-place of all religious sects and opinions, is what we might have supposed *à priori*. Their own connection with Judæa, or the connection of their teachers with Judæa, had been broken before the day of Pentecost. Thus their Christianity was at the same point at which it had stood at the commencement of our Lord's ministry. They were ignorant of the full meaning of the death of Christ; possibly they did not even know the fact of His resurrection; and they were certainly ignorant of the mission of the Comforter.[1] But they knew that the times of the Messiah were come, and that one had appeared[2] in whom the prophecies were fulfilled. That voice had reached them, which cried, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord" (Is. xl. 3.). They felt that the axe was laid to the root of the tree, that "the kingdom of Heaven was at hand," that "the knowledge of Salvation was come to those that sit in darkness" (Luke i. 77.), and that the children of Israel were everywhere called to "repent." Such as were in this religious condition were evidently prepared for the full reception of Christianity, so soon as it was presented to them; and we see that they were welcomed by St. Paul and the Christians at Ephesus as fellow disciples[3] of the same Lord and Master.

In some respects Apollos was distinguished from the other disciples of John the Baptist, who are alluded to at the same place, and nearly at the same time. There is much significance in the first fact that is stated, that he was "born at Alexandria." Something has been said by us already concerning the Jews of Alexandria, and their theological influence in the age of the Apostles.[4] In the establishment of a religion, which was intended to be the complete fulfilment of Judaism, and to be universally supreme in the Gentile world, we should expect Alexandria to bear her part, as well as Jerusalem. The Hellenistic learning fostered by the foundations of the Ptolemies might be made the handmaid of the truth, no less than the older learning of Judæa and the schools of the Hebrews. As regards Apollos, he was not only an Alexandrian Jew by birth, but he had a high reputation for an eloquent and forcible power of speaking, and had probably been well trained in the rhetorical schools on the banks of the Nile.[5] But though he was endued with the eloquence of a Greek orator, the

[1] Acts xix. 2.

[2] Kuinoel thinks they were not even aware of Christ's appearance.

[3] Note the word *μαθητὴς*, xix. 1.

[4] See pp. 39—41. Also pp. 10, 11—20., and 115.

[5] *Λόγιος* is probably "eloquent" rather than "learned," inasmuch as in the same verse he is called *δυνατὸς ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς*.

subject of his study and teaching were the Scriptures of his forefathers. The character which he bore in the synagogues was that of a man "mighty in the Scriptures." In addition to these advantages of birth and education, he seems to have had the fullest and most systematic instruction in the Gospel, which a disciple of John could possibly receive.[1] Whether from the Baptist himself, or from some of those who travelled into other lands with his teaching as their possession, Apollos had received full and accurate instruction in the "way of the Lord." We are further told that his character was marked by a fervent zeal[2] for spreading the truth. Thus we may conceive of him as travelling, like a second Baptist, beyond the frontiers of Judæa,—expounding the prophecies of the Old Testament, announcing that the times of the Messiah were come, and calling the Jews to repentance in the spirit of Elias.[3] Hence he was, like his great teacher, diligently "preparing the way of the Lord."[4] Though ignorant of the momentous facts which had succeeded the Resurrection and Ascension, he was turning the hearts of the "disobedient to the wisdom of the just," and "making ready a people for the Lord,"[5] whom he was soon to know "more perfectly." Himself "a burning and shining light," he bore witness to "that Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world,"[6]—as, on the other hand, he was a "swift witness" against those Israelites whose lives were unholy, and came among them "to purify the sons of Levi, that they might offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness,"[7] and to proclaim that, if they were unfaithful, God was still able "to raise up children unto Abraham."[8]

Thus, burning with zeal, and confident of the truth of what he had learnt, he spoke out boldly in the synagogue.[9] An intense interest must have been excited about this time concerning the Messiah in the synagogue at Ephesus. Paul had recently been there, and departed with the promise of return. Aquila and Priscilla, though taking no forward part as public teachers, would diligently keep the subject of the Apostle's teaching before the mind of the Israelites. And

[1] Ἦν κατηχημένος τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ Κυρίου.

[2] Ζέων τῷ πνεύματι.

[3] He was probably able to go further in Christian teaching than John the Baptist could do, by giving an account of the life of Jesus Christ. So far his knowledge was accurate (ἀκριβῶς). Further instruction from Aquila and Priscilla made it more accurate (ἀκριβέστερον).

[4] The phrase ἡ ὁδὸς τοῦ Κυρίου should be carefully compared with the passages in the Gospels and Prophets, where it occurs in reference to John the Baptist. Matt. iii. 3.; Mark i. 3.; Luke iii. 4.; John i. 23.; Isa. xl. 3. (LXX.) Compare Mal. iii. 1. (LXX.)

[5] Luke i. 16, 17.

[6] John v. 3. 5., i. 9.

[7] Mal. iii. 3—5.

[8] Matt. iii. 9.

[9] Ἤρξατο παρρησιάζεσθαι ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ. xviii. 26.

now an Alexandrian Jew presented himself among them, bearing testimony to the same Messiah with singular eloquence, and with great power in the interpretation of Scripture. Thus an unconscious preparation was made for the arrival of the Apostle, who was even now travelling towards Ephesus through the uplands of Asia Minor.

The teaching of Apollos, though eloquent, learned, and zealous, was seriously defective. But God had provided among his listeners those who could instruct him more perfectly. Aquila and Priscilla felt that he was proclaiming the same truth in which they had been instructed at Corinth. They could inform him that they had met with one who had taught with authority far more concerning Christ than had been known even to John the Baptist; and they could recount to him the miraculous gifts, which attested the outpouring of the Holy Ghost. Thus they attached themselves closely to Apollos[1], and gave him complete instruction in that "way of the Lord," which he had already taught accurately[2], though imperfectly; and the learned Alexandrian obtained from the tentmakers a knowledge of that "mystery" which the ancient Scriptures had only partially revealed.

This providential meeting with Aquila and Priscilla in Asia became the means of promoting the spread of the Gospel in Achaia. Now that Apollos was made fully acquainted with the Christian doctrine, his zeal urged him to go where it had been firmly established by an Apostle.[3] It is possible, too, that some news received from Corinth might lead him to suppose that he could be of active service there in the cause of truth. The Christians of Ephesus encouraged[4] him in this intention, and gave him "letters of commendation"[5] to their brethren across the Ægean. On his arrival at Corinth, he threw himself at once among those Jews who had rejected St. Paul, and argued with them publicly and zealously on the ground of their Scriptures[6], and thus[7] became "a valuable support to those who had already believed through the grace of God;" for he

[1] *Προσελάβοντο αὐτόν.* "They took him to themselves," v. 26.

[2] Compare *ἀκριβῶς*, v. 25.; and *ἀκριβέστερον*, v. 26.

[3] v. 27.

[4] *Προτρεψάμενοι*, v. 27.

[5] *Οἱ ἀδελφοι ἔγραψαν τοῖς μαθηταῖς*, v. 27. Compare *συστατικαὶ ἐπιστολαὶ*, 2 Cor. iii. 1., where the reference is to commendatory letters addressed to or from the very same Church of Corinth.

[6] Compare *εὐτόνως* (v. 28.) with *ζέων τῷ πνεύματι* (v. 25.); *δημοσίᾳ* with *παῤῥησιάζεσθαι* (v. 26.); and *ἐπιδεικνὺς διὰ τῶν γραφῶν* with *δυνατὸς ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς* (v. 24.).

[7] The word *γὰρ* should be noticed. His coming was a valuable assistance to the Christians against the Jews, in the controversies which had doubtless been going on since St. Paul's departure.

proved with power that that Jesus who had been crucified at Jerusalem, and whom Paul was proclaiming throughout the world, was indeed the Christ.[1] Thus he watered where Paul had planted, and God gave an abundant increase. (1 Cor. iii. 6.) And yet evil grew up side by side with the good. For while he was a valuable aid to the Christians, and a formidable antagonist to the Jews, and while he was honestly cooperating in Paul's great work of evangelising the world, he became the occasion of fostering party-spirit among the Corinthians, and was unwillingly held up as a rival of the Apostle himself. In this city of rhetoricians and sophists, the erudition and eloquent speaking of Apollos were contrasted with the unlearned simplicity with which St. Paul had studiously presented the Gospel to his Corinthian hearers.[2] Thus many attached themselves to the new teacher, and called themselves by the name of Apollos, while others ranged themselves as the party of Paul (1 Cor. i. 12.),—forgetting that Christ could not be "divided," and that Paul and Apollos were merely "ministers by whom they had believed." (1 Cor. iii. 5.) We have no reason to imagine that Apollos himself encouraged or tolerated such unchristian divisions. A proof of his strong feeling to the contrary, and of his close attachment to St. Paul, is furnished by that letter to the Corinthians, which will soon be brought under our notice[3], when, after vehement rebukes of the schismatic spirit prevailing among the Corinthians, it is said, "touching our brother Apollos," that he was unwilling to return to them at that particular time, though St. Paul himself had "greatly desired it."

But now the Apostle himself is about to arrive in Ephesus. His residence in this place, like his residence in Antioch and Corinth, is a subject to which our attention is particularly called. Therefore, all the features of the city — its appearance, its history, the character of its population, its political and mercantile relations — possess the utmost interest for us. We shall defer such description to a future chapter, and limit ourselves here to what may set before the reader the geographical position of Ephesus, as the point in which St. Paul's journey from Antioch terminated for the present.

We imagined him[4] about the frontier of Asia and Phrygia, on his approach from the interior to the sea. From this region of volcanic mountains, a tract of

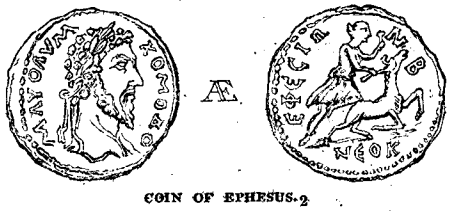
[1] Ἐπιδεικνὺς εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, v. 28. The phrase is much more definite than those which are used above (τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ Κυρίου, and τὰ περὶ τοῦ K. v. 25.) of the time when he was not fully instructed.

[2] See the remarks on the Corinthian parties in Vol. I. p. 478.

[3] 1 Cor. xvi. 12.

[4] Above, p. 5.

country extends to the Ægean, which is watered by two of the long western rivers, the Hermus and the Mæander, and which is celebrated through an extended period of classical history, and is sacred to us as the scene of the Churches of the Apocalypse.[1] Near the mouth of one of these rivers is Smyrna; near that of the other is Miletus. The islands of Samos and Chios are respectively opposite the projecting portion of coast, where the rivers flow by these cities to the sea.[3] Between the Hermus and the Mæander is a smaller river, named the Cayster, separated from the latter by the ridge of Messogis, and from the former by Mount Tmolus. Here, in the level valley of the Cayster, is the early cradle of the Asiatic name, — the district of primeval "Asia," — not as understood in its political or ecclesiastical sense, but the Asia of old poetic legend.[4] And here, in a situation preeminent among the excellent positions which the Ionians chose for their cities[5], Ephesus was built, on some hills near the sea. For some time after its foundation by Androclus the Athenian, it was inferior to Miletus[6]; but with the decay of the latter city, in the Macedonian and Roman periods, it rose to greater eminence, and in the time of St. Paul it was the greatest city of Asia Minor, as well as the metropolis of the *province* of Asia. Though Greek in its origin, it was half-oriental in the prevalent worship, and in the character of its inhabitants; and being constantly visited by ships from all parts of the Mediterranean, and united by great roads with the markets of the interior, it was the common meeting-place of various characters and classes of men.



COIN OF EPHESUS.[2]

[1] Rev. i. ii. iii. Laodicea is in the basin of the Mæander; Smyrna, Thyatira, Sardis, and Philadelphia are in that of the Hermus; Pergamus is further to the north on the Caicus. For a description of this district, see Arundell's Visit to the Seven Churches, and Fellows' Asia Minor.

[2] Due to the kindness of Mr. Akerman. The abbreviation of the word *νεώκορος* (Acts xix. 35.) will be observed here. The image, however, of Diana is not the form under which she was worshipped at Ephesus.

[3] In the account of St. Paul's return we shall have to take particular notice of this coast. He sailed between these islands and the mainland, touching at Miletus. Acts xx.

[4] For the early history of the word Asia, see Vol. I. pp. 255, 256.

[5] Herodotus says of the cities of the Ionians generally: Οἱ Ἴωνες ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ ἐτύγχανον ἱδρυσάμενοι πόλιας πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. i. 142.; and Strabo says of Ephesus: Ἡ πόλις τῇ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα εὐκαιρίᾳ τῶν τόπων αὔξεται καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐμπόριον οὖσα μέγιστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν ἐντὸς Ταύρου. xiv. An account of the early history of Ephesus to the time of Alexander, will be found in a treatise "De rebus Ephesiorum," by W. C. Perry (Göttingen, 1837). A much more copious work is Guhl's "Ephesiaca" (Berlin, 1843), of which we shall make abundant use. See also a paper by Mr. Akerman, containing "Remarks on the Coins of Ephesus, struck during the Roman Dominion" (read before the Numismatic Society, May 20. 1841).

[6] See Guhl, p. 27.; Perry, p. 11. In legend its origin is referred to the Amazons.

Among those whom St. Paul met on his arrival, was the small company of Jews above alluded to[1], who professed the imperfect Christianity of John the Baptist. By this time Apollos had departed to Corinth. Those "disciples" who were now at Ephesus were in the same religious condition in which he had been, when Aquila and Priscilla first spoke to him, though doubtless they were inferior to him both in learning and in zeal.[2] St. Paul found, on inquiry, that they had only received John's baptism, and that they were ignorant of the great outpouring of the Holy Ghost, in which the life and energy of the Church consisted.[3] They were even perplexed by his question.[4] He then pointed out, in conformity with what had been said by John the Baptist himself, that that prophet only preached repentance to prepare men's minds for Christ, who is the true object of faith. On this they received Christian baptism[5]; and after they were baptized, the laying on of the Apostle's hands resulted, as in all other Churches, in the miraculous gifts of Tongues and of Prophecy.[6]

After this occurrence has been mentioned as an isolated fact, our attention is called to the great teacher's labours in the synagogue. Doubtless, Aquila and Priscilla were there. Though they are not mentioned here in connection with St. Paul, we have seen them so lately (Acts xviii.) instructing Apollos, and we shall find them so soon again sending salutations to Corinth in the Apostle's letter from Ephesus (1 Cor. xvi.), that we cannot but believe he met his old associates, and again experienced the benefit of their aid. It is even probable that he again worked with them at the same trade: for in the address to the Ephesian elders at Miletus (Acts xx. 34.) he stated that "his own hands had ministered to his necessities, and to those who were with him"; and in writing to the Corinthians he says (1 Cor. iv. 11, 12.), that such toil had continued "even to that hour." There is no doubt that he "reasoned" in the synagogue at Ephesus with the same zeal and energy with which his spiritual labours had been begun at Corinth.[7] He had been anxiously expected, and at first he was heartily welcomed. A preparation for his teaching had been made by Apollos

[1] Above, p. 5. See Acts xix. 1—7.

[2] It is impossible to know whether these men were connected with Apollos. The whole narrative seems to imply that they were in a lower state of religious knowledge than he was.

[3] See the last chap. in Vol. I.

[4] The English version, "We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost," is the literal translation of the Greek, *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ εἰ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐστὶν ἠκούσαμεν.* Some commentators supply *δοθέν*, or some equivalent word. If taken thus, the passage will be a close parallel to John vii. 39. *οὔπω γὰρ ἦν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον*—"the Holy Spirit was not yet [given]."

[5] On the inference derivable from this passage, that the name of the Holy Ghost was used in the baptismal formula, see p. 471.

[6] See again the last chap. in Vol. I., and the note below on 1 Cor.

[7] Acts xviii. 4.

and those who instructed him. "For three months" Paul continued to speak boldly in the synagogue, "arguing and endeavouring to convince his hearers of all that related to the kingdom of God."[1] The hearts of some were hardened, while others repented and believed; and in the end the Apostle's doctrine was publicly calumniated by the Jews before the people.[2] On this he openly separated himself, and withdrew the disciples from the Synagogue; and the Christian Church at Ephesus became a distinct body, separated both from the Jews and the Gentiles.

As the house of Justus at Corinth[3] had afforded St. Paul a refuge from calumny, and an opportunity of continuing his public instruction, so here he had recourse to "the school of Tyrannus," who was probably a teacher of philosophy or rhetoric, converted by the Apostle to Christianity.[4] His labours in spreading the Gospel were here continued for two whole years. For the incidents which occurred during this residence, for the persons with whom the Apostle became acquainted, and for the precise subjects of his teaching, we have no letters to give us information supplementary to the Acts, as in the cases of Thessalonica and Corinth[5]: inasmuch as that which is called the "Epistle to the Ephesians," enters into no personal or incidental details.[6] But we have, in the address to the Ephesian elders at Miletus, an affecting picture of an Apostle's labours for the salvation of those whom his Master came to redeem. From that address we learn, that his voice had not been heard within the school of Tyrannus alone, but that he had gone about among his converts, instructing them "from house to house," and warning "each one" of them affectionately "with tears."[7] The subject of his teaching was ever the same, both for Jews and Greeks, "repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ."[8] Labours so incessant, so disinterested, and continued through so long a time, could not fail to produce a great result at Ephesus. A large Church was formed, over which many presbyters were called to preside.[9] Nor were the results confined to the city. Throughout the province of "Asia" the name of Christ became

[1] Acts xix. 8.

[2] Ἐνώπιον τοῦ πλήθους, v. 9.

[3] Acts xviii. 7. See Vol. I. p. 428.

[4] Those who are apt to see a Jewish or Talmudical reference almost everywhere (as Lightfoot, Vitringa, and Schöttgen), think that Tyrannus may have been a Jew, and his "school" a place for theological teaching (בית מדרש), such as those mentioned, Vol. I. p. 65.

[5] See in the first volume the chapter containing the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, and in the present volume those which contain the two Epistles to the Corinthians.

[6] The peculiarities of this Epistle will be considered hereafter.

[7] Acts xx. 20. 31. Compare v. 19.

[8] Ib. 21.

[9] Ib. 17. τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας, below (v. 28.) called ἐπισκόπους. See what is said on this subject, Vol. I. p. 465.

generally known, both to the Jews and Gentiles[1]; and doubtless, many daughter-churches were founded, whether in the course of journeys undertaken by the Apostle himself[2], or by means of those with whom he became acquainted, — as for instance by Epaphras, Archippus, and Philemon, in connection with Colossæ, and its neighbour cities Hierapolis and Laodicea.[3]

It is during this interval, that one of the two characteristics of the people of Ephesus comes prominently into view. This city was renowned throughout the world for the worship of Diana, and the practice of magic. Though it was a Greek city, like Athens or Corinth, the manners of its inhabitants were half oriental. The image of the tutelary goddess resembled an Indian idol[4] rather than the beautiful forms which crowded the Acropolis of Athens[5]: and the enemy which St. Paul had to oppose was not a vaunting philosophy, as at Corinth[6], but a dark and Asiatic superstition. The worship of Diana and the practice of magic were closely connected together. Eustathius says, that the mysterious symbols, called "Ephesian Letters," were engraved on the crown, the girdle, and the feet of the goddess.[7] These Ephesian letters or monograms have been compared to the Runic characters of the north.[8] When pronounced, they were regarded as a charm[9]; and were directed to be used, especially by those who were in the power of evil spirits.[10] When written, they were carried about as amulets.[11] Curious stories are told of their influence. Crœsus is related to have repeated the mystic syllables when on his funeral pile[12]; and an Ephesian wrestler is said to have always struggled successfully against an antagonist from Miletus until he lost the scroll, which before had been like a

[1] Ὥστε πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀκοῦσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, Ἰουδαίους τε καὶ Ἕλληνας. Acts xix. 10. There must have been many Jews in various parts of the province.

[2] What is said of his continued residence at Ephesus by no means implies that he did not make journeys in the province.

[3] See above for the arguments against supposing that St. Paul *travelled to Ephesus* by Colossæ and the valley of the Mæander. The same arguments tend to prove that he never *visited this district from Ephesus*. It is thought by many that Epaphras was converted by St. Paul at Ephesus, and founded the church of Colossæ. See Col. i. 7.; iv. 12—17. Philem. 23.

[4] See the Coins in the next chapter but one. We shall return to the subject hereafter.

[5] See Vol. I. p. 382., &c.

[6] See Vol. I. p. 478.

[7] Φωναί τινες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῆς στεφάνης καὶ τῆς ζώνης καὶ τῶν ποδῶν τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος αἰνιγματώδως γεγραμμέναι. Eustath. Od. xiv. p. 1864.

[8] By a Swedish writer, Beeth, De Templo Dianæ Ephesiæ: Upsal, 1700. See Guhl's Ephesiaca, c. iii. § 6.

[9] Ἐπῳδαί, ἃς οἱ φωνοῦντες ἐνίκων ἐν παντί, among the quotations in Guhl.

[10] Οἱ μάγοι, τοὺς δαιμονιζομένους κελεύουσι τὰ Ἐφέσια γράμματα καταλέγειν καὶ ὀνομάζειν. Plut. Symp.

[11] Ἐν σκυταρίοις ῥαπτοῖσι φέρων Ἐφεσῆία γράμματα καλά. Anaxilas in Athenæus, xii. 584. c.

[12] See the Etymologicum Magnum.

talisman.[1] The study of these symbols was an elaborate science: and books, both numerous and costly, were compiled by its professors.[2]

This statement throws some light on the peculiar character of the miracles wrought by St. Paul at Ephesus. We are not to suppose that the Apostles were always able to work miracles at will. An influx of supernatural power was given to them, at the time, and according to the circumstances that required it. And the character of the miracles was not always the same. They were accommodated to the peculiar forms of sin, superstition, and ignorance they were required to oppose.[3] Here, at Ephesus, St. Paul was in the face of magicians, like Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh; and it is distinctly said that his miracles were "not ordinary wonders;"[4] from which we may infer that they were different from those which he usually performed. We know, in the case of our Blessed Lord's miracles, that though the change was usually accomplished on the speaking of a word, intermediate agency was sometimes employed; as when the blind man was healed at the pool of Siloam.[5] A miracle which has a closer reference to our present subject, is that in which the hem of Christ's garment was made effectual to the healing of a poor sufferer, and the conviction of the bystanders.[6] So on this occasion garments[7] were made the means of communicating a healing power to those who were at a distance, whether they were possessed with evil spirits, or afflicted with ordinary diseases.[8] Such effects, thus publicly manifested, must have been a signal refutation of the charms and amulets and mystic letters of Ephesus. Yet was this no encouragement to blind superstition. When the suffering woman was healed by touching the hem of the garment, the Saviour turned round and said, "Virtue is gone out of *me*."[9] And here at Ephesus we are

[1] Suidas and Eustathius, referred to by Guhl.

[2] For further information on Ephesian magic, see Wetstein and Grotius. The life of Alexander of Tralles in Smith's Biography, and in the biography of the U. K. Society, contains some important illustrations. Olshausen quotes some of the mystic syllables from Hesychius.

[3] The narrative of what was done by St. Paul at Ephesus should be compared with St. Peter's miracles at Jerusalem, when "many signs and wonders were wrought among the people .... insomuch that they brought forth the sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them." Acts v. 12—16.

[4] Δυνάμεις οὐ τὰς τυχούσας. xix. 11.

[5] "He spat on the ground, and made clay of the spittle, and anointed the eyes of the blind man with the clay, and said unto him: Go, wash in the pool of Siloam." John ix. 6, 7.

[6] Matt. ix. 20. See Trench on the Miracles, p. 189. &c.

[7] Both the words used here are Latin. The former, *sudarium*, is that which occurs Luke xix. 20.; John xi. 44.; xx. 7., and is translated "napkin." The latter, *semicinctium*, denotes some such article of dress—shawl, handkerchief, or apron—as is easily laid aside.

[8] Καὶ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν τὰς νόσους, τά τε πνεύματα τὰ πονηρὰ ἐξέρχεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν. v. 12.

[9] Luke viii. 46. Compare vi. 19.

reminded that it was God who "wrought miracles by the hands of Paul" (v. 11.), and that "the name," not of Paul, but "of the Lord Jesus, was magnified." (v. 17.)

These miracles must have produced a great effect upon the minds of those who practised curious arts in Ephesus. Among the magicians who were then in this city, in the course of their wanderings through the East, were several Jewish exorcists.[1] This is a circumstance which need not surprise us. The stern severity with which sorcery was forbidden in the Old Testament[2] attests the early tendency of the Israelites to such practices: the Talmud bears witness to the continuance of these practices at a later period[3]; and we have already had occasion, in the course of this history, to notice the spread of Jewish magicians through various parts of the Roman Empire.[4] It was an age of superstition and imposture—an age also in which the powers of evil manifested themselves with peculiar force. Hence we find St. Paul classing "witchcraft" among the works of the flesh (Gal. v. 20.), and solemnly warning the Galatians, both in words[5] and by his letters, that they who practise it cannot inherit the kingdom of God; and it is of such that he writes to Timothy (2 Tim. iii. 13.),—that "evil men and *seducers*[6] shall wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived." This passage in St. Paul's latest letter had probably reference to that very city in which we see him now brought into opposition with Jewish sorcerers. These men, believing that the name of Jesus acted as a charm, and recognising the Apostle as a Jew like themselves, attempted his method of casting out evil spirits.[7] But He to whom the demons were subject, and who had given to His servant "power and authority" over them (Luke ix. 1.), had shame and terror in store for those who presumed thus to take His Holy Name in vain.

One specific instance is recorded, which produced disastrous consequences to those who made the attempt, and led to wide results among the general popu-

[1] Acts xix. 13.

[2] See Exod. xxii. 18.; Lev. xx. 27.; Deut. xviii. 10, 11.; 1 Sam. xxviii. 3. 9.

[3] See Lightfoot in Biscoe on the Acts, p. 265. A knowledge of magic was a requisite qualification of a member of the Sanhedrin, that he might be able to try those who were accused of such practices. Josephus (Ant. xx. 7. 2.) speaks of a Cyprian Jew, a sorcerer, who was a friend and companion of Felix, and who is identified by some with Simon Magus. Again (Ant. viii. 2. 5.) he mentions certain forms of incantation used by Jewish magicians which they attributed to King Solomon.

[4] See Vol. I. p. 157., &c.

[5] Observe the phrase in v. 21., "*as I told you in time past*" (προεῖπον), perhaps on the very journey through Galatia which we have just had occasion to mention. See again, Rev. ix. 21., xviii. 33.

[6] The word is γοῆτες, the customary term for these wandering magicians. See Neander, I. 41. &c., Eng. Trans.

[7] See v. 13.

lation. In the number of those who attempted to cast out evil spirits by the "name of Jesus," were seven brothers, sons of Sceva, who is called a high-priest[1], either because he had really held this office at Jerusalem, or because he was chief of one of the twenty-four courses of priests. But the Demons, who were subject to Jesus, and by His will subject to those who preached His Gospel, treated with scorn those who used His Name without being converted to His truth. "Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye?" was the answer of the evil spirit. And straightway the man who was possessed sprang upon them, with frantic violence, so that they were utterly discomfited, and "fled out of the house naked and wounded."[2]

This fearful result of the profane use of that Holy Name which was proclaimed by the Apostles for the salvation of all men, soon became notorious, both among the Greeks and the Jews.[3] Consternation and alarm took possession of the minds of many; and in proportion to this alarm the name of the Lord Jesus began to be reverenced and honoured.[4] Even among those who had given their faith to St. Paul's preaching[5], some appear to have retained their attachment to the practice of magical arts. Their conscience was moved by what had recently occurred, and they came and made a full confession to the Apostle, and publicly acknowledged and forsook their deeds of darkness.[6]

The fear and conviction seems to have extended beyond those who made a profession of Christianity. A large number of the sorcerers themselves[7] openly renounced the practice which had been so signally condemned by a higher power; and they brought together the books[8] that contained the mystic formularies, and burnt them before all the people. When the volumes were consumed[9], they proceeded to reckon up the price at which these manuals of enchantment would be valued. Such books, from their very nature, would be costly; and all books in that age bore a value, which is far above any standard with which we are

[1] Olshausen's version, that he was merely the chief rabbi of the Ephesian Jews (einer Oberrabbi, der vermuthlich das Haupt der Ephesinischen Judenschaft war) can hardly be a correct rendering of *ἀρχιερεύς*.

[2] v. 16.

[3] v. 17.

[4] *Ἐμεγαλύνετο.*

[5] It seems unnatural to take the perfect participle *τῶν πεπιστευκότων* in any other sense than "those who had previously believed."

[6] *Τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν*, which must surely refer to the particular practices in question. The word *ἐξομολογεῖσθαι* denotes "to make a full confession," as in Matt. iii. 6., Jam. v. 16.

[7] v. 19.

[8] *Τὰς βίβλους*, "*their* books."

[9] The imperfect *κατέκαιον* should be noticed, as imparting a graphic character to the whole narrative. The burning and blazing of the books went on for some considerable time. Compare the instances of the burning of magical books recorded in Liv. xl. 29.; Suet. Aug. 31.: also Tac. Ann. xiii. 50.; Agr. 2.

familiar. Hence we must not be surprised that the whole cost thus sacrificed and surrendered amounted to as much as two thousand pounds of English money.[1] This scene must have been long remembered at Ephesus. It was a strong proof of honest conviction on the part of the sorcerers, and a striking attestation of the triumph of Jesus Christ over the powers of darkness. The workers of evil were put to scorn, like the priests of Baal by Elijah on Mount Carmel[2]; and the teaching of the doctrine of Christ "increased mightily and grew strong."[3]

With this narrative of the burning of the books, we have nearly reached the term of St Paul's three years' residence at Ephesus.[4] Before his departure, however, two important subjects demand our attention, each of which may be treated in a separate chapter: — the First Epistle to the Corinthians, with the circumstances in Achaia which led to the writing of it, — and the uproar in the Ephesian Theatre, which will be considered in connection with a description of the city, and some notice of the worship of Diana.

COIN OF EPHESUS.[5]

[1] The "piece of silver" mentioned here was doubtless the *drachma*, the current Greek coin of the Levant: the value was about ten-pence. There can be no reason to suppose with Grotius that the *shekel* is meant.

[2] 1 Kings xviii.

[3] Οὕτω κατὰ κράτος ὁ λόγος τοῦ Κ. ηὔξανε καὶ ἴσχυεν. v. 20.

[4] See v. 21., which immediately follows.

[5] See above, p. 10. n. 2.

CHAPTER XV.

"Αἱ μὲν ἐπιστολαὶ (φησὶ) βαρεῖαι καὶ ἰσχυραί· ἡ δὲ παρουσία τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενὴς, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἐξουθενημένος."—2 Cor. x. 10.

ST. PAUL PAYS A SHORT VISIT TO CORINTH.—RETURNS TO EPHESUS.—WRITES A LETTER TO THE CORINTHIANS, WHICH IS NOW LOST.—THEY REPLY, DESIRING FARTHER EXPLANATIONS.—STATE OF THE CORINTHIAN CHURCH.—ST. PAUL WRITES THE *FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS*.

We have hitherto derived such information as we possess, concerning the proceedings of St. Paul at Ephesus, from the narrative in the Acts; but we must now record an occurrence which St. Luke has passed over in silence, and which we know only from a few incidental allusions in the letters of the Apostle himself. This occurrence, which probably took place not later than the beginning of the second year of St. Paul's residence at Ephesus, was a short visit which he paid to the Church at Corinth.[1]

[1] The occurrence of this visit is proved by the following passages:

(1.) 2 Cor. xii. 14. τρίτον τοῦτο ἑτοίμως ἔχω ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

(2.) 2 Cor. xiii. 1. τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

If the visit after leaving Ephesus was the *third*, there must have been a *second* before it.

(3.) 2 Cor. xii. 21. μὴ πάλιν ἐλθόντα με ταπεινώσῃ ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ πενθήσω πολλοὺς τῶν προημαρτηκότων. He fears lest he should *again* be humbled on visiting them, and *again* have to mourn their sins. Hence there must have been a former visit, in which he was thus humbled and made to mourn.

Paley in the Horæ Paulinæ, and other commentators since, have shown that these passages, (though they acknowledge their most natural meaning to be in favour of an intermediate visit) may be explained away; in the first two St. Paul *might* perhaps only have meant "this is the third time I have *intended* to come to you;" and in the third passage we may take πάλιν with ἐλθόντα, in the sense of "on my return." But we think that nothing but the hypothesis of an intermediate visit can explain the following passages:

(4.) 2 Cor. ii. 1. ἔκρινα μὴ πάλιν ἐν λύπῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν (which is the reading of every one of the Uncial manuscripts). Here it would be exceedingly unnatural to join πάλιν with ἐλθεῖν; and the feeling of this probably led to the error of the Textus Receptus.

(5.) 2 Cor. xiii. 2. προείρηκα καὶ προλέγω, ὡς

If we had not possessed any direct information that such a visit had been made, yet in itself it would have seemed highly probable that St. Paul would not have remained three years at Ephesus without revisiting his Corinthian converts. We have already remarked[1] on the facility of communication which existed between these two great cities, which were united by a continual reciprocity of commerce, and were the capitals of two peaceful provinces. And we have seen examples of the intercourse which actually took place between the Christians of the two Churches, both in the case of Aquila and Priscilla, who had migrated from the one to the other, and in that of Apollos, concerning whom, "when he was disposed to pass into Achaia," "the brethren [at Ephesus] wrote, exhorting the disciples [at Corinth] to receive him" (Acts xviii. 27.). We have seen, in the last chapter, some of the results of this visit of Apollos to Corinth; he was now probably returned to Ephesus, where we know[2] that he was remaining (and, it would seem, stationary) during the third year of St. Paul's residence in that capital. No doubt, on his return, he had much to tell of the Corinthian converts to their father in the faith, — much of joy and hope, but also much of pain, to communicate; for there can be little doubt that those tares among the wheat, which we shall presently see in their maturer growth, had already begun to germinate, although neither Paul had planted, nor Apollos watered them. One evil at least, we know, prevailed extensively, and threatened to corrupt the whole Church of Corinth. This was nothing less than the addiction of many Corinthian Christians to those sins of impurity which they had practised in the days of their heathenism, and which disgraced their native city,

παρὼν τὸ δεύτερον, καὶ ἀπὼν νῦν [γράφω in the Textus Receptus is not found in the best MSS.] τοῖς προημαρτηκόσι καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσιν, ὅτι, ἐὰν ἔλθω εἰς τὸ πάλιν, οὐ φείσομαι. *I have warned you formerly, and I now forewarn you, as when I was present the second time, so now while I am absent, saying to those who had sinned before that time, and to all the rest, "If I come again, I will not spare."*

Against these arguments Paley sets (1st) St. Luke's silence, which, however, is acknowledged by all to be inconclusive, considering that so very many of St. Paul's travels and adventures are left confessedly unrecorded in the Acts (see note on 2 Cor. xi. 23. &c.). (2ndly) The passage, 2 Cor. i. 15, 16., in which St. Paul tells the Corinthians he did not wish now to give them a "*second* benefit," δευτέραν χάριν; whence he argues that the visit then approaching would be his *second visit*. But a more careful examination of the passage shows that St. Paul is speaking of his original intention of paying them a *double visit*, on his way to Macedonia, and on his return from Macedonia.

The whole argument on both sides is very ably stated by Wieseler, Chronologie, p. 232—241.

[1] Vol. I. p. 454.

[2] 1 Cor. xvi. 12.

even among the heathen. We have before mentioned the peculiar licentiousness of manners which prevailed at Corinth. So notorious was this, that it had actually passed into the vocabulary of the Greek tongue; and the very word "to Corinthianise," meant "to play the wanton;"[1] nay, the bad reputation of the city had become proverbial, even in foreign languages, and is immortalised by the Latin poets.[2] Such being the habits in which many of the Corinthian converts had been educated, we cannot wonder if it proved most difficult to root out immorality from the rising Church. The offenders against Christian chastity were exceedingly numerous[3] at this period; and it was especially with the object of attempting to reform them, and to check the growing mischief, that St. Paul now determined to visit Corinth.

He has himself described this visit as a painful one[4]; he went in sorrow at the tidings he had received, and when he arrived, he found the state of things even worse than he had expected; he tells us that it was a time of personal humiliation[5] to himself, occasioned by the flagrant sins of so many of his own converts; he reminds the Corinthians, afterwards, how he had "mourned" over those who had dishonoured the name of Christ by "the uncleanness and fornication and wantonness which they had committed."[6]

But in the midst of his grief he showed the greatest tenderness for the individual offenders; he warned them of the heinous guilt which they were incurring; he showed them its inconsistency with their Christian calling[7]; he reminded them how, at their baptism, they had died to sin, and risen again unto righteousness; but he did not at once exclude them from the Church which they had defiled. Yet he was compelled to threaten them with this penalty, if they persevered in the sins which had now called forth his rebuke. He has recorded the very words which he used. "If I come again," he said, "I will not spare."[8]

It appears probable that, on this occasion, St. Paul remained but a very short time at Corinth. When afterwards, in writing to them, he says, that he

[1] Κορινθιάζομαι, used by Aristophanes in a lost play (quoted by Steph. Byz.). Compare also Aristoph. Plut. 149.

[2] Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum. (Hor. Ep. i. 17.) See Vol. I. p. 446. note 2.

[3] Only a part of them who remained unrepentant after rebuke and warning are called πολλοὺς. 2 Cor. xii. 21.

[4] Ἐν λυπῇ (2 Cor. ii. 1.).

[5] Ταπεινώσῃ (2 Cor. xii. 21.).

[6] 2 Cor. xii. 21.

[7] There can be no doubt that he urged upon them the same arguments which he was afterwards obliged to repeat at 1 Cor. vi. 15.

[8] 2 Cor. xiii. 2.

does not wish "*now* to pay them a passing visit," he seems[1] to imply, that his last visit had deserved that epithet. Moreover, had it occupied a large portion of the "space of three years," which he describes himself to have spent at Ephesus (Acts xx. 31.), he would probably have expressed himself differently in that part of his address to the Ephesian presbyters[2]; and a long visit could scarcely have failed to furnish more allusions in the Epistles so soon after written to Corinth. The silence of St. Luke also, which is easily explained on the supposition of a short visit, would be less natural had St. Paul been long absent from Ephesus, where he appears, from the narrative in the Acts, to be stationary during all this period.

On these grounds, we suppose that the Apostle, availing himself of the constant maritime intercourse between the two cities, had gone by sea to Corinth; and that he now returned to Ephesus by the same route (which was very much shorter than that by land), after spending a few days or weeks at Corinth.

But his censures and warnings had produced too little effect upon his converts; his mildness had been mistaken for weakness; his hesitation in punishing had been ascribed to a fear of the offenders; and it was not long before he received new intelligence that the profligacy which had infected the community was still increasing. Then it was that he felt himself compelled to resort to harsher measures; he wrote an Epistle (which has not been preserved to us)[3] in which, as we learn from himself, he ordered the Christians of Corinth, by virtue of his Apostolic authority, "to cease from all intercourse with fornicators." By this he meant, as he subsequently explained his injunctions, to direct the exclusion of all profligates from the Church. The Corinthians, however, either did not understand this, or (to excuse themselves) they affected not to do so; for they asked, how it was possible for them to abstain from all intercourse with the profligate, unless they entirely secluded themselves from all the business of life, which they had to transact with their heathen neigh-

[1] 1 Cor. xvi. 7. Yet this admits of another explanation; for perhaps he only meant to say, "I will not *now* (at once) come to you (by the direct route) on my way to Macedonia for a passing visit," &c.

[2] Wieseler, however, gets over this, by supposing that when St. Paul mentions *three years* spent among his hearers, he means to address not only the Ephesian presbyters whom he had summoned, but also the companions of his voyage (Acts xx. 4.) who had been with him in Macedonia and Achaia.

[3] See 1 Cor. v. 9—12. This lost Epistle must have been written *after* his second visit; otherwise he need not have explained it in the passage referred to.

bours. Whether the lost Epistle contained any other topics, we cannot know with certainty; but we may conclude with some probability, that it was very short, and directed to this one subject[1]; otherwise it is not easy to understand why it should not have been preserved together with the two subsequent Epistles.

Soon after this short letter had been dispatched, Timotheus, accompanied by Erastus[2], left Ephesus for Macedonia. St. Paul desired him, if possible, to continue his journey to Corinth; but did not feel certain that it would be possible for him to do so[3] consistently with the other objects of his journey, which probably had reference to the great collection now going on for the poor Hebrew Christians at Jerusalem.

Meantime, some members of the household of Chloe, a distinguished Christian family at Corinth, arrived at Ephesus; and from them St. Paul received fuller information than he before possessed of the condition of the Corinthian Church. The spirit of party had seized upon its members, and well nigh destroyed Christian love. We have already seen, in our general view of the divisions of the Apostolic Church, that the great parties which then divided the Christian world had ranked themselves under the names of different Apostles, whom they attempted to set up against each other as rival leaders. At Corinth, as in other places, emissaries had arrived from the Judaizers of Palestine, who boasted of their "letters of commendation" from the metropolis of the faith; they did not, however, attempt, as yet, to insist upon circumcision, as we shall find them doing successfully among the simpler population of Galatia. This would have been hopeless in a great and civilised community like that of Corinth, imbued with Greek feelings of contempt for what they would have deemed a barbarous superstition. Here, therefore, the Judaizers confined themselves, in the first instance, to personal attacks against St. Paul, whose apostleship they denied, whose motives they calumniated, and whose authority they persuaded the Corinthians to repudiate. Some of them declared themselves the followers of Cephas, whom the Lord himself had selected to be the chief Apostle; others

[1] Probably it was in this lost letter that he gave them notice of his intention to visit them on his way to Macedonia; for altering which he was so much blamed by his opponents.

[2] Erastus was probably the treasurer (*οἰκονομός*) of the city of Corinth mentioned Rom. xvi. 23. and 2 Tim. iv. 20.; and therefore was most likely proceeding at any rate to Corinth.

[3] Timotheus apparently did not reach Corinth on this occasion, or the fact would have been mentioned 2 Cor. xii. 18.

(probably the more extreme members of the party[1]) boasted of their own immediate connection with Christ himself, and their intimacy with "the brethren of the Lord;" and especially with James, the head of the Church at Jerusalem. The endeavours of these agitators to undermine the influence of the Apostle of the Gentiles met with undeserved success; and they gained over a strong party to their side. Meanwhile, those who were still stedfast to the doctrines of St. Paul, yet were not all unshaken in their attachment to his person: a portion of them preferred the Alexandrian learning with which Apollos had enforced his preaching, to the simple style of their first teacher, who had designedly abstained, at Corinth, from anything like philosophical argumentation.[2] This party then, who sought to form for themselves a philosophical Christianity, called themselves the followers of Apollos; although the latter, for his part, evidently disclaimed the rivalry with St. Paul which was thus implied, and even refused to revisit Corinth[3], lest he should seem to countenance the factious spirit of his adherents.

It is not impossible that the Antinomian Free-thinkers, whom we have already seen to form so dangerous a portion of the Primitive Church, attached themselves to this last-named party; at any rate, they were, at this time, one of the worst elements of evil at Corinth: they put forward a theoretic defence of the practical immorality in which they lived; and some of them had so lost the very foundation of Christian faith as to deny the resurrection of the dead, and thus to adopt the belief as well as the sensuality of their Epicurean neighbours, whose motto was "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die."

A crime, recently committed by one of these pretended Christians, was now reported to St. Paul, and excited his utmost abhorrence: a member of the Corinthian Church was openly living in incestuous intercourse with his stepmother, and that, during his father's life; yet this audacious offender was not excluded from the Church.

Nor were these the only evils: some Christians were showing their total want of brotherly love by bringing vexatious actions against their brethren in the heathen courts of law; others were turning even the spiritual gifts which they had received from the Holy Ghost into occasions of vanity and display, not unaccompanied by fanatical delusion; the decent order of Christian worship was disturbed by the tumultuary claims of rival ministrations; women had for-

[1] See above, Vol. I. pp. 476, 477. [2] 1 Cor. ii. 1—5. [3] 1 Cor. xvi. 12.

gotten the modesty of their sex, and came forward, unveiled (contrary to the habit of their country), to address the public assembly; and even the sanctity of the Holy Communion itself was profaned by scenes of revelling and debauch.

About the same time that all this disastrous intelligence was brought to St. Paul by the household of Chloe, other messengers arrived from Corinth, bearing the answer of the Church to his previous letter, of which (as we have mentioned above) they requested an explanation; and at the same time referring to his decision several questions which caused dispute and difficulty. These questions related—1st, To the controversies respecting meat which had been offered to idols; 2ndly, To the disputes regarding celibacy and matrimony; the right of divorce; and the perplexities which arose in the case of mixed marriages, where one of the parties was an unbeliever; 3dly, To the exercise of the spiritual gifts in the public assemblies of the Church.

St. Paul hastened to reply to these questions, and at the same time to denounce the sins which had polluted the Corinthian Church, and almost annulled its right to the name of Christian. The letter which he was thus led to write is addressed, not only to this metropolitan Church, but also to the Christian communities established in other places in the same province[1], which might be regarded as dependencies of that in the capital city; hence we must infer that these Churches also had been infected by some of the errors or vices which had prevailed at Corinth. This letter is, in its contents, the most diversified of all St. Paul's Epistles; and in proportion to the variety of its topics, is the depth of its interest for ourselves. For by it we are introduced, as it were, behind the scenes of the Apostolic Church, and its minutest features are revealed to us under the light of daily life. We see the picture of a Christian congregation as it met for worship in some upper chamber, such as the house of Aquila, or of Gaius, could furnish. We see that these seasons of pure devotion were not unalloyed by human vanity and excitement; yet, on the other hand, we behold the heathen auditor pierced to the heart by the inspired eloquence of the Christian prophets, the secrets of his conscience laid bare to him, and himself constrained to fall down on his face and worship God; we hear the fervent thanksgiving echoed by the unanimous Amen; we see the administration of the Holy Communion terminating the feast of love. Again we become familiar with the perplexities of domestic life, the corrupting proximity of heathen immorality, the lingering superstition, the rash speculation, the lawless per-

[1] See the translation of 1 Cor. ii. 2. and the note. Also Vol. I. p. 437.

version of Christian liberty; we witness the strife of theological factions, the party names, the sectarian animosities. We perceive the difficulty of the task imposed upon the Apostle, who must guard from so many perils, and guide through so many difficulties, his children in the faith, whom else he had begotten in vain; and we learn to appreciate more fully the magnitude of that laborious responsibility under which he describes himself as almost ready to sink, "the care of all the Churches."

But while we rejoice that so many details of the deepest historical interest have been preserved to us by this Epistle, let us not forget to thank God who so inspired His Apostle, that in his answers to questions of transitory interest he has laid down principles of eternal obligation.[1] Let us trace with gratitude the providence of Him, who "out of darkness calls up light;" by whose mercy it was provided that the unchastity of the Corinthians should occasion the sacred laws of moral purity to be established for ever through the Christian world;—that their denial of the resurrection should cause those words to be recorded whereon reposes, as upon a rock that cannot be shaken, our sure and certain hope of immortality.

The following is a translation of the Epistle, which was written at Easter, in the third year of St. Paul's residence at Ephesus:—

FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.[2]

I. 1 PAUL, a called Apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God, Salutation.

[1] The contrast between the short-lived interest of the questions referred to him for solution, and the eternal principles by which they must be solved, was brought prominently before the mind of the Apostle himself by the Holy Spirit, under whose guidance he wrote; and he has expressed it in those sublime words which might serve as a motto for the whole Epistle (1 Cor. vii. 29—31.).

[2] The date of this Epistle can be fixed with more precision than that of any other. It gives us the means of ascertaining, not merely the year, but even the month and week, in which it was written.

(1) Apollos had been working at Corinth, and was now with St. Paul at Ephesus (1 Cor. i. 12.; iii. 4. 22.; iv. 6.; xvi. 12.). This was the case during St. Paul's residence at Ephesus (Acts xix. 1.).

(2) He wrote during *the days of unleavened bread*, i. e. at Easter (1 Cor. v. 7.), and intended to remain at Ephesus till Pentecost (xvi. 8.; cf. xv. 32.). After leaving Ephesus, he purposed to come by Macedonia to Achaia (xvi. 5—7.). This was the route he took (Acts xx. 1, 2.) on leaving Ephesus after the tumult in the theatre.

(3) Aquila and Priscilla were with him at Ephesus (xvi. 19.). They had taken up their residence at Ephesus before the visit of St. Paul (Acts xviii. 26.).

and Sosthenes[1] the Brother, greet the church of God 2
at Corinth, who have been hallowed in Christ Jesus,
and called to be His holy people[2], together with
all who worship Jesus Christ our Lord in every place
which is their home — and our home also.[3]

Grace be unto you and peace, from God our father, 3
and from our Lord Jesus Christ.

Introductory thanksgiving for their conversion.

I[4] thank my God continually on your behalf, for the 4
grace which He gave you [at the first] in Christ Jesus. Be- 5
cause, in Him, you were every-wise enriched with all the gifts
of speech and knowledge, (for thus my testimony to Christ 6
was confirmed among you), so that you came behind no 7
other church in any spiritual gift; looking earnestly for
the time when our Lord Jesus Christ shall be revealed to
our sight.[5]

And He also will confirm[6] you unto the end, that you 8

(4) The Great Collection was going on in Achaia (xvi. 1—3.). When he wrote to the Romans from Corinth during his three months' visit there (Acts xx. 3.), the collection was completed in Macedonia and Achaia (Rom. xv. 26.).

(5) He hopes to go by Corinth to Jerusalem, and thence to Rome (xvi. 4. and xv. 25—28.). Now the time when he entertained this very purpose was towards the conclusion of his long Ephesian residence (Acts xix. 21.).

(6) He had sent Timothy towards Corinth (iv. 17.), but not direct (xvi. 10.). Now it was at the close of his Ephesian residence (Acts xix. 22.) that he sent Timothy with Erastus (the Corinthian) from Ephesus to Macedonia, which was one way to Corinth, but not the shortest.

[1] Sosthenes is, perhaps, the same mentioned Acts xviii. 17. See Vol. I. p. 450.

[2] The sense of ἅγιοι in the New Testament is nearly equivalent to the modern "Christians;" but it would be an anachronism so to translate it here, since (in the time of St. Paul) the word "Christian" was only used as a term of reproach. The objection to translating it "saints" is, that the idea now conveyed by that term is quite different from the meaning of οἱ ἅγιοι as used by St. Paul.

[3] The Authorised Version here appears scarcely reconcileable with the order of the Greek, though it is defended by the opinions of Chrysostom, Billroth, Olshausen, &c. The translation of Meyer, "*in every place under their and our dominion*," seems more like a Papal than an Apostolic rescript; and that of De Wette, "*in every place both of their and our abode*," is frigid, and adds nothing to the idea of παντὶ τόπῳ. St. Paul means to say that *he feels the home of his converts to be also his own.* Both sentiment and expression are the same as in Rom. xvi. 13.: τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμοῦ.

[4] Observe how εὐχαριστῶ and μου follow immediately after Παῦλος καὶ Σωσθένης, showing that, though the salutation runs in the name of both, the author of the Epistle was St. Paul alone. Compare the remarks on 1 Thess. p. 419. note 3.

[5] See note on Rom. ii. 5.

[6] i. e. *He will do His part* to confirm you unto the end. If you fall, it will not be for want of His help.

9 may be without reproach at the day of His coming. For God is faithful, by whom you were called into fellowship with His Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord and Master.

Rebuke of their party-spirit, and special censure of the pseudo-philosophical party.

10 Nevertheless, brethren, I exhort you, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to shun disputes, and suffer no divisions among you, but to be knit together in the same mind, and
11 the same judgment.[1] For tidings have been brought to me concerning you, my brethren, by the members of Chloe's household, whereby I have learnt that there are contentions among you. I mean, that one of you says, "I am a
12 follower of Paul;" another, "I of Apollos;" another, "I of
13 Cephas;"[2] another, "I of Christ." Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucified for you? or were you baptized unto the name
14 of Paul? I thank God that I baptized none of you except
15 Crispus and Gaius[3] (lest any one should say that I baptized
16 unto my own name); and I baptized also the household of Stephanas; besides these I know not that I baptized any
17 other. For Christ sent me forth as His apostle[4], not to baptize, but to publish His Glad-tidings; and that, not with the wisdom of argument, lest thereby the cross of Christ
18 should lose its mark of shame.[5] For the tidings of the cross[6], to those in the way of perdition, are folly; but to us in the way of salvation[7], they are the power of God.
19 And so it is written[8], "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent."
20 Where is the Philosopher? Where is the Rabbi? Where

[1] Νοῦς refers to the view taken by the understanding; γνώμη to the practical decision arrived at.

[2] *Cephas* is the name by which St. Peter is called throughout this Epistle. It was the actual word used by our Lord himself, and remained the Apostle's usual appellation among the Jewish Christians up to this time. It is strange that it should afterwards have been so entirely supplanted by its Greek equivalent, "Peter," even among the Jewish Christians. See note on Gal. i. 18. For an explanation of the parties here alluded to, see Vol. I. pp. 474—479.

[3] Or Caius, if we use the Roman spelling; see Vol. I. p. 430.

[4] Ἀπέστειλε.

[5] κενωθῇ, literally *be emptied of its contents.*

[6] *i. e.* the tidings of *a crucified Messiah.*

[7] For the translation of σωζόμενοι, see Winer, Gram. § 46. 5.

[8] Is. xxix. 14.; not quite literally quoted from LXX.

is the reasoner of this passing[1] world? Has not God turned this world's wisdom into folly? For when the world had 21
failed to gain by its wisdom the knowledge of the wisdom of God, it pleased God, by the folly of our preaching, to save those who have[2] faith therein. For the Jews ask for a sign 22
from heaven, and the Greeks demand a system of philosophy; but we[3] proclaim a Messiah crucified, to the Jews a stumbling- 23
block, and to the Greeks a folly; but to the called[4] themselves, 24
whether they be Jews or Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God. For the folly which is of God, is wiser 25
than man's wisdom, and the weakness which is of God, is stronger than man's strength. For you see, brethren, how God 26
has called you; how few of you are wise in earthly wisdom, how few are powerful, how few are noble. But what the 27
world thinks folly, God has chosen, to confound its wisdom; and what it holds for weakness He has chosen, to confound its strength; and what the world counts base and scorns as 28
worthless, nay, what it deems to have no being, God has chosen, to bring to nought the things that be; that no flesh 29
should glory in His presence. But you He owns for His 30
children[5] in Christ Jesus, who has become to us God's wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption; that the Scripture might be fulfilled which saith[6], "He 31
that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord."

In his own teaching he had not aimed at establishing a reputation for philosophy or

So, brethren, when I myself first came to declare among II. 1
you the testimony of God, I came not with any surpassing skill of eloquence, or philosophy. For it was no earthly 2
knowledge which I determined to display among you, but

[1] Ὁ αἰων οὗτος distinguished from κόσμος by involving the notion of *transitory duration*.

[2] Observe πιστεύοντας, not πιστεύσαντας.

[3] "*We*," including St. Paul and the other preachers of Christianity.

[4] Κλητοῖς. All who make an outward profession of Christianity are, in St. Paul's language, "the called." They have received a message from God, which has called them to enter into His church.

[5] Ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

[6] Jerem. ix. 23., from the LXX., but not literally.

the knowledge of Jesus Christ alone, and Him[1]—crucified.
3 And in my intercourse with you, I was weighed down by a
feeling of my weakness, and was filled with anxiety, and self
4 distrust.[2] And when I proclaimed my message, I used not
the persuasive arguments of human wisdom, but showed forth
5 by sure proofs the might of the Holy Spirit, that your faith
might have its foundation not in the wisdom of men, but in
the power of God.

eloquence, but had relied on the supernatural power and wisdom which belongs to the Spirit of God.

6 Nevertheless, among those who are ripe in knowledge[3]
I speak wisdom; albeit not the wisdom of this passing
world, nor of those who rule it, whose greatness will soon
7 be nothing.[4] But it is God's wisdom that I speak;
whereof the secret is made known to his people[5], even the
hidden wisdom which God ordained before the ages, that we
8 might be glorified thereby. But the rulers of this world
knew it not; for had they known it, they would not have
9 crucified the Lord of Glory. But as it is written[6], "Eye
hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the
heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them
10 that love Him." Yet to us[7] God has revealed them by His
Spirit, for the Spirit fathoms all things, even the deepest
11 counsels of God. For who can know what is in a man but
the spirit of the man which is within him? even so none can
12 know what is in God, but the Spirit of God alone. Now to
us has been granted, not the spirit of this world, but the

[1] *i. e.* Him, not exalted on the earthly throne of David, but condemned to the death of the vilest malefactor.

[2] Compare 2 Cor. vii. 15. and Eph. vi. 5. St. Paul appears, on his first coming to Corinth, to have been suffering under great depression, perhaps caused by the bodily malady to which he was subject (cf. 2 Cor. xii. 8.; see Vol. I. p. 294.), perhaps by the ill success of his efforts at Athens. See Vol. I. p. 418.

[3] Οἱ τέλειοι is St. Paul's expression for those who had attained the maturity of Christian wisdom. Compare 1 Cor. xiv. 20. and Phil. iii. 15. Such men could understand that his teaching was in truth the highest philosophy.

[4] Καταργούμενοι, literally "passing away into nothingness."

[5] Σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ is a wisdom revealed to the μύσται, or initiated, *i. e.* (in this case) to Christians; but hidden from the rest of the world.

[6] Isaiah lxiv. 4. is the nearest passage to this in the Old Testament. The quotation is not to be found anywhere exactly.

[7] *Us*, including all the inspired Christian teachers, and the rest of the τέλειοι.

Spirit which is of God; that we might understand those good things which have been freely given us by God.

These are the things whereof we speak, in words not 13
taught by man's wisdom, but by the Holy Spirit; explaining spiritual things to spiritual[1] men. But the natural[2] 14
man rejects the teaching of God's Spirit, for to him it is folly; and it must needs be beyond his knowledge, for the spiritual mind alone can judge thereof. But the spiritual man judges 15
all things truly, yet cannot himself be truly judged by others. For "Who hath known the mind of the Lord that he may 16
instruct him;"[3] but we have the mind of the Lord[4] within us.

The party which claimed to be "the spiritual" (πνευματικοὶ) are proved to be carnal by their dissensions.

And I, brethren, could not speak to you as spiritual III.1
men, but as carnal, and in the first infancy of your growth in Christ. I fed you with milk and not with meat; for you were 2
not able to bear the stronger food, nay you are not yet able, for 3
you are still carnal. For while you are divided amongst yourselves by jealousy, and strife, and factious parties, is it not evident that you are carnal, and walking in the common ways of men? When one says, "I follow Paul," and another 4
"I follow Apollos," can you deny that you are carnal?

It is a contradiction in terms to make Christian teachers the leaders of opposing parties. Nature of their work.

Who then is Paul, or who is Apollos? what are they but 5
servants [of Christ,] by whose ministration you believed? and was it not the Lord who gave to each of them the measure of his success? I planted, Apollos watered; but it was 6
God who made the seed to grow. So that he who plants is 7
nothing, nor he who waters, but God alone who gives the growth. But the planter and the waterer are one together[5]; 8
and each will receive the wages due to him, according to his work. For we are God's fellow-labourers[6], and you are God's 9

[1] Πνευματικὰ πνευματικοῖς. Compare iii. 1.

[2] Ψυχικὸς, properly man considered as endowed with the *anima* (the living principle), as distinguished from the *spiritual* principle. See Juv. Sat. xv. 148.

[3] Isaiah xl. 13. (LXX.)

[4] The best MSS. are divided between the readings of Χριστοῦ and Κυρίου here.

[5] "And therefore cannot be set against each other" is implied.

[6] This remarkable expression is used by St. Paul repeatedly. Compare 2 Cor. vi. 1. and the note on 1 Thess. iii. 2.

husbandry. You are God's building; God gave me the gift of grace whereby like a skilful architect I have laid a foundation; and on this foundation another builds; but let each take heed what that is which he builds thereon—["thereon," I say,] for other foundation can no man lay, than that already laid, which is "JESUS THE CHRIST."[1] But on this foundation one man may raise a temple of gold, and silver, and precious marbles; another, a building of wood, hay, and stubble. But in due time each man's work will be made manifest; for the day [of the Lord's coming] will show of what sort it is; because that day will be revealed with fire, and the fire will test each builder's work. He whose building stands unharmed, shall receive payment for his labour; but he whose work is burned down, shall forfeit his reward: yet he shall not himself be destroyed; but shall be saved as one who scarcely escapes through the flames.

The Church is God's temple.

Know[2] ye not yourselves that you are God's temple, and that you form a shrine wherein God's Spirit dwells. If any man shall do hurt to the temple of God, God shall do hurt[3] to him; for the temple of God is holy; and holy[4] therefore are ye.

Intellectual pride and party spirit are unchristian.

Let none of you deceive himself; if any man among you is held wise in the wisdom of this passing world[5], let him make himself a fool [in the world's judgment], that so he may become truly wise. For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God, as it is written[6], "**He taketh the wise in their own craftiness.**" And again[7], "**The Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wise that they are vain.**" Therefore let none

[1] The Textus Receptus, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός, rests on very little MS. authority; the best MSS. being divided between Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς and Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς. Yet as the Textus Receptus gives more distinctly the sense which must virtually be involved in all three readings, we have retained it here.

[2] The connection with what precedes is "In calling you God's building, I tell you no new thing; you know already that you are God's temple."

[3] Observe φθερεῖ, answering to φθείρει.

[4] Οἵτινες not "*which temple*" (A.V.)

[5] Τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ. The notion of *transitory duration* is always conveyed by this expression. See note on ii. 6.

[6] Job v. 13.

[7] Ps. xciv. 11.

of you make his boast in men[1]; for all things are yours; both 22
Paul and Apollos, and Cephas, and the whole world itself;
both life and death, things present and things to come—all
are yours—but[2] you are Christ's; and Christ is God's. 23

Christ's Apostles are only stewards; that which they administer is not their own.

Look therefore on us as servants of Christ, and stewards IV.1
charged to dispense the knowledge of the mysteries of God.[3]
Moreover, it is but required in a steward faithfully to ad- 2
minister his master's wealth. Yet to me it matters nothing 3
how I may be judged by you, or by the doom of man; nay,
I judge not even myself. For although I know not that I 4
am guilty of unfaithfulness, yet my own sentence will not
suffice to justify me; but I must be tried by the judgment of
my Lord. Therefore judge nothing hastily, until the coming 5
of our Lord and Master; for He shall bring to light the dark-
est counsels, and make manifest the inmost secrets of men's
hearts; and then God shall give to each the[4] praise which he
deserves.

Contrast between the self-exaltation of the pseudo-philosophical party, and the abasement of Christ's Apostles.

But these things, brethren, I have represented under the 6
persons of myself and Apollos, for your sakes; that so you
may learn not to think of yourselves above that which has
now been written, and that you may cease to puff your-
selves up in the cause[5] of one against another. For who 7
makes thee to differ from another? what hast thou that thou
didst not receive? and how then canst thou boast of it, as if
thou hadst won it for thyself? But ye forsooth have eaten 8
to the full [of spiritual food], ye are rich [in knowledge],

[1] The meaning is, "Boast not of having this man or that as your leader; for all the Apostles, nay, all things in the universe, are ordained by God to co-operate for your good."

[2] All things work together for the good of Christians; all things conspire to do them service: but their work is to do Christ's service, even as He Himself came to do the will of His Father.

[3] *Mysteries* are *secrets revealed to the initiated*, i. e. to all Christians. See note on ii. 7.

[4] Ὁ ἔπαινος. The error in A. V. was caused by not observing the article.

[5] St. Paul means "in the cause of your party-leaders;" but speaks with intentional indistinctness.

ye have seated yourselves upon your throne, and have no longer need[1] of me. Would that you were indeed enthroned,
9 that I too might reign with you. For[2], as to us the Apostles, I think that God has set us forth last of all, like criminals condemned to die, to be gazed at in a theatre[3] by the whole
10 world, both men and angels. We for Christ's sake are fools, while you join faith in Christ with worldly wisdom; we are weak, while you are strong; you are honourable, while we are
11 outcasts; even to the present hour we bear hunger and thirst, and nakedness and stripes, and have no certain dwell-
12 ing place, and toil with our own hands for daily bread; curses we answer with blessings, persecution with patience,
13 railings with good words. We are counted the refuse of the
14 earth, the very off-scouring of all things, unto this day. I write not thus to reproach you, but as a father I chide the
15 children whom I love. For though you may have ten thousand guardians[4] to lead you towards the school of Christ, you can have but one father; and I it was who begat you in
16 Christ Jesus, by the Glad-tidings which I brought. I beseech you, therefore, become followers of me.

Mission of Timotheus; warning to the disobedient faction at Corinth.

17 For this cause I have sent to you Timotheus, my beloved son, who has been found faithful in the service of our Lord, and he shall put you in remembrance of the path wherein I walked in fellowship with Christ, as I still teach
18 everywhere in all the churches. Now some of you have been filled with arrogance, and imagine that I am not coming to
19 visit you. But I shall be with you shortly, if the Lord will;

[1] Χωρὶς ἡμῶν.

[2] The connection is, "The lot of an Apostle is no kingly lot."

[3] The spectacle to which St. Paul here alludes was common in those times. Criminals condemned to death were exhibited for the amusement of the populace on the arena of the amphitheatre, and forced to fight with wild beasts, or to slay one another as gladiators. These criminals were exhibited at the end of the spectacle as an exciting termination to the entertainment (ἔσχατοι ἀπεδείχθησαν). So Tertullian paraphrases the passage "*Nos Deus Apostolos novissimos elegit velut bestiarios.*" (Tertul. de Pudicitiâ, cap. xiv.)

[4] Παιδαγωγός, *the guardian slave who led the child to school.* See note on Gal. iii. 24.

and then I shall meet these arrogant boasters, and shall learn their power, not by their words, but by their deeds. For 20
mighty deeds, not empty words, are the tokens of God's kingdom. What is your desire? Must I come to you with the 21
rod of punishment, or in the spirit of love and gentleness?

Judgment on the incestuous person.

It is commonly reported that there is fornication among V. 1
you, and such fornication, as is not so much as named even among the Heathen, that a man should have his father's wife. And you forsooth have been puffed up with arrogance, when 2
you ought rather to have been filled with shame and sorrow, and so to have put out from among you the man who has done this deed. For me — being present with you in spirit, 3
although absent in body, — I have already passed sentence as if I were present with you, upon him who has thus sinned; and I decree in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you 4
convene an assembly, and when you, and my spirit with you, are gathered together, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you deliver over to Satan[1] the man who has thus 5
sinned, for the destruction of his fleshly lusts, that his spirit may be saved in the day of our Lord Jesus. Truly you have 6
no ground for boasting; know ye not that "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump."[2] Cast out therefore the old 7
leaven that your body may be renewed throughout, even as now [at this Paschal season][3] you are without taint of leaven; for Christ Himself is our Paschal Lamb, who has been slain

[1] This expression appears used as equivalent to *casting out of the Church*; from the following words there seems also a reference to the doctrine that Satan is the author of bodily disease. Compare 2 Cor. xii. 7.

[2] The same proverb is quoted Gal. v. 9.

[3] In spite of the opinion of Chrysostom and some eminent modern commentators we must adhere to this interpretation; for if we take *καθώς ἐστε ἄζυμοι* in a metaphorical sense, it is inconsistent with the previous *ἐκκαθάρατε τὴν π. ζύμην*; for the passage would then amount to saying, "Be free from taint as you are free from taint." Moreover, if so taken, the connection with what follows seems unnatural. There seems no difficulty in supposing that the Gentile Christians joined with the Jewish Christians in celebrating the Paschal feast after the Jewish manner, at least to this extent. And we see that St. Paul still observed the *ἡμέραι τῶν ἀζύμων* at this period of his life, from Acts xx. 6. Also, from what follows, we perceive how naturally this greatest of Jewish feasts changed into the greatest of Christian festivals.

8 for us; therefore let us keep the feast, not with the old leaven, the leaven of vice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of purity and truth.

Open and flagitious offenders must be excluded from the Church.

9 I enjoined you in my letter[1] not to keep company with
10 fornicators; yet I meant not altogether to bid you forego intercourse with the men of this world who may be fornicators, or lascivious, or extortioners, or idolaters; for so
11 you would be forced to go utterly out of the world. But[2] my meaning was, that you should not keep company with any man who, bearing the name of a Brother, is either a fornicator, or lascivious[3], or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such a man, I say, you
12 must not so much as eat. For what need have I to judge those who are without the Church? Is it not your part to
13 judge those who are within it? But those who are without are for God's judgment. And for yourselves, "**Ye shall cast out the evil one from the midst of you.**"[4]

Litigation between Christians must not be brought into Heathen courts; and its existence is a proof of evil.

VI.1 Can there be any of you who dare to bring their private differences into the courts of law, to be judged by the wicked, and not rather submit them to the arbitration[5] of Christ's
2 people. Know ye not that Christ's people shall judge the world? and if you are called to sit in judgment on the universe, are you unfit to decide even the most trifling matters?
3 Know ye not that we shall judge angels? how much more
4 then the affairs of this life? If, therefore, you have disputes to settle which concern the affairs of this life, give the arbitration

[1] The letter here referred to has not come down to us. See p. 21.

[2] Νυνὶ here seems not to be a particle of time (see De Wette *in loco*).

[3] Πλεονέκτης has undoubtedly this meaning in St. Paul's writings. Compare Eph. v. 5. (where it is coupled with ἀκάθαρτος). So πλεονεξία, in St. Paul, almost invariably means *impurity*. See Eph. iv. 19., v. 3.; Col. iii. 5. The only places where the word is used by St. Paul in the sense *covetousness* are 2 Cor. ix. 5. and 1 Thess. ii. 5., in the latter of which passages the other meaning would not be inadmissible. How the word contracted its Pauline meaning may be inferred from the similar use of *concupiscence* in English.

[4] Deut. xxiv. 7. (LXX.)

[5] It should be remembered that the law gave its sanction to the decision pronounced in a litigated case by arbitrators privately chosen; so that the Christians might obtain a just decision of their mutual differences without resorting to the heathen tribunals.

of them to the very least esteemed in your Church? I speak 5
to your shame. Can it be that in your whole body, there is not
so much as one man wise enough to arbitrate between his
brethren, but must brother go to law with brother, and that 6
in the courts of the unbelievers? Nay, farther, you are in 7
fault, throughout, in having such disputes at all. Why do you
not rather submit to wrong? Why not rather suffer yourselves
to be defrauded? Nay, you are yourselves wronging and de- 8
No immorality can consist with true Christianity.
frauding others, and that too your brethren. Know ye not 9
that wrong doers shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be
not deceived—neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adul-
terers, nor self-defilers, nor sodomites, nor robbers, nor 10
wantons, nor drunkards, nor railers, nor extortioners, shall
inherit the kingdom of God. And such were some of 11
you; but you have washed away your stains[1],—you have
been hallowed, you have been justified by your fellowship
with the Lord Jesus, whose name you bear, and by the in-
dwelling Spirit of our God.[2]

Antinomian defence of immorality refuted.
[But some of you say]—"all things are lawful for me." 12
[Be it so;][3] but not all things are good for me; though all
things are in *my* power, they shall not bring me under *their*
power. "Meat is for the belly, and the belly for meat," 13
though death will soon, by God's ordinance, put an end to
both; but the body is not for fornication, but for the Lord
Jesus; and the Lord Jesus for the body[4]; and as God raised 14
our Lord Jesus from the grave, so He will raise us also by
His mighty power.[5] Know ye not that your bodies are the 15
members of Christ's body? Shall I then take the members of

[1] Observe that ἀπελούσασθε is middle, not passive, as in A. V.

[2] For the translation of ἐν in this verse, see Winer, Gram. cap. v. § 52.

[3] See the explanation of this in Vol. I. p. 479.; and compare (for the true side of πάντα ἔξεστιν) Gal. v. 23., κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστι νόμος. Also see chap. viii. 1. below. From what follows it is evident that these Corinthian free-thinkers argued that *the existence of bodily appetites proved the lawfulness of their gratification.*

[4] The body is for the Lord Jesus, to be consecrated by His indwelling to His service; and the Lord Jesus is for the body, to consecrate it by dwelling therein in the person of His Spirit.

[5] St. Paul's argument here is, that sins of unchastity, though bodily acts, yet injure a part of our nature which will not be destroyed by death,

Christ, and make them the members of an harlot? God forbid.
16 Know ye not, that he who joins himself to an harlot becomes
one body with her? As it is written, "they twain shall be
17 one flesh."[1] But he who joins himself to Christ, becomes one
18 with Christ in spirit. Flee fornication. [It is true, indeed[2],
that] all sin springs, not from the body, but from the soul;
19 yet the fornicator sins against his own body. Know ye not
that your bodies are temples of the Holy Spirit which
dwells within you, which ye have received from God? And
20 you are not your own, for you were bought with a price.[3]
Glorify God, therefore, not in your spirit only, but in your
body also, since both are His.[4]

VII. 1 As to the questions which you have asked me in your
2 letter, this is my answer. It is good for a man to remain
unmarried. Nevertheless, to avoid fornication, let every
3 man have his own wife, and every woman her own husband.
4 Let the husband live in the intercourse of affection with his
wife, and likewise the wife with her husband. The wife has
not dominion over her own body, but the husband; and so
also the husband has not dominion over his own body, but
5 the wife. Do not separate one from the other, unless it be
with mutual consent for a time, that you may give yourselves
without disturbance to fasting and prayer, with the intent
of shortly living again together, lest, through your fleshly
6 passions, Satan should tempt you to sin. But in speaking
thus, I mean not to command marriage, but only to permit it.

Answers to questions concerning marriage and divorce, with special reference to cases of mixed marriage.

and which is closely connected with our moral well-being. And it is a fact no less certain than mysterious, that moral and spiritual ruin is caused by such sins; which human wisdom (when untaught by Revelation) held to be actions as blameless as eating and drinking.

[1] Gen. ii. 24. (LXX.), quoted by our Lord, Matt. xix. 5.

[2] Literally, "*every sin which a man commits is without* (ἐκτὸς, external to) *the body.*" The Corinthian freethinkers probably used this argument also; and perhaps availed themselves of our Lord's words, Mark vii. 18.: "*Do ye not perceive that whatsoever thing from without entereth into the man, it cannot defile him, because it entereth not into his heart,*" &c. (See the whole passage.)

[3] The price is the blood of Christ. Compare Acts xx. 28. and Col. i. 14.

[4] The latter part of this verse, from καὶ to Θεοῦ, though not in the best MSS., yet is implied in the sense.

For I would that all men were as I am; but men have 7
different gifts from God, one this, another that. But to the 8
unmarried and to the widows, I say that it would be good for
them if they should remain in the state wherein I myself
also am; yet if their desires do not allow them to remain 9
contented in this state, let them marry; for it is better to
marry than to be tempted by sinful desires. To the married, 10
not I, but the Lord Jesus Himself gives commandment[1], that
the wife leave not her husband; (but if she have already 11
left him, let her remain single, or else be reconciled
with him); likewise also, that the husband put not away
his wife. But for the cases which follow, my decisions are 12
given not by the Lord Jesus, but by myself. If any of
the Brethren be married to an unbelieving wife, let him
not put her away, if she be content to remain with
him; neither let a believing wife leave an unbelieving 13
husband who is willing to remain with her; for the un- 14
believing husband is hallowed by union with his believing
wife, and the unbelieving wife by union with her believing
husband; for otherwise your children would be unclean[2],
but now they are holy. But if the unbelieving husband or 15
wife seeks for a divorce, let it not be hindered; for in such
cases, the believing husband or wife is not bound to remain
under the yoke. But the call whereby God called[3] us, is a
call of peace, [and should not lead to household strife]. For 16
thou who art the wife of an unbeliever, how knowest thou
whether thou mayest save thy husband? or thou who art the
husband, whether thou mayest save thy wife?

[1] Compare Mark x. 12.: *Whosoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her. And if a woman shall put away her husband, and be married to another, she committeth adultery.*

[2] Ἀκάθαρτος, literally "unclean," the term being used in its Jewish sense, to denote that which, is *beyond the hallowed pale of God's people;* the antithesis to ἅγιος, which was applied to all *within the consecrated limits.*

On the inferences from this verse, with respect to infant baptism, see Vol. I. pp. 470, 471.

[3] Καλεῖν, in St. Paul's writings, means "to call into fellowship with Christ;" "to call from the unbelieving World into the Church."

17 Only let no man seek to quit that condition which God had allotted to him when he was called by the Lord
18 Jesus. This rule I give in all the churches. Thus, if any man, at the time when he was called[1], bore the mark of circumcision, let him not efface it; and again, if he was uncircumcised at the time of his calling, let him not receive cir-
19 cumcision. It matters nothing whether we be circumcised or uncircumcised, but only whether we keep the commands
20 of God. Let each abide in the condition which he held
21 when he was first called. Wast thou in slavery at the time of thy calling? Care not for it. Nay, though thou have power to gain thy freedom[2], seek rather to remain content.
22 For the slave who has been called into fellowship with Christ, is Christ's freedman; and so also, the freeman who has been
23 called, is Christ's slave; for He has paid a price for you all[3]; beware lest you bind upon yourselves the yoke of slavery
24 to man.[4] Brethren, let each continue in the state wherein he was called, and therein abide with God.

General rule, that the converts should not quit that state of life wherein they were at their conversion.

25 Concerning your virgin daughters[5] I have no command to give you from the Lord Jesus, but I give my judgment, as one who has been called by our Lord's mercy, to be His
26 faithful servant. I think, then, that it is best, by reason of the trials which are nigh at hand, for all to be unmarried;

Answer to questions about the disposal of daughters in marriage.

[1] It is needless to remark that ἐκλήθη is mistranslated "*is called*" in A. V. throughout this chapter.

[2] The Greek here is ambiguous, and might be so rendered as to give directly opposite precepts; but the version given in the text (which is that advocated by Chrysostom, Meyer, and De Wette) agrees best with the position of the καὶ, and also with the context.

[3] Observe the change in the Greek from singular to plural.

[4] Alluding to their servile adherence to party leaders. Compare 2 Cor. xi. 20. (καταδουλοῖ).

[5] We cannot help remarking, that the manner in which a recent infidel writer has spoken of this passage is one of the most striking proofs how far a candid and acute mind may be warped by a strong bias. In this case the desire of the writer is to prove that the moral teaching of Christianity is worthless; and he brings forward this passage to prove his charge, and blames St. Paul because he assumes these Corinthian daughters to be disposable in marriage at the will of their father. We must suppose that this writer would (on the same grounds) require a modern missionary to Persia to preach the absolute incompatibility of despotic government with sound morality. A similar *ignoratio elenchi* runs through all his remarks upon this chapter.

[so that I would say to each] "If thou art bound to a wife, 27
seek not separation; but if thou art free, seek not marriage; yet 28
if thou wilt marry, thou mayest do so without sin." So likewise if your virgin daughters marry, it is no sin; but they who marry will have earthly sorrows to endure, and these I would spare you. But this I say, brethren, the time is 29
short; meanwhile it behoves them that have wives to be as though they had none; and them that weep as though they 30
wept not, and them that rejoice as though they rejoiced not, and them that buy as though they possessed not, and them 31
that use this world as not abusing [1] it; for the world, with all its outward show, is passing away.[2] But I would have you 32
free from earthly care. The desires of the unmarried man are fixed upon the Lord Jesus, and he strives to please the Lord. But the desires of the husband are fixed upon worldly 33
things, striving to please his wife. Likewise also the wife 34
has this difference from the virgin; the cares of the virgin are fixed upon the Lord, that she may become holy both in body and in spirit; but the cares of the wife are fixed upon worldly things, striving to please her husband. Now this I say for 35
your own profit; not that I may entangle you in a snare; but that I may help you to serve the Lord Jesus with a seemly and undivided service. But if any man thinks that 36
he is treating his virgin daughter in an unseemly manner, by leaving her unmarried beyond the flower of her age, and if need so require, let him act according to his will; he may do so without sin; let them[3] marry. But he who is firm in 37
his resolve, and is not constrained to marry his daughter, but has the power of carrying out his will, and has determined to keep her unmarried, does well. Thus he who 38

[1] Καταχρῆσθαι appears to be distinguished from χρῆσθαι, as *to use up* from *to use*. Compare 1 Cor. ix. 18. It thus acquired the sense of *to abuse*, in which it is sometimes employed by Demosthenes, and by the grammarians.

[2] Παράγει, literally "*passing by*," flitting past, like the shadows in Plato's Cavern (Repub. vii. 1.), or the figures in some moving phantasmagoria.

[3] "Them," viz. the daughter and the suitor.

gives his daughter in marriage does well, but he who gives her not in marriage does better.

Marriage of widows.

39 The wife is bound by the law of wedlock so long as her husband lives; but after his death she is free to marry whom she will, provided that she choose one of the brethren[1]
40 in Christ. Yet she is happier if she remain a widow, in my judgment; and I think that I, no less[2] than others, have the spirit of God.

Answer to questions concerning meats offered to idols.

VIII. 1 As to the question concerning meats which have been sacrificed to idols, we know—(for "we all have knowledge,"[3]
2 but knowledge puffs up, while love builds; and if any man prides himself on his knowledge, he knows nothing yet as
3 he ought to know; but whosoever loves God, of him God
4 hath knowledge)—we know (I say) that an idol has not any
5 true being, and that there is no other God but one. For though there be some who are called gods, either celestial or terrestrial, and though we see men worship many
6 gods and many lords, yet to us there is but one God, the Father, from whom are all things, and unto whom we live; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, by whom the life of all things,
7 and our life also, is sustained. But it is not true that "all have knowledge" [in this matter]; on the contrary, there are some who still have a conscientious fear of the idol, and who think that the meat sacrificed belongs to a false god, so
8 that, if they eat it, their conscience being weak is defiled. It is true that our food cannot change our place in God's sight; with Him we gain nothing by eating, nor lose by not eating.
9 But beware lest, perchance, by this exercise of your rights[4]

[1] Literally, *provided it be in the Lord.*

[2] The καὶ in κἀγὼ has this meaning.

[3] It is necessary, for the understanding of this Epistle, that we should remember that it is an answer to a letter received from the Corinthian Church, and therefore constantly alludes to topics in that letter. It seems probable, from the way in which they are introduced, that these words, πάντες γνῶσιν ἔχομεν, are quoted from that letter.

[4] Ἐξουσία αὕτη. Observe again the reference to the language of the self-styled Pauline party at Corinth. Compare πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν (vi. 12.) The decrees of the "Council of Jerusalem"

you should cast a stumbling-block in the path of your weaker brethren. For if one of them see thee, who boastest of 10
thy knowledge, feasting in an idol's temple, will not he be encouraged to eat the meat which has been offered in sacrifice, although the weakness of his conscience condemns the deed? And thus, through the knowledge whereof thou 11
boastest, will thy weaker brother perish, for whom Christ died. Nay, when you sin thus against your brethren, and 12
wound their weaker conscience, you sin against Christ. Wherefore, if my eating cast a stumbling-block in my 13
brother's path, I will eat no flesh while the world stands, lest thereby I cause my brother's fall.

He vindicates his claim to the Apostolic office against his Judaizing detractors; and explains his renunciation of some of the Apostolic privileges.

Am I indeed "no true apostle?" Am I indeed "subject to man's authority"?[1] Have I indeed "never seen Jesus Christ our Lord?" Can it be denied that you are the fruits of my labour in the Lord? If to others I am no true apostle, yet at least I am such to you; for you are yourselves the seal which stamps the reality of my apostleship, by the will of Christ; this is my answer to those who question my authority. Do they deny my right to be maintained[2] [by my converts]? Do they deny my right to carry a believing wife with me on my journeys, like the rest of the apostles, and the brethren of the Lord[3], and Cephas? IX.1 2 3 4 5

might seem to have a direct bearing on the question discussed by St. Paul in this passage; but he does not refer to them as deciding the points in dispute, either here or elsewhere. Probably the reason of this is, that the decrees were meant only to be of temporary application; and in their terms they applied originally only to the churches of Syria and Cilicia (see Acts xv. 23.; also Vol. I. p. 249.).

[1] Οὐκ Ἐλεύθερος. Compare verse 19. and Gal. i. 1., ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων.

[2] This was a point much insisted on by the Judaizers (see 2 Cor. xii. 13—16.). They argued that St. Paul, by not availing himself of this undoubted apostolic right, betrayed his own consciousness that he was no true Apostle.

[3] "The brethren of the Lord." It is a very doubtful question whether these were the sons of our Lord's mother's sister, viz. the Apostles James and Judas, the sons of Alphæus (Luke vi. 15.) (for *cousins* were called ἀδελφοι), or whether they were sons of Joseph by a former marriage, or actually sons of the mother of our Lord. See a statement of the difficulties of the question in Neander (P. und L. 554.).

6 Or do they think that I and Barnabas alone have no right to
be maintained, except by the labour of our own hands?
7 What soldier[1] ever serves at his private cost? What hus-
bandman plants a vineyard without sharing in its fruit? What
8 shepherd tends a flock without partaking of their milk? And
is this the rule of man only, or is it not also commanded in
9 the law of God? Yea, in the book of Moses' Law it is
written, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out
10 the corn."[2] Are oxen the objects of God's care, or is it not
altogether for man's sake that He so speaks? For our sake,
doubtless, it was written; declaring that the ploughman
ought to plough, and the thresher to thresh, with hope to
11 share in the produce of his toil. If, then, I have sown for
you the seed of spiritual gifts, it would be no great thing
12 if I were to reap some harvest from your earthly gifts. If
others share this right over you, how much more should I?
Yet I have not used my right, but forbear from every claim,
lest I should by any means hinder the course of Christ's
13 Glad-tidings. Know ye not that they[3] who perform the
service of the temple, live upon the revenues of the temple,
and they who minister at the altar share with it in the
14 sacrifices thereon offered? So also the Lord Jesus or-
dained[4] that they whom he sent forth to publish his Glad-
15 tidings, should be maintained thereby. But I have not
exercised any of these rights, nor do I write this that
I myself may profit by it. For I had rather die than
16 suffer the ground of my boasting to be taken from me.
For, although I proclaim Christ's Glad-tidings, yet this gives
me no ground of boasting; for I am compelled to do so by

[1] He means to say that, to have this right of maintenance, a man need be no Apostle.

[2] Deut. xxv. 4. (LXX.)

[3] Numbers vii. and Deut. xviii.

[4] (Matt. x. 9, 10.) *Provide neither gold nor silver nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves: for the workman is worthy of his meat.*

order of my[1] master. Yea, woe is me if I proclaim it not.
For were my service given of my own free choice, I 17
might claim wages to reward my labour; but since I serve
by compulsion, I am [a slave with no claim to wages]
a steward whose post obliges him to dispense[2] his master's
bread to his fellow-servants. What then is my wage? It 18
is to bear the Glad-tidings of Christ, and to bring it free of
cost to those who hear me, without using the[3] full right
which belongs to my ministration. Therefore, although 19
free from the authority of all men, I made myself the
slave of all, that I might gain the most. To the Jews 20
I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to those
under the law as though I were under the law, that I
might gain those under the law; with those who were 21
free from the law, I lived as one who is free from the
law (not that I was without law before God, but under the
law of Christ), that I might gain those who were free
from the law. With those who were weak, I lived as if I 22
were weak myself, that I might gain the weak. I have
become all things to all men, that by all means I might
save some. And this I do to spread the Glad-tidings of 23
Christ, that I myself may share therein with those who hear
me. For you know that in the races of the stadium, though 24
all may run, yet but one can gain the prize;—(so run that you
may win.)—And every man who strives in the matches, 25
trains himself by all manner of self-restraint; yet they
do it to win a crown of fading leaves[4],—we, a crown that
cannot fade. I, therefore, run not like the racer who is 26

[1] Ἀνάγκη is properly the compulsion exercised by a master over a slave.

[2] This is the full meaning of οἰκονομίαν. See 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2.

[3] Καταχρήσασθαι, *to use fully*. See note on VII. 31.

[4] This was the crown made of the leaves of the pine, groves of which surrounded the Isthmian Stadium: the same tree still grows plentifully on the Isthmus of Corinth. It was the prize of the great Isthmian games. Throughout the passage St. Paul alludes to these contests, which were so dear to the pride and patriotism of the Corinthians. Compare also 2 Tim. ii. 5.

uncertain of his goal; I fight, not as the pugilist who strikes
27 out against the air; but I bring my body into bondage, crushing it with heavy[1] blows; lest, perchance, having called others to the contest, I should myself fail shamefully of the prize.

He again warns the Corinthians against immorality, by examples of the punishment of God's ancient people.

X. 1 But you, brethren, I call to remember our forefathers; how they all were guarded by the pillar of the cloud, and
2 all passed safely through the sea. And [as you were baptized unto Christ] they all, through the cloud, and through
3 the sea, were baptized unto Moses. And all of them
4 alike ate the same spiritual food; and all drank of the same spiritual stream; for they drank from the spiritual rock, whose waters followed them[2]; but that rock was
5 Christ. Yet [though all received these gifts], few only continued in God's favour, and the rest were struck down,
6 and perished in the wilderness. Now, these things were shadows of our own case, that we might learn not to lust after
7 sinful pleasures, as they lusted.[3] Nor be ye idolaters, as were some of them; as it is written,—"The people sat down to
8 eat and drink, and rose up to play."[4] Neither let us commit fornication, as some of them committed, and fell in one
9 day three and twenty thousand.[5] Neither let us try the long-suffering of Christ, as did some of them, who were
10 destroyed by the fiery serpents. Nor murmur against those who are set over you, as some of them murmured,
11 and were slain by the destroying angel. Now all these things befel them as shadows of that which was to come;

[1] This is the literal meaning of the pugilistic term ὑπωπιάζω.

[2] St. Paul's meaning is, that, under the allegorical representation of the Manna, the Water, and the Rock, are shadowed forth spiritual realities; for the *Rock* is Christ, the only source of living *water* (John iv.), and the *Manna* also is Christ, the true *bread from Heaven* (John vi.).

[3] Viz. after the flesh-pots of Egypt.

[4] Exod. xxxii. 6. (LXX.)

[5] Numbers xxv. 9., where twenty-four thousand is the number given. See the remarks in Vol. I. p. 188. note 2.

and they were written for our warning, who live in the end of the ages.[1] Wherefore, let him who thinks that he stands 12
firm, watch heedfully lest he fall. No trial has come upon 13
you beyond man's power to bear; and God is faithful to His promises, and will not suffer you to be tried beyond your strength, but will with every trial provide the way of escape, that you may be able to sustain it.

They must renounce all fellowship with idolatry.

Wherefore, my beloved children, have no fellowship 14
with idolatry. I speak as to reasonable men; use your 15
own judgment upon that which I say. When we drink 16
the cup of blessing, which we bless, are we not all partakers in the blood of Christ? When we break the bread, are we not all partakers in the body of Christ? For 17
as the bread is one, so we, the many, are one body; for of that one bread we all partake. Or again, if you look to 18
the carnal Israel, do you not see that those who eat of the sacrifices are in partnership with the altar, [and identified with the worship?] What would I say then? that an 19
idol has any real being? or that meat offered to an idol is really changed thereby? Not so; but I say, that when 20
the heathen offer their sacrifices, they are sacrificing to demons, and not to God; and I would not have you become partners[2] with the demons. You cannot drink 21
the cup of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the cup which has poured libation to demons; you cannot eat at the table of the Lord, and at the table of demons. Or would we pro- 22
voke our Lord to jealousy? Are we stronger than He?

They must deny them-

[But some one will say again][3] "all things are lawful 23

[1] The coming of Christ was "the end of the ages," *i. e.* the commencement of a new period of the world's existence. So the phrase *συντελεία τῶν αἰώνων* is used Heb. ix. 26. The same expression (with *αἰώνος*) occurs five times in St. Matthew, signifying *the coming of Christ to judgment.*

[2] This is addressed to those who were in the habit of accepting invitations to feasts celebrated in the temples of the heathen gods (*ἐν εἰδωλείῳ κατακείμενον*, viii. 10.).

[3] See vi. 12. and note.

for me." Nay, but not all things are good for me; though selves even lawful indulgences rather than injure the conscience of their weaker brethren.
24 all things are lawful, not all things build up the church. Let
no man seek his own, but every man his neighbour's good.
25 Whatever is sold in the market, you may eat, nor need you
26 ask for conscience sake whence it came: "For the earth is
27 the Lord's, and the fulness thereof."[1] And if any unbeliever
invites you to a feast, and you are disposed to go, eat of all
that is set before you, asking no questions for conscience
28 sake; but if one of the other guests should say to you con-
cerning any dish, "This has been offered to an idol," do not
eat of that dish, for the sake of him who pointed it out, and
29 for the sake of conscience.[2] Thy neighbour's conscience, I
say, not thine own; for [thou mayest truly say] "why is my
30 freedom condemned by the conscience of another? and if I
thankfully partake, why am I called a sinner for that which
I eat with thanksgiving?"[3]

31 Therefore, whether you eat or drink, or whatsoever you
do, do all so that God may be praised and His glory mani-
32 fested.[4] Let no act of yours give cause of stumbling, either
33 to Jews or Gentiles, or to the Church of God. For so I also
strive to please all men in all things, not seeking my own
XI.1 good, but the good of all[5], that they may be saved. I
beseech you, therefore, to follow my example, as I follow
the example of Christ.

2 My brethren, whereas[6] "you are always mindful of my Censure on the custom of women appearing unveiled in the assemblies for public worship.
teaching, and that you keep unchanged the rules which I
3 delivered to you," in this I praise you. But I would have
you know that as Christ is the head of every man, and God

[1] Psalm xxiv. 1. (LXX.)

[2] The repeated quotation is omitted in best MSS.

[3] Compare Rom. xiv. 16.: μὴ βλασφημείσθω ὑμῶν τὸ ἀγαθόν. Here again the hypothesis that St. Paul is quoting from the letter of the Corinthians removes all difficulty.

[4] Such seems the full meaning of εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ.

[5] Τῶν πολλῶν, not *many*, but *the many, the whole mass of mankind.*

[6] This statement was probably made in the letter sent by the Corinthian Church to St. Paul.

the head of Christ, so the man is the head of the woman. If 4
a man were to stand up in the congregation to pray or to prophecy with a veil over his head, he would bring shame upon his head [by wearing the token of subjection]. But if a woman 5
stands forth to pray or to prophecy, with her head unveiled, she brings shame upon her own head, as much as if she were shaven. I say, if she cast off her veil, let her 6
shave her head at once; but if it is shameful for a woman to be shorn or shaven, let her keep a veil upon her head. For 7
a man ought not to veil his head, since he is the likeness of God, and the manifestation of God's glory. But the woman's part is to manifest her husband's glory. For the man was 8
not made from the woman, but the woman from the man. Nor was the man created for the sake of the woman, but the 9
woman for the sake of the man. Therefore, the woman ought 10
to wear a sign[1] of subjection upon her head, because of the angels.[2] Nevertheless, in their fellowship with the Lord Jesus, 11
man and woman may not be separated the one from the other.[3] 12
For as woman is sprung from man, so is man also born of woman; and both alike, together with all things else, are sprung from God. But I beseech you to judge of this matter by your 13
own feeling. Is it seemly for a woman with her head unveiled to offer prayers to God? Or does not even nature itself 14
teach you that long hair is a disgrace to a man, but a glory 15
to a woman; for her hair has been given her for a veil. But if 16
any one thinks to be contentious in defence of such a custom,

[1] Ἐξουσία is often used for *the dominion exercised by those in lawful authority over their subordinates* (see Luke vii. 8.). Here it is used to signify the *sign* of that dominion.

[2] The meaning of this very difficult expression seems to be as follows:—The angels are sent as ministering servants to attend upon Christians, and are especially present when the church assembles for public worship; and they would be offended by any violation of decency or order. It need scarcely be remarked, that to translate διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους, "*by the hands of angels*" (as has been sometimes proposed), would be a gross grammatical error.

[3] In their relation to Christ, man and woman are not to be severed (χωρίς) the one from the other. Compare Gal. iii. 28. St. Paul means to say that the distinction between the sexes is one which only belongs to this life.

let him know that it is disallowed by me[1], and by all the Churches of God.

Censure on their profanation of the Lord's Supper.

17 [I said that I praised you for keeping the rules which were delivered to you;] but I praise you not for this which I now declare to you, that your solemn assemblies are for evil
18 rather than for good. For first, I hear that there are divisions among you, which show themselves when your con-
19 gregation is met together; and this I partly believe. For there must needs be not divisions only[2], but also adverse sects among you, that so the good may be tested and made
20 known. Moreover[3], those among you who meet [peaceably]
21 together, are not really met to eat the Lord's Supper; for each begins to eat what he has brought for his own supper, before anything[4] has been given to others; so that while
22 some are hungry, others are drunken.[5] Have you then no houses for your feasts? or do you come to show contempt for the congregation of God's people, and to shame the poor? What can I say to you? Shall I praise you in this? I
23 praise you not. For I myself[6] received from the Lord that which I delivered to you, how that the Lord Jesus in the
24 night when He was betrayed, took bread, and when He had given thanks, He brake it, and said—"*Take, eat; this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me.*"
25 In the same manner also He took the cup, after supper, saying, "*This cup is the new covenant in my blood: this do ye,*
26 *as often as ye drink it, in remembrance of me.*" For as often as you eat this bread, and drink this cup, you openly show
27 forth the Lord's death until He shall come again. Therefore,

[1] Literally, *that neither I, nor the churches of God, admit of such a custom.*

[2] Καὶ.

[3] The second subject of rebuke is introduced by οὖν instead of by ἔπειτα δὲ (which would naturally have answered the πρῶτον μὲν), because the συνερχομένων, κ. τ. λ., is taken up again from verse 18.

[4] Προλαμβάνει.

[5] For the explanation of this, see Vol. I. p. 472. It should be observed that a common meal, to which each of the guests contributed his own share of the provisions, was a form of entertainment of frequent occurrence among the Greeks, and known by the name of ἔρανος.

[6] Observe the emphatic ἐγώ.

whosoever shall eat this bread, or drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of profaning the body and blood of the Lord. But let a man examine himself, and so let 28
him eat of this bread and drink of this cup. For he who 29
eats and drinks of it unworthily, eats and drinks a judgment against himself, since he makes no difference between the Lord's body and common food. For this cause many of 30
you are weak and sickly, and some sleep the sleep of death. For if we would rightly judge ourselves, we should not be 31
judged by God. But when we are judged, we are chast- 32
ened by the Lord Jesus, that we may not be condemned together with the world. Therefore, my brethren, when you 33
meet for the Lord's Supper, let none begin to eat by himself while he leaves others unprovided; and if any one 34
is hungry, let him eat at home, lest your meetings should bring judgment upon you. The other matters I will set in order when I come.

On the Spiritual Gifts generally.

Concerning those who exercise Spiritual Gifts, brethren, XII.1
I desire to remove your ignorance. You know that in the 2
days of your heathenism you were blindly led astray to worship dumb and senseless idols [by those who pretended to gifts from heaven]. This test therefore I give you, to guide 3
your judgment; no man who is inspired by the Spirit of God can call Jesus accursed; and no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, unless he be inspired by the Holy Spirit.[1] More- 4
over, there are varieties of Spiritual Gifts, but the same Spirit gives them all; and they are given for various ministrations, 5
but all to serve the same Lord Jesus; and the inward work- 6

[1] *i. e.* the mere outward profession of Christianity is (so far as it goes) a proof of the Holy Spirit's guidance. Therefore the extraordinary spiritual gifts which followed Christian baptism in that age proceeded in all cases from the Spirit of God, and not from the Spirit of Evil. This is St. Paul's answer to a difficulty apparently felt by the Corinthians (and mentioned in their letter to him), whether some of these gifts might not be given by the Author of Evil to confuse the Church.

ing whereby they are wrought is various, but they are all wrought in every one of those who receive them, by the
7 working of the same God.[1] But the gift whereby the Spirit
8 becomes manifest, is given to each for the profit of all. To one[2] is given by the Spirit the utterance of Wisdom, to another the utterance of Knowledge[3] according to the working of
9 the same Spirit. To another the power of Faith[4] through the same Spirit. To another gifts of Healing through the
10 same Spirit. To another the powers which work Miracles; to another the gift of Prophecy; to another the discernment of Spirits[5]; to another varieties of Tongues[6]; to
11 another the Interpretation of Tongues. But all these gifts are wrought by the working of that one and the same Spirit,
12 who distributes them to each according to His will. For as the body is one, and has many members, and as all the mem-
13 bers, though many[7], are one body; so also is Christ. For in the communion of one Spirit we all were[8] baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles[9], whether slaves or
14 freemen, and were all made to drink of the same Spirit. For
15 the body is not one member, but many. If[10] the foot should say, "I am not the hand, therefore I belong not to the body,"
16 does it thereby sever itself from the body? Or if the ear should say, "I am not the eye, therefore I belong not to the
17 body," does it thereby sever itself from the body? If the

[1] It should be observed that the 4th, 5th, and 6th verses imply the doctrine of the Trinity.

[2] On this classification of spiritual gifts, see Vol. I. p. 458. note 2.

[3] Γνῶσις is the term used throughout this Epistle for *a deep insight into divine truth*; σοφία is a more general term, but here (as being opposed to γνῶσις) probably means *practical wisdom*.

[4] See Vol. I. p. 460.

[5] See Vol. I. p. 461.

[6] See Vol. I. pp. 459—462. for remarks on this and the other gifts mentioned in this passage.

[7] The τοῦ ἑνός of the Received Text is omitted by the best MSS.; so also is the εἰς before ἓν πνεῦμα in verse 13.

[8] The past tense is mistranslated in A. V. as present.

[9] See note on Rom. i. 16.

[10] The resemblance between this passage and the well-known fable of Menenius Agrippa (Liv. II. 32.) can scarcely be accidental; and may therefore be considered another proof that St. Paul was not unacquainted with classical literature.

whole body were an eye, where would be the hearing? If
the whole body were an ear, where would be the smelling?
But now God has placed the members severally in the body 18
according to His will. If all were one member, where 19
would be the body? But now, though the members are 20
many, yet the body is one. And the eye cannot say to the 21
hand, "I have no need of thee;" nor again the head to the
feet, "I have no need of you." Nay, those parts of the body 22
which are reckoned the feeblest are the most necessary, and 23
those parts which we hold the least honourable, we clothe
with the more abundant honour, so that the less beautiful
parts are clad with the greater beauty; and those which are 24
beautiful need not our adornment. But God has tempered
the body together, and given to the lowlier parts the higher
honour, that there should be no division in the body, but that 25
all its parts should feel, one for the other, a common sympathy.
And thus, if one member suffer, every member suffers with 26
it; or if one member be honoured, every member rejoices
with it. Now ye are together the body of Christ, and each 27
one of you a separate member. And God has set the mem- 28
bers in the Church, some in one place, and some in another:
first[1], Apostles; secondly, Prophets; thirdly, Teachers; after-
wards Miracles; then Gifts of Healing; Serviceable Minis-
trations; Gifts of Government; varieties of Tongues. Can 29
all be Apostles? Can all be Prophets? Can all be Teachers?
Can all work Miracles? Have all the Gifts of Healing? 30
Do all speak with Tongues? Can all interpret the Tongues?
But I would have you delight[2] in the best gifts; and more- 31
over, beyond them all[3], I will show you a path wherein to walk.

[1] On this classification, see Vol. I. p. 458, note 2.; on the particular charisms and offices mentioned in it, see pp. 459—465.

[2] Ζηλοῦν means originally *to feel intense eagerness about* a person or thing: hence its different senses of love, jealousy, &c., are derived. Here the wish expressed is, that the Corinthians should take that delight in the exercise of the more useful gifts, which hitherto they had taken in the more wonderful, not that individuals should "covet earnestly" for themselves gifts which God had not given them. Compare xiv. 39.

[3] This seems the meaning of *καθ' ὑπερβολήν*, which can scarcely be taken as an adjective with *ὁδόν*, as in A. V.

Superiority of Love to all the extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit.

XIII. 1 Though it were given me to speak in all the tongues of men and angels, if I have not love, I am no better than
2 sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And although I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all the mysteries, and all the depths of knowledge; and though I have the fulness of faith[1], so that I could remove mountains; if I have not
3 love, I am nothing. And though I sell all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, if I have
4 not love, it profits me nothing. Love is long suffering; love is kind; love envies not; love speaks[2] no vaunts; love shows
5 no vanity; love is never uncourteous; love is never selfish;
6 love is not easily provoked; love bears no malice[3]; love rejoices not in the punishment[4] of wickedness, but rejoices
7 in the victory of truth; forbears in all things[5], believes
8 all things, hopes all things, endures all things. Love shall never pass away; though the gift of Prophecy shall vanish, and the gift of Tongues shall cease, and the gift of Knowledge
9 shall come to nought. For our knowledge is imperfect, and
10 our prophecying is imperfect. But when the fulness of perfection is come, then all that is imperfect shall pass
11 away. When I was a child, my words were childish, my desires were childish, my judgments were childish; but being grown a man, I have done with the thoughts of child-
12 hood. So now we see darkly, by the reflection of a mirror[6], but then face to face; now I know in part, but then shall
13 I know God, even as now I am[7] known by Him. Yet

[1] *i. e.* the charism of wonder-working faith. See Vol. I. p. 460. The "removal of mountains" alludes to the words of our Lord, recorded Matt. xvii. 20.

[2] Περπερευομαι, *jacto me verbis* (Wahl).

[3] The Authorised Version here, "thinketh no evil," is so beautiful that we cannot but wish it had been a correct translation. The same disposition, however, is implied by the πάντα πιστεύει below.

[4] Επιχαίρω is *to rejoice in the misfortune* of another.

[5] For the meaning of στέγει, see ix. 12.: πάντα στέγομεν.

[6] Δι' ἐσόπτρου, not "*through a glass*," but *by means of a mirror*.

[7] Επεγνώσθην, literally "I was known," *i. e.* when in this world. The tense used retrospectively; unless it may be better to take it as the aorist used in a perfect sense, which is not uncommon in St. Paul's style.

while other gifts shall pass away, these three, Faith, Hope, and Love, abide for ever; and the greatest of these is Love.

Directions for the exercise of the gift of Prophecy, and the gift of Tongues.

I beseech you to follow earnestly after Love; yet I would XIV.1
have you delight in the spiritual gifts, but especially in the
gift of Prophecy. For he who speaks in a Tongue, speaks 2
not to men but to God; for no man understands him, but
with his spirit he utters mysteries. But he who prophe- 3
cies speaks to men, and builds them up, with exhortation
and with comfort. He who speaks in a Tongue builds 4
up himself alone; but he who prophecies builds up the
Church. I wish that you all had the gift of Tongues, but 5
rather that you had the gift of Prophecy; for he who pro-
phecies is above him who speaks in Tongues, unless he inter-
pret the sounds he utters, that the Church may be built up
thereby. Now, brethren, if when I came to you I were to 6
speak in Tongues, what should I profit you, unless I should
also speak either in Revelation or in Knowledge, either in
Prophecying or in Teaching? Even if the lifeless instruments 7
of sound, the flute or the harp, give no distinctness to their
notes, how can we understand their music? If the trumpet 8
utter an uncertain note, how shall the soldier prepare himself
for the battle? So also if you utter unintelligible words with 9
your tongue, how can your speech be understood? you will
but be speaking to the air. It may be that the Tongues in 10
which you speak are among the many languages spoken in
the world, and of these languages none is without meaning.
Now if I know not the meaning of the language, I shall be as 11
a foreigner to him that speaks it, and he will be accounted a
foreigner by me. Wherefore, I beseech you (since you delight 12
in spiritual gifts) to strive that your abundant possession
of them may build up the Church. Therefore, let him who 13
speaks in a Tongue, pray that he may be able to interpret[1]

[1] This verse distinctly proves that the *gift of Tongues* was not a *knowledge* of foreign languages, as is often supposed. See Vol. I. 460—461.

what he utters. For if I utter prayers in a Tongue, my spirit indeed prays, but my understanding bears no fruit.
What follows, then? I will pray indeed with my spirit, but I will pray with my understanding also; I will sing praises with my spirit, but I will sing with my understanding also.
For if thou, with thy spirit, offerest thanks and praise, how shall the Amen be said to thy thanksgiving by those worshippers who take no part[1] in the ministrations, while they are ignorant of the meaning of thy words? Thou indeed fitly offerest thanksgiving, but they who hear thee are not built up. I offer thanksgivings to God in private[2], speaking in Tongues to Him, more than any of you. Yet in the congregation I would rather speak five words with my understanding so as to instruct others, than ten thousand words in a Tongue. Brethren, be not children in understanding; but in malice be children, and in understanding be men. It is written in the book of the Law[3], "**With men of other tongues and other lips will I speak unto this people; and yet for all that they will not hear me, saith the Lord.**" So that the gift of Tongues is a sign[4] given to men in a state of unbelief; whereas the gift of Prophecy belongs to believers. When, therefore, the whole congregation is assembled in its place of meeting, if all the brethren speak in Tongues, and if any who take no part in your ministrations, or who are unbelievers, should enter your assembly, will they not say that you are mad?[5] But if all exercise the gift of

[1] Τοῦ ἰδιώτου, not *the unlearned* (A. V.), but *him who takes no part in the particular matter in hand.*

[2] This is evidently the meaning of the verse. Compare verse 2., ὁ λαλῶν γλώσσῃ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις λαλεῖ ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ, and verse 28., ἑαυτῷ λαλείτω καὶ τῷ θεῷ.

[3] Is. xxviii. 11. Not exactly according to the Hebrew or LXX.

[4] That is, a *condemnatory* sign.

[5] We must not be led, from any apparent analogy, to confound the exercise of the gift of Tongues in the primitive Church with modern exhibitions of fanaticism, which bear a superficial resemblance to it. We must remember that such modern pretensions to this gift must of course resemble the manifestations of the original gift in external features, because these very features have been the objects of intentional imitation.

Prophecy, then if any man who is an unbeliever, or who takes no part in your ministrations, should enter the place of meeting, he is convicted in conscience by every speaker, he feels himself judged by all, and[1] the secret depths of his heart are laid open; and so he will fall upon his face and worship God, declaring to all men that God is in you of a truth. What follows then, brethren? If, when you are met together, one is prepared to sing a hymn of praise, another to exercise his gift of Teaching, another his gift of Tongues, another to deliver a Revelation[2], another an Interpretation; let all be so done as to build up the Church. If there be any who speak in Tongues, let not more than two, or at the most three, speak [in the same assembly]; and let them speak in turn; and let the same interpreter explain the words of all. But if there be no interpreter, let him who speaks in Tongues keep silence in the congregation, and speak in private to himself and God alone. Of those who have the gift of Prophecy, let two or three speak [in each assembly], and let the rest[3] judge; but if another of them, while sitting as hearer, receives a revelation calling him to prophecy, let the first end his discourse. For so every one of you [who have received the gift] can prophecy, that all in turn may receive teaching and exhortation; (and the gift of Prophecy does not take from the prophets[4] the control over their own spirits). For God is not the author of confusion, but of peace.

The women must not officiate publicly in the congregation.

[5]In your congregation, as in all the congregations of Christ's people, the women must keep silence; for they are not permitted to speak in public, but to show submission, as it is

[1] Οὕτω is omitted in best MSS.

[2] This would be an exercise of the gift of προφητεία.

[3] *i. e.* let the rest of the Prophets judge whether those who stand up to exercise the gift have really received it. This is parallel to the direction in 1 Thess. v. 21.

[4] Literally, "*the spirits of the prophets are under the control of the prophets.*" This is a reason why the rule given above can easily be observed.

[5] This translation places a full-stop at εἰρήνης, and a comma at ἁγίων.

said also in the Book of the Law.[1] And if they wish to ask any question, let them ask it of their own husbands at home; for it is disgraceful to women to speak publicly in the congregation. [Whence is your claim to change the rules delivered to you?] Was it from you that the word of God was first sent forth? or, are you the only church which it has reached? Nay, if any think that he has the gift of Prophecy, or that he is a spiritual[2] man, let him acknowledge the words which I write for commands of the Lord Jesus. But if any man refuse this acknowledgment, let him refuse it at his own peril.

Therefore, brethren, I would have you delight in the gift of Prophecy, and not hinder the gift of Tongues. And let all be done with decency and order.

The doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead established against its impugners.

XV. Moreover, brethren, I call to your remembrance that which I declared to you as the Glad-tidings of Christ, which you then received, and wherein you now stand firm; by which also you are saved[3] if you still hold it fast, unless indeed you believed in vain. For the first thing which I taught you was that which I had myself been taught, that Christ died for our sins as the Scriptures had foretold[4], and that He was buried, and that He rose[5] the third day from the dead, according to the Scriptures[6]; and that He was seen by Cephas, and then by The Twelve; after that he was seen by above five hundred brethren at once, of whom the greater part are living at this present time, but some are fallen

[1] Gen. iii. 16.: "Thy husband shall have the dominion over thee."

[2] Πνευματικός, the epithet on which the party of Apollos (the ultra-Pauline party) especially prided themselves. See chap. iii. 1—3. and Gal. vi. 1., ὑμεῖς οἱ πνευματικοὶ.

[3] Σώζεσθε, literally *you are in the way of salvation.* The words which follow (τίνι λόγῳ εν.) we join with εὐηγγελισάμην in the preceding verse.

[4] So our Lord quotes Is. liii. 12., in Luke xxii. 37.

[5] In the original it is ἐγήγερται, not ἠγέρθη: "He is risen," not "He rose;" because Christ, being once risen, dieth no more.

[6] Among the "Scriptures" here referred to by St. Paul, one is the prophecy which he himself quoted in the speech at Antioch from Ps. xvi. 10.

asleep.[1] Next He was seen by James, and then by all 7
the Apostles; and last of all He was seen by me also, 8
who am placed among the rest as it were by an untimely
birth; for I am the least of the Apostles, and am not worthy 9
to be called an Apostle, because I persecuted the Church of
God. But by the grace of God, I am what I am; and His 10
grace, which was bestowed upon me, was not fruitless; but I
laboured more abundantly than all the rest; yet not I, but
the grace of God which was with me. So then, whether 11
proclaimed by me, or by them, this is the truth which we
declare, and this is the truth which you believed.

If then this be our tidings, that Christ is risen from 12
the dead, how is it that some among you say, there is no
resurrection of the dead? But if the dead rise not, then 13
Christ is not risen; and if Christ be not risen, vain is the Glad- 14
tidings which we proclaim, and vain the faith with which
you heard it. Moreover, we are found guilty of false witness 15
against God; because we bore witness of God that He raised
Christ from the dead, whom He did not raise, if indeed
the dead rise not. For if there be no resurrection of the 16
dead, Christ himself[2] is not risen. And if Christ be not 17
risen, your faith is vain, you are still in[3] your sins. More- 18
over, if this be so, they who have fallen asleep in Christ,
perished when they died. Yea, if in this life only we have 19
hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable. But now, 20
Christ is risen from the dead; and He rose to be the first-
fruits[4] of all who sleep. For since by man came death, by 21

[1] Can we imagine it possible that St. Paul should have said this without knowing it to be true? or without himself having seen some of these "five hundred brethren," of whom "the greater part" were alive when he wrote these words? The sceptical (but candid and honest) De Wette acknowledges this testimony as conclusive: "Das Zeugniss des Apostels entscheidet für die Richtigkeit des Factums." (De W. *in loco.*)

[2] This argument is founded on the union between Christ and His members: they so share His life, that because He lives for ever, they must live also; and conversely, if we deny their immortality, we deny His.

[3] Because we "are saved" from our sins "by His life." (Rom. v. 10.)

[4] Ἀπαρχή. On the second day of the feast of Passover a sheaf of ripe corn was offered upon the altar as a consecration of the whole harvest.

22 man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as, in
Adam, all men die, so, in Christ, shall all be raised to
23 life. But each in his own order; as the first-fruits of
all Christ is already risen; afterwards they who are Christ's
24 shall rise, at His appearing; finally, the end shall come,
when He shall give up His kingdom to God His Father,
having destroyed all other powers which claim rule and
25 sway.[1] For His kingdom must last "**till He hath put all**
26 **enemies under His feet.**"[2] And last of His enemies, Death
27 also shall be destroyed. For[3] "**God hath put all things**
under His feet." But in that saying, "**all things are put under**
Him," it is manifest that God is excepted, who put all things
28 under Him. And when all things are made subject to Him,
then shall the Son also subject Himself to Him who made
them subject, that God may be all in all.

29 Again, what will become of those who cause themselves
to be baptized for the dead[4], if the dead never rise again?
Why then do they submit to baptism for the dead?

30 And I too, why do I expose my life every hour to

Till this was done it was considered unlawful to begin reaping. See Levit. xxiii. 10, 11., and Josephus Antiq., iii. 10. The metaphor therefore is, "As the single sheaf of first-fruits represents and consecrates all the harvest, so Christ's resurrection represents and involves that of all who sleep in Him." It should be observed that *ἐγένετο* is not present (as in A. V.), but past.

[1] *Ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν.* Compare Col. ii. 15.: *ἀπεκδυσάμενος τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας.* Compare also Eph. i. 21.

[2] Ps. cx. 1. (LXX.) Quoted, and similarly applied, by our Lord himself, Matt. xxii. 44.

[3] Ps. viii. 6., nearly after LXX.

[4] The only meaning which the Greek seems to admit here is a reference to the practice of submitting to baptism instead of some person who had died unbaptized. Yet this explanation is liable to very great difficulties. (1) How strange that St. Paul should refer to such a superstition without rebuking it! (2) If such a practice did exist in the Apostolic Church, how can we account for its being discontinued in the period which followed, when a magical efficacy was more and more ascribed to the material act of baptism. Yet the practice was never adopted except by some obscure sects of Gnostics, who seem to have founded their custom on this very passage.

The explanations which have been adopted to avoid the difficulty, such as "over the graves of the dead," or "in the name of the dead (meaning Christ)," &c., are all inadmissible, as being contrary to the analogy of the language. On the whole, therefore, the passage must be considered to admit of no satisfactory explanation. It alludes to some practice of the Corinthians, which has not been recorded elsewhere, and of which every other trace has perished

deadly peril? I am daily at the point of death, I protest by 31
my[1] very boasting thereof, which I make [not in myself, but]
in Christ Jesus our Lord and Master. If I have fought 32
(so to speak) with beasts at Ephesus[2], what am I profited
if the dead rise not? "Let us eat and drink, for to-
morrow we die."[3] Beware lest you be led astray; "*Con-
verse with evil men corrupts good manners.*"[4] Change your 33
drunken revellings[5] into the sobriety of righteousness, and 34
live no more in sin; for some of you know not God; I speak
this to your shame.

But some disputer will say, "How are the dead raised 35
up? and with what body do they rise?" Thou fool, the 36
seed which thou sowest is not quickened into life till it hath
partaken of death. And that seed which thou sowest has not 37
the same body with the plant which will spring from it, but
it is mere grain, of wheat, or whatever else it may chance to be.
But God gives it a body according to His will; and to every 38
seed the body of its own proper plant. For all flesh is not the
same flesh; [but each body is fitted to the place it fills]; the 39
bodies of men, and of beasts, of birds, and of fishes, differ the
one from the other. And there are bodies which belong to 40
heaven, and bodies which belong to earth; but in brightness
and in beauty the heavenly differ from the earthly. The sun 41
is more glorious than the moon, and the moon is more glorious
than the stars, and one star excels another in the glory of its
brightness. So will it be in the resurrection of the dead;
[they will be clothed with a body fitted to their lot]; it is 42

[1] We read ἡμετέραν with Griesbach, on the authority of the Codex Alexandrinus.

[2] This is metaphorical, as appears by the qualifying expression κατ' ἄνθρωπον. It must refer to some very violent opposition which St. Paul had met with at Ephesus, the particulars of which are not recorded.

[3] Is. xxii. 13. (LXX.)

[4] St. Paul here quotes a line from the Thais, a comedy of Menander's: the line had probably passed into a proverbial expression. We see, from this passage, that the free-thinking party at Corinth joined immoral practice with their licentious doctrine; and that they were corrupted by the evil example of their heathen neighbours.

[5] Ἐκνήψατε, not *awake* (A.V.), but *cease to be drunken*.

43 sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption; it is sown
in dishonour, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it
44 is raised in power; it is sown a natural[1] body, it is raised a
spiritual body; for as there are natural bodies, so there are
45 also spiritual bodies. And so it is written[2], "The first man
Adam was made a living soul," whereas, the last Adam was
46 made a life-giving spirit. But the spiritual comes not till
47 after the natural. The first man was made of earthly clay,
48 the second man was the Lord from heaven. As is the earthly,
such are they also that are earthly; and as is the heavenly,
49 such are they also that are heavenly; and as we have borne
the image of the earthly, we shall also bear the image of the
50 heavenly. But this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood[3]

[1] For the translation of ψυχικός, see note on ii. 14. The reference to this of the following ψυχὴν (in the quotation) should be observed, though it cannot be retained in English.

[2] Gen. ii. 7., slightly altered from LXX.

[3] The importance of the subject justifies our quoting at some length the admirable remarks of Dr. Burton (formerly Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford) on this passage, in the hope that his high reputation for learning and for unblemished orthodoxy may lead some persons to reconsider the loose and unscriptural language which they are in the habit of using:—After regretting that some of the early Fathers have (when treating of the *Resurrection of the Body*) appeared to contradict these words of St. Paul, Dr. Burton continues as follows:—

"It is nowhere asserted in the New Testament that we shall rise again *with our bodies*. Unless a man will say that the stalk, the blade, and the ear of corn are actually the same thing with the single grain which is put into the ground, he cannot quote St. Paul as saying that we shall rise again with the same bodies; or at least he must allow that the future body may only be like to the present one, inasmuch as both come under the same genus; *i. e.* we speak of human *bodies*, and we speak of heavenly *bodies*. But St. Paul's words do not warrant us in saying that the resemblance between the present and future body will be greater than between a man and a star, or between a bird and a fish. Nothing can be plainer than the expression which he uses in the first of these two analogies, *Thou sowest not that body that shall be.* (xv. 37.) He says also, with equal plainness, of the body, *It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body: there is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body.* (ver. 44.) These words require to be examined closely, and involve remotely a deep metaphysical question. In common language, the terms *Body* and *Spirit* are accustomed to be opposed, and are used to represent two things which are totally distinct. But St. Paul here brings the two expressions together, and speaks of a *spiritual body*. St. Paul, therefore did not oppose *Body* to *Spirit*; and though the looseness of modern language may allow us to do so, and yet to be correct in our ideas, it may save some confusion if we consider *Spirit* as opposed to *Matter*, and if we take *Body* to be a generic term, which comprises both. *A body*, therefore, in the language of St. Paul, is something which has a distinct individual existence.

. . . . .

"St. Paul tells us that every individual, when he rises again, will have a spiritual body: but the remarks which I have made may show how different is the idea conveyed by these words

cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither can corruption inherit incorruption. Behold, I declare to you a mystery; 51
we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, 52
in the twinkling of an eye, at the sound of the last trumpet; for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed. For this corruptible 53
must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality.

But when this corruptible is clothed with incorruption, 54
and this mortal is clothed with immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying which is written[1], "Death is swallowed up in victory." [2]"O death, where is thy sting?" 55
"O grave, where is thy victory?" The sting of death is 56
sin, and the strength of sin is the law[3]; but thanks be to 57
God, who gives to us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye stedfast, im- 58
movable, always abounding in the work of the Lord; knowing that your labour is not in vain, in the Lord.

Directions concerning the collection for the Judean Christians.

Concerning the collection for Christ's people [at Jeru- XVI.1
salem] I would have you follow the same plan, which I have
enjoined upon the churches of Galatia. Upon the first day 2
of the week, let each of you set apart whatever his gains may enable him to spare; that there may be no need to make
collections when I come. And when I am with you, whom- 3
soever you shall judge to be fitted for the trust, I will furnish

from the notions which some persons entertain, that we shall rise again with *the same identical body*. St. Paul appears effectually to preclude this notion, when he says, *Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God*." (ver. 50.)—Burton's Lectures, pp. 429—431.

[1] Is. xxv. 8. Not quoted from the LXX., but apparently from the Hebrew, with some alteration.

[2] Hosea xiii. 14. Quoted, but not exactly, from LXX.

[3] Why is the Law called "the strength of Sin?" Because the Law of Duty, being acknowledged, gives to sin its power to wound the conscience; in fact, a moral law of precepts and penalties announces the fatal consequences of sin, without giving us any power of conquering sin.

with letters, and send them to carry your benevolence to
xvi. 4 Jerusalem; or if there shall seem sufficient reason for me
5 also to go thither, they shall go with me. But I will visit St. Paul's future plans.
you after I have passed through Macedonia; (for through
6 Macedonia I shall pass), and perhaps I shall remain with you,
or even winter with you, that you may forward me on my
7 farther journey, whithersoever I go. For I do not wish to
see you now for a passing[1] visit; but I hope to stay some
8 time with you, if the Lord permit. But I shall remain at
9 Ephesus until Pentecost, for a door is opened to me both
great and effectual; and there are many adversaries, [against
10 whom I must contend]. If Timotheus come to you, be Timotheus.
careful to give him no cause of fear[2], for he is labouring,
11 as I am, in the Lord's work. Therefore, let no man despise
him, but forward him on his way in peace, that he may come
hither to me; for I expect him, and the brethren with him.

12 As regards the brother Apollos, I urged him much to Apollos.
visit you with the brethren [who bear this letter]; never-
theless, he was resolved not to come to you at this time, but
he will visit you at a more convenient season.

13 Be watchful, stand firm in faith, be manful and stout- Exhortations
14 hearted.[3] Let all you do be done in love.

15 You know, brethren, that the house of Stephanas[4] were Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus.
the first-fruits of Achaia, and that they have taken on them-
16 selves the task of ministering to Christ's people. I exhort
you, therefore, to show submission towards men like these,
17 and towards all who work laboriously with them. I rejoice in
the coming of Stephanas and Fortunatus, and Achaicus, for

[1] *i. e.* St. Paul had altered his original intention, which was to go from Ephesus, by sea, to Corinth, and thence to Macedonia. For this change of purpose he was reproached by the Judaizing party at Corinth, who insinuated that he was afraid to come, and that he dared not support the loftiness of his pretensions by corresponding deeds (see 2 Cor. i. 17. and x. 1—12.). He explains his reason for postponing his visit in 2 Cor. i. 23. It was an anxiety to give the Corinthians time for repentance, that he might not be forced to use severity with them.

[2] The youth of Timotheus accounts for this request. Compare 1 Tim. iv. 12.

[3] *i. e.* under persecution.

[4] See Vol. I. 429. 430.

they[1] have supplied all which you needed; since they have lightened my spirit and yours.[2] Render, therefore, to such men the acknowledgment of their worth. xvi.

Salutations from the Province of Asia.

The Churches of Asia salute you. Aquila and Priscilla 19
send their loving salutation in the Lord Jesus, together with the Church which assembles at their house. All the 20
brethren here salute you. Salute one another with the kiss of holiness.[3]

Autograph Postscript.

I, Paul, add this my salutation with my own hand. Let 21,22
him who loves not the Lord Jesus Christ be accursed. The Lord cometh.[4]

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. My 23,24
love be with you all in Christ Jesus.[5]

In the concluding part of this letter we have some indication of the Apostle's plans for the future. He is looking forward to a journey through Macedonia (xvi. 5.), to be succeeded by a visit to Corinth (ib. 2—7.), and after this he thinks it probable he may proceed to Jerusalem (ib. 3, 4.). In the Acts of the Apostles the same intentions[6] are expressed, with a stronger purpose of going to Jerusalem (xix. 21.), and with the additional conviction that after passing through Macedonia and Achaia, and visiting Palestine, he "must also see Rome" (ib.). He had won many of the inhabitants of Asia

[1] Compare 2 Cor. xi. 9.

[2] Viz. by supplying the means of our intercourse.

[3] See note on 1 Thess. v. 25.

[4] Maran-Atha (מרן אתא) means "The Lord cometh," and is used apparently by St. Paul as a kind of motto: compare ὁ κύριος ἐγγύς (Phil. iv. 5.). Billroth thinks that he wrote it in Hebrew characters, as a part of the autograph by which he authenticated this letter. Buxtorf (Lex. Chald. 827.) says it was part of a Jewish cursing formula, from the "Prophecy of Enoch" (Jude 14.); but this view appears to be without foundation. In fact, it would have been most incongruous to have blended together a Greek word (ANATHEMA) with a Hebrew phrase (MARAN ATHA), and to use the compound as a formula of execration. This was not done till (in later ages of the Church) the meaning of the terms themselves was lost.

[5] The "Amen" is not found in the best MSS.

[6] The important application made in the Horæ Paulinæ of those coincidences between the Acts and Corinthians, and again of those referred to below between the Acts and Romans, need only be alluded to.

Minor and Ephesus to the faith: and now, after the prospect of completing his charitable exertions for the poor Christians of Judæa, his spirit turns towards the accomplishment of remoter conquests.[1] Far from being content with his past achievements, or resting from his incessant labours, he felt that he was under a debt of perpetual obligation to all the Gentile world.[2] Thus he expresses himself, soon after this time, in the Epistle to the Roman Christians, whom he had long ago desired to see (Rom. i. 10—15.), and whom he hopes at length to visit, now that he is on his way to Jerusalem, and looks forward to a still more distant and hazardous journey to Spain (ib. xv. 22—29.). The path thus dimly traced before him, as he thought of the future at Ephesus, and made more clearly visible, when he wrote the letter at Corinth, was made still more evident[3] as he proceeded on his course. Yet not without forebodings of evil[4], and much discouragement[5], and mysterious delays[6], did the Apostle advance on his courageous career. But we are anticipating many subjects which will give a touching interest to subsequent passages of this history. Important events still detain us in Ephesus. Though St. Paul's companions had been sent before in the direction of his contemplated journey (Acts xix. 22.), he still resolved to stay till Pentecost (1 Cor. xvi. 8.). A "great door" was open to him, and there were "many adversaries," against whom he had yet to contend.

[1] See Menken's Blicke in das Leben, u. s. w.

[2] "Ελλησί τε καὶ Βαρβάροις ὀφειλέτης εἰμί. Rom. i. 14.

[3] By the visions at Jerusalem (Acts xxiii. 11.), and on board the ship (xxvii. 23, 24.).

[4] Compare what he wrote to the Romans (Rom. xv. 30, 31.) with what he said at Miletus (Acts xx. 22, 23.), and with the scene at Ptolemais (Ib. xxi. 10—14.).

[5] The arrest at Jerusalem.

[6] The two years' imprisonment at Cæsarea, and the shipwreck.

CHAPTER XVI.

"But I shall remain at Ephesus until Pentecost; for a door is opened to me both great and effectual, and there are many adversaries against whom I must contend."—1 Cor. xvi. 8, 9.

"Great is Diana of the Ephesians."—Acts xix. 28.

DESCRIPTION OF EPHESUS.—TEMPLE OF DIANA.—HER IMAGE AND WORSHIP.—POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF EPHESUS.—THE ASIARCHS.—DEMETRIUS AND THE SILVERSMITHS.—TUMULT IN THE THEATRE.—SPEECH OF THE TOWN-CLERK.—ST. PAUL'S DEPARTURE.

THE boundaries of the province of Asia[1], and the position of its chief city Ephesus[2], have already been placed before the reader. It is now time that we should give some description of the city itself, with a notice of its characteristic religious institutions, and its political arrangements under the Empire.

No cities were ever more favourably placed for prosperity and growth than those of the colonial Greeks in Asia Minor. They had the advantage of a coast-line full of convenient harbours, and of a sea which was favourable to the navigation of that day; and, by the long approaches formed by the plains of the great western rivers, they had access to the inland trade of the East. Two of these rivers have been more than once alluded to,—the Hermus and the Mæander.[3] The valley of the first was bounded on the south by the ridge of Tmolus; that of the second was bounded on the north by Messogis. In the interval between these two mountain ranges was the shorter course of the river Cayster. A few miles from the sea a narrow gorge is formed by Mount Pactyas on the south, which is the western termination of Messogis[4], and by the precipices of Gallesus on the north, the pine-clad summits[5] of which are more

[1] Ch. viii. Vol. I. p. 255.
[2] Ch. xiv. Vol. II. p. 10.
[3] See above, Vol. II. pp. 4. 10.
[4] See Strabo xiv. 1.
[5] "Our road lay at the foot of Gallesus, beneath precipices of a stupendous height, abrupt and inaccessible. In the rock are many holes inhabited by eagles; of which several were

remotely connected with the heights of Tmolus. This gorge separates the Upper "Caystrian meadows"[1] from a small alluvial plain[2] by the sea. Partly on the long ridge of Coressus, which is the southern boundary of this plain,—partly on the detached circular eminence of Mount Prion,—and partly on the plain itself, near the windings of the Cayster, and about the edge of the harbour,—were the buildings of the city.[3] Ephesus was not so distinguished in early times as several of her Ionian sisters[4], and some of them outlived her glory. But, though Phocæa and Miletus sent out more colonies, and Smyrna has ever remained a flourishing city, yet Ephesus had great natural advantages, which were duly developed in the age of which we are writing. Having easy access through the defiles of Mount Tmolus to Sardis, and thence up the valley of the Hermus far into Phrygia[5], and again, by a similar pass through Messogis to the Mæander, being connected with the great road through Iconium to the Euphrates[6], it became the metropolis of the province of Asia under the Romans, and the chief emporium of trade on the nearer side of Taurus. The city built by Androclus and his Athenian followers was on the slope of Coressus; but gradually it descended into the plain, in the direction of the Temple of Diana.

soaring high in the air, with crows clamouring about them, so far above us as hardly to be discernible." Chandler, p. 111. Of another journey he says: "We rode among the roots of Gallesus, or the Aleman, through pleasant thickets abounding with goldfinches. The aerial summits of this immense mountain towered above us, clad with pines. Steep succeeded steep, as we advanced, and the path became more narrow, slippery, and uneven ..... the known sureness of foot of our horses being our confidence and security by fearful precipices and giddy heights." p. 103. For the Cayster and the site of Ephesus, see p. 107. The approach from Sardis, by which we suppose St. Paul to have come (see above, p. 4.), was on this side: and part of the pavement of the road still remains.

[1] For the Ἄσιος λειμών, see above, Vol. I. p. 256.

[2] The plain is said by Mr. Arundell (p. 25.) to be about five miles long; and the morass has advanced considerably into the sea since the flourishing times of Ephesus. See Plin. H. N. v. 31.

[3] The only maps which can be referred to for the topography of Ephesus are the Admiralty chart, and the plans given in Guhl and Kiepert.

[4] The Ephesian Diana, however, was the patroness of the Phocean navigators, even when the city of Ephesus was unimportant. See Grote's Greece, vol. III. p. 375., and compare pp. 235—243.

[5] In this direction we imagine St. Paul to have travelled. See above.

[6] We have frequently had occasion to mention this great road. See Vol. I. pp. 289—292., II. p. 4. It was the principal line of communication with the eastern provinces; but we have conjectured that St. Paul did not travel by it, because it seems probable that he never was at Colossæ. See Vol. II. p. 4. A description of the route by Colossæ and Laodicea will be found in Arundell's Asia Minor. The view he gives of the cliffs of Colossæ (vol. II. p. 164.) should be noticed. Though St. Paul may never have seen them, they are interesting as connected with Epaphras and his other converts.

The Alexandrian age produced a marked alteration in Ephesus, as in most of the great towns in the East; and Lysimachus extended his new city over the summit of Prion as well as the heights of Coressus.[1] The Roman age saw, doubtless, a still further increase both of the size and magnificence of the place. To attempt to reconstruct it from the materials which remain, would be a difficult task[2],—far more difficult than in the case of Athens, or even Antioch; but some of the more interesting sites are easily identified. Those who walk over the desolate site of the Asiatic metropolis, see piles of ruined edifices on the rocky sides, and among the thickets of Mount Prion[3]: they look out from its summit over the confused morass which once was the harbour[4], where Aquila and Priscilla landed; and they visit in its deep recesses the dripping marble-quarries, where the marks of the tools are visible still.[5] On the outer edge of the same hill they trace the enclosure of the Stadium[6], which may have suggested to St. Paul many of those images with which he enforces Christian duty, in the first letter written from Ephesus to Corinth.[7] Farther on, and nearer Coressus, the remains of the vast theatre[8] (the outline of the enclosure is still distinct, though the marble seats are removed) show the place where the multitude, roused by Demetrius, shouted out, for two hours, in honour of Diana.[9] Below

[1] The changes are mentioned by Strabo, xiv. See Steph. Byz.

[2] A plan of the entire city, with a descriptive memoir, has been prepared by E. Falkener, Esq., architect, but remains unpublished.

[3] Hamilton's Researches in Asia Minor, vol. ii. p. 23. Compare Chandler.

[4] "Even the sea has retired from the scene of desolation, and a pestilential morass, covered with mud and rushes, has succeeded to the waters which brought up the ships laden with merchandize from every country." Arundell's Seven Churches, p. 27. Another occasion will occur for mentioning the harbour, which was very indifferent. Some attempts to improve it were made about this time.

[5] Chandler. A curious story is told of the discovery of this marble. A shepherd named Pixodorus was feeding his flock on the hill: two of his rams fighting, one of them missed his antagonist, and with his horn broke a crust of the whitest marble. The Ephesians were at this time in search of stone for the building of their temple. The shepherd ran to his fellow-citizens with the specimen, and was received with joy. His name was changed into Evangelus (the giver of glad-tidings), and divine honours were afterwards paid to him. Vitruv. x. 7.

[6] See Chandler, who measured the area and found it 687 feet in length. The side next the plain is raised on vaults, and faced with a strong wall.

[7] 1 Cor. ix. 24—27.

[8] "Of the site of the theatre, the scene of the tumult raised by Demetrius, there can be no doubt, its ruins being a wreck of immense grandeur. I think it must have been larger than the one at Miletus, and that exceeds any I have elsewhere seen in scale, although not in ornament. Its form alone can now be spoken of, for every seat is removed, and the proscenium is a hill of ruins." Fellows' Asia Minor, p. 274. The theatre of Ephesus is said to be the largest known of any that have remained to us from antiquity.

[9] Acts xix.

VIEW OF THE SITE OF EPHESUS, FROM THE NORTH.[1]

is the Agora[2], through which the mob rushed up to the well-known place of meeting. And in the valley between Prion and Coressus is one of the gymnasia[3], where the athletes were trained for transient honours and a perishable garland. Surrounding and crowning the scene, are the long Hellenic walls of Lysimachus, following the ridge of Coressus.[4] On a spur of the hill, they descend to an ancient tower, which is still called the prison of St. Paul.[5] The name is doubtless legendary; but St. Paul may have stood here, and looked over the city and the plain, and seen the Cayster winding towards him from the base of Gallesus.[6] Within his view was another eminence, detached from

[1] From a drawing made by Mr. Falkener in 1845. The following notes will be a sufficient guide to the view:—A. Village of Ayasaluk. B. Magnesian defile. C. Mount Coressus. D. Mount Prion. E. Cave of the Seven Sleepers. F. Ruin. G. Turkish Bath. H. Aqueduct. I. Line of walls. J. End wall of Stadium. K. Gymnasium of the Stadium. L. St. Paul's Prison. M. River Cayster. N. Sea. O. Turkish Mosque. It must be borne in mind that the walls and the aqueduct are much exaggerated in the woodcut.

[2] The Agora, with its public buildings, would naturally be between the hill-side on which the theatre and stadium stood, and the harbour. For the general notion of a Greek Agora, see the description of Athens.

[3] See an engraving of these ruins in the second volume of Ionian Antiquities, published by the Dilettanti Society.

[4] "An interesting feature in these ruins is the Hellenic wall of Lysimachus, ranging along the heights of Coressus. It extends for nearly a mile and three quarters, in a S.E. and N.W. direction, from the heights immediately to the S. of the gymnasium to the tower called the Prison of St. Paul, but which is in fact one of the towers of the ancient wall. . . . . It is defended and strengthened by numerous square towers of the same character at unequal distances." Hamilton's Researches, vol. ii. p. 26. An engraving of one of the gateways is given, p. 27.

[5] Hamilton, as above.

[6] "This eminence (a root of Coressus running out towards the plain) commands a lovely prospect

the city of that day, but which became the Mahomedan town when ancient Ephesus was destroyed, and nevertheless preserves in its name a record of another apostle, the "disciple" St. John.[1]

But one building at Ephesus surpassed all the rest in magnificence and in fame. This was the Temple of Artemis or Diana[2], which glittered in brilliant beauty at the head of the harbour, and was reckoned by the ancients as one of the wonders of the world. The sun, it was said, saw nothing in his course more magnificent than Diana's Temple. Its honour dated from a remote antiquity. Leaving out of consideration the earliest temple, which was cotemporaneous with the Athenian colony under Androclus, or even yet more ancient[3], we find the great edifice, which was anterior to the Macedonian period, begun and continued in the midst of the attention and admiration both of Greeks and Asiatics. The foundations were carefully laid, with immense substructions, in the marshy ground.[4] Architects of the highest distinction were employed.[5] The quarries of Mount Prion supplied the marble.[6] All the Greek cities of Asia contributed to the structure; and Crœsus, the king of Lydia, himself lent his aid.[7] The work thus begun before the Persian war, was slowly continued even through the Peloponnesian war; and its dedication was celebrated by a poet contemporary with Euripides.[8] But the building, which had been thus rising through the space of many years, was not destined to remain long in the beauty of its perfection. The fanatic Herostratus set fire to it on the same night in which Alexander was born.[9] This is one of the coincidences of history, on which the

of the river Cayster, which there crosses the plain from near Gallesus, with a small but full stream, and with many luxuriant meanders." Chandler.

[1] Ayasaluk, which is a round hill like Prion, but smaller. This is the eminence which forms a conspicuous object in our engraved view. See Vol. I. Its name is said to be a corruption of ὁ ἅγιος Θεόλογος.

[2] One of the chief works on this temple is that of Hirt (Ueber den Tempel der Diana von Ephesus: Berlin, 1809). We have not been able to consult it, though we have used the extracts given by Guhl. See also Müller's Archäologie. New light may be expected on the subject in Mr. Falkener's work. See above.

[3] For all that is known on this subject, see Guhl, pp. 78. and 160.

[4] Ὁ τεχνίτης τὰ βάθη τῶν ὀρυγμάτων καταβιβάσας εἰς ἄπειρον ἐβάλλετο τὴν κατώρυγα θεμελίωσιν. Philo Byz. de Septem Orbis Miraculis, in the eighth volume of Gronovius, 2682. Ne in lubrico atque instabili fundamenta tantæ molis locarentur, calcatis ea substuere carbonibus, dein velleribus lanæ. Plin. xxxvi. 21. He says that it was built in marshy ground, lest it should be injured by earthquakes. See Diog. Laert. ii. 8. 19.

[5] The first architect was Theodoros of Samos. He was succeeded by Chersiphon of Gnossus, then by his son Metagenes. The building was completed by Demetrius and Pæonius.

[6] See above, p. 68.

[7] Communiter a civitatibus Asiæ factum. Liv. i. 45. Tota Asia extruente, Plin. xvi. 79. Factum a tota Asia, Plin. xxxvi. 21.

[8] Timotheus. See Müller's History of Greek Literature.

[9] Strabo, xiv. 1.

ancient world was fond of dwelling: and it enables us, with more distinctness, to pursue the annals of "Diana of the Ephesians." The temple was rebuilt with new and more sumptuous magnificence. The ladies of Ephesus contributed their jewellery to the expense of the restoration.[1] The national pride in the sanctuary was so great, that, when Alexander offered the spoils of his eastern campaign if he might inscribe his name on the building, the honour was declined.[2] The Ephesians never ceased to embellish the shrine of their goddess, continually adding new decorations and subsidiary buildings, with statues and pictures by the most famous artists. This was the temple that kindled the enthusiasm of St. Paul's opponents (Acts xix.), and was still the rallying-point of heathenism in the days of St. John and Polycarp. In the second century we read that it was united to the city by a long colonnade. But soon afterwards it was plundered and laid waste by the Goths, who came from beyond the Danube in the reign of Gallienus.[3] It sunk entirely into decay in the age when Christianity was overspreading the empire; and its remains are to be sought for in mediæval buildings, in the columns of green jasper which support the dome of St. Sophia, or even in the naves of Italian cathedrals.[4]

Thus the Temple of Diana of Ephesus saw all the changes of Asia Minor, from Crœsus to Constantine. Though nothing now remains on the spot to show us what or even where it was[5], there is enough in its written memorials to give us some notion of its appearance and splendour. The reader will bear in mind the characteristic style which was assumed by Greek architecture, and which has suggested many of the images of the New Testament.[6] It was quite different from the lofty and ascending form of those buildings which have since arisen in all parts of Christian Europe, and essentially consisted in horizontal entablatures resting on vertical columns. In another respect, also, the temples of the ancients may be contrasted with our churches and cathedrals. They were not roofed over for the reception of a large company of worshippers, but were in fact colonnades erected as subsidiary decorations, round the cell which contained the idol[7], and

[1] Ἄλλον ἀμείνω κατεσκεύασαν συνενέγκαντες τὸν τῶν γυναίκων κόσμον, κ. τ. λ. Strabo.

[2] Strabo, as above. See Arrian, i. 17.

[3] Arundell's Seven Churches, p. 46.

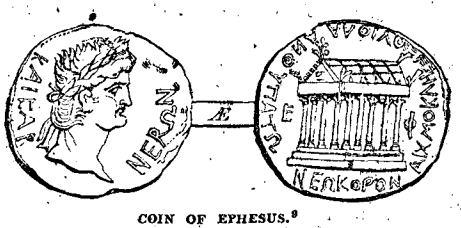
[4] Arundell's Seven Churches, p. 47.

[5] Its actual site is a matter of dispute. Discussions on this subject will be found in Chandler, Arundell, &c. One conjectural position may be seen in Guhl's map, also in that of Kiepert. Mr. Falkener's opinion is that it lay more to the west, and nearer the sea.

[6] See, for instance, Gal. ii. 9., Rev. iii. 12., also 1 Tim. iii. 15.; comparing what has been said above, Vol. I. p. 235.

[7] See on this subject, Hermann's Lehrbuch der gottesdienstlichen Alterthümer, II. i. §§ 18. 19. [While this is passing through the press, a friend suggests one parallel in Christian archi-

were, through a great part of their space, open to the sky. The colonnades of the Ephesian Diana really constituted an epoch in the history of Art, for in them was first matured that graceful Ionic style, the feminine beauty[1] of which was more suited to the genius of the Asiatic Greek, than the sterner and plainer Doric, in which the Parthenon and Propylæa were built.[2] The scale on which the Temple was erected was magnificently extensive. It was 425 feet in length and 220 in breadth, and the columns were 60 feet high.[3] The number of columns was 127, each of them the gift of a king; and 36 of them were enriched with ornament and colour.[4] The folding doors were of cypress-wood[5]; the part which was not open to the sky was roofed over with cedar[6]; and the staircase was formed of the wood of one single vine from the island of Cyprus.[7] The value and fame of the Temple were enhanced by its being the treasury, in which a large portion of the wealth of Western Asia was stored up.[8] It is probable that there was no religious building in the world, in which was concentrated a greater amount of admiration, enthusiasm, and superstition.



COIN OF EPHESUS.[9]

If the Temple of Diana at Ephesus was magnificent, the image enshrined within the sumptuous enclosure was primitive and rude. We usually conceive of this goddess, when represented in art, as the tall huntress, eager in pursuit, like the statue in the Louvre. Such was not the

tecture, viz. the Atrium, or western court of St. Ambrogio at Milan, which is a colonnade west of the Church, itself enclosing a large oblong space not roofed over.]

[1] "Iones Dianæ constituere ædem quærentes, novi generis speciem ad muliebrem transtulerunt gracilitatem." Vitruv. iv. 1. Hirt remarks here, p. 5., "Der Tempel der Diana von Ephesus bezeichnet eine wesentliche Epoche in dieser Kunst. Er weckte in derselben einen ganz neuen Geist, und bewirkte den kühnen Umschwung, vermöge dessen es vielleicht allein möglich ward die architektonische Kunst der Griechen auf jene Höhe zu führen, wodurch sie das vollendete Vorbild für alle gebildeten Völker und Zeiten ward."

[2] See Vol. I. ch. x.

[3] Plin. xxxvi. 21.

[4] Ibid. This "*Cælatura*" seems to have denoted an enrichment with colour and metal, which was intended to elucidate the mouldings and to relieve the perspective. See Plin. xxxiv. 7. Or perhaps the word denotes bas-reliefs. The word "Cælavere" is applied by Pliny to the decoration of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, which we know to have been bas-reliefs.

[5] Plin. xvi. 79. He adds that they lasted 400 years: so Theophrastus, Τούτων χρονιώτατα δοκεῖ τὰ κυπαρίττινα εἶναι, τὰ γοῦν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐξ ὧν αἱ θύραι τοῦ νεὼ τεθαυρισμέναι, τέτταρας ἐκείντο γενέας. Hist. Plant. v. 5.

[6] Plin. xvi. 79. Vitruv. ii. 9.

[7] This too seems to have been one of the wonders of the vegetable world. "Etiam nunc scalis tectum Ephesiæ Dianæ scanditur una e vite Cypria, ut ferunt, quoniam ibi ad præcipuam magnitudinem exeunt." Plin. xiv. 2.

[8] A German writer says that the temple of the Ephesian Diana was what the Bank of England is in the modern world. See Guhl, p. 111. n. 71.

[9] From Ak. Num. Ill. p. 55. This coin is

form of the Ephesian Diana, though she was identified by the Greeks with their own mountain-goddess, whose figure we often see represented on the coins of this city.[1] What amount of fusion took place in the case of this worship between Greek and Oriental notions, we need not enquire.[2] The image may have been intended to represent Diana in one of her customary characters, as the deity of fountains[3]; but it reminds us rather of the idols of the far East, and of the religions which love to represent the life of all animated beings as fed and supported by the many breasts of nature.[4] The figure which assumed this emblematic form above, was terminated below in a shapeless block. The material was wood.[5] A bar of metal was in each hand. The dress was covered with mystic devices, and the small shrine, where it stood within the temple, was concealed by a curtain in front. Yet, rude as the image was, it was the object of the utmost veneration. Like the Palladium of Troy[6],—like the most ancient Minerva of the Athenian Acropolis[7],—like the Paphian Venus[8] or Cybele of Pessinus[9], to which allusion has been made,—like the Ceres in Sicily mentioned by Cicero[10],—it was believed to have "fallen down from the

peculiarly interesting for many reasons. It has a representation of the temple, and the portrait and name of Nero, who was now reigning; and it exhibits the words *νεώκορος* (Acts xix.), and *ἀνθύπατος* (Ib.). The name of the Proconsul is Aviola. It is far from impossible that he might hold that office while St. Paul was at Ephesus (*i. e.* from the autumn of 54 to the spring of 57). We learn from Seneca, Tacitus, and Suetonius, that a member of the same family was consul in the year 54, when Claudius died and Nero became emperor. See Clinton's Fasti Romani.

[1] Hence she is frequently represented as the Greek Diana on coins of Ephesus. See those which are given in the last chapter but one.

[2] Müller says: "Alles, was vom Kultus dieser Göttin erzählt wird, ist singular und dem Hellenischen fremd." See Guhl (p. 86.), who takes the contrary view.

[3] This is Guhl's opinion.

[4] The form of the image is described by Jerome: "Scribebat Paulus ad Ephesios Dianam colentes, non hanc venatricem, quæ arcum tenet atque succincta est, sed illam *multimammiam*, quam Græci *πολυμαστήν* vocant." Procem. ad Eph. See Min. Felix in Octav. Representations in ancient sculpture are very frequent. See for instance one engraved in the Museo Borbonico. The coin at the head of this chapter gives a general notion of the form of the image.

[5] What kind of wood, seems to be doubtful. Pliny says: "Convenit tectum ejus e cedrinis trabibus: de ipso simulacro Deæ ambigitur. Cæteri ex ebeno esse tradunt. Mucianus ter consul ex his, qui proxime vero conscripsere, vitigineum, et nunquam mutatum, septies restituto templo." xvi. 79. See Vitruv. ii. 9.

[6] Apollod. iii. 12. 3.

[7] *Τὸ δὲ ἁγιώτατον . . . ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ νῦν ἀκροπόλει . . . φήμη δ' ἐς αὐτὸ ἔχει πεσεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.* Pausan. Att. 26. This was the Minerva Polias. See above in the description of Athens, Vol. I. p. 384.

[8] See the description of Paphos above, Vol. I. p. 168.

[9] See Herodian, as referred to above, Vol. I. p. 293.

[10] Alterum simulacrum erat tale, ut homines, cum viderent, aut ipsam videre se Cererem, aut effigiem Cereris, non humana manu factam, sed cœlo delapsam, arbitrarentur. Cic. in Verr. v. 187.

sky"[1] (Acts xix. 35.). Thus it was the object of the greater veneration from the contrast of its primitive simplicity with the modern and earthly splendour which surrounded it; and it was the model on which the images of Diana were formed for worship in other cities.[2]

One of the idolatrous customs of the ancient world was the use of portable images or shrines, which were little models of the more celebrated objects of devotion. They were carried in processions[3], on journeys[4] and military expeditions[5], and sometimes set up as household gods in private houses.[6] Pliny says that this was the case with the Temple of the Cnidian Venus[7]; and other heathen writers make allusion to the "shrines" of the Ephesian Diana[8], which are mentioned in the Acts (xix. 24.). The material might be wood[9], or gold[10], or "silver."[11] The latter material was that which employed the hands of the workmen of Demetrius. From the expressions used by St. Luke, it is evident that an extensive and lucrative trade grew up at Ephesus, from the manufacture and sale of these shrines.[12] Few of those who came to Ephesus would willingly go away without a memorial of the goddess, and a model of her temple[13]; and, from the wide circulation of these works of art over the shores of the Mediterranean, and far into the interior, it might be said, with little exaggeration, that her worship was recognised by the "whole world"[14] (Acts xix. 27.).

[1] Τοῦ Διοπετοῦς. So it is said of the Tauric image of the same goddess:

Ἐνθ' Ἄρτεμις σὴ σύγγονος βώμους ἔχει
Λαβεῖν τ' ἄγαλμα Θεᾶς, ὁ φασὶν ἐνθάδε
Εἰς τοῦσδε ναοὺς οὐρανοῦ πεσεῖν ἄπο.
Iph. in Taur. 86.

[2] See Strabo iii. and iv., quoted by Biscoe, p. 282.

[3] Herod. ii. 63.

[4] Asclepiades philosophus deæ cœlestis argenteum breve figmentum, quocunque ibat, secum solitus efferre. Amm. Marc. xxii. 13.

[5] Dio (xl. 18.) says of the Roman legionary eagle: ἔστι δὲ νεὼς μικρὸς, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀετὸς χρυσοῦς ἐνίδρυται. Compare Cicero's "aquila illa argentea, cui domi tuæ sacrarium scelerum tuorum constitutum fuit." Cat. i. 9.

[6] Ναΐδια — καδδίσκοι, σιπύαι, εἰς ἃ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐτίθεσαν. Hesych. See the passage from Petronius below.

[7] Plin. H. N. xxxvi. 5.

[8] Τὰ τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἀφιδρύματα. Dion. Hal. ii. 22. See Strabo iv., and Diod. Sic. xv. 49., referred to by Hemsen, p. 227.

[9] Herod. as above.

[10] Ναοὺς χρυσοὺς δύο. Diod. Sic. in Hemsen, p. 227.

[11] With this passage of the Acts compare Petron. 29.: "Præterea grande armarium in angulo vidi, in cujus ædicula erant lares argentei positi."

[12] Ἐργασίαν οὐκ ὀλίγην, v. 24. Ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἐργασίας ἡ εὐπορία ἡμῶν ἔστι, v. 25.

[13] We cannot be sure, in this case, whether by νάος or ναΐδιον is meant the whole temple, or the small shrine which contained the image. Perhaps its form is that represented on the first coin engraved in Mr. Akerman's paper in the Num. Chr.

[14] We find the image of the Ephesian Diana on the coins of a great number of other cities and communities, *e. g.* Hierapolis, Mitylene, Perga, Samos, Marseilles, &c. See Guhl, p. 104. There is an important inscription in Chandler (Boeckh, 2954.), bearing testimony to the notoriety of her worship. See part of it quoted below.

The ceremonies of the actual worship at Ephesus were conducted by the members of a two-fold hierarchy. And here again we see the traces of Oriental, rather than Greek, influences. The Megabyzi[1], the priests of Diana, were eunuchs from the interior, under one at their head, who bore the title of high-priest[2], and ranked among the leading and most influential personages of the city. Along with these priests were associated a swarm[3] of virgin priestesses consecrated, under the name of Melissæ, to the service[4] of the deity, and divided into three classes[5], and serving, like the priests, under one head.[6] And with the priests and priestesses would be associated (as in all the great temples of antiquity) a great number of slaves[7], who attended to the various duties connected with the worship, down to the care of sweeping and cleaning the Temple. This last phrase leads us to notice an expression used in the Acts of the Apostles, concerning the connection of Ephesus with the Temple of Diana. The term "*Neocoros*," or "*Temple-sweeper*" (*νεώκορος*, xix. 35.), originally an expression of humility, and applied to the lowest menials engaged in the care of the sacred edifice[8], became afterwards a title of the highest honour, and was eagerly appropriated by the most famous cities.[9] This was the case with Ephesus in

[1] Ἱερέας εὐνούχους εἶχον, οὓς ἐκάλουν Μεγαλοβύζους, καὶ ἀλλαχόθεν μείζονας ἀεί τινας ἀξίους τῆς τοιαύτης προστασίας καὶ ἧγον ἐν τίμῃ μεγάλῃ. Strabo, xiv. 1. Guhl believes that these priests were generally brought from Persia.

[2] He was also called Essen and Rex. See Hesych., and the Et. Magn. On inscriptions and coins he is called ἀρχιέρευς. See Eckhel, Mionnet, and Boeckh.

[3] Literally they may be termed a swarm, for their name was Melissæ, "bees," perhaps with some reference to Essen. Hermann thinks the word came from *μέλεσθαι*.

[4] These priestesses belonged to the class of ἱερόδουλοι, "sacred slaves." For this class of devotees, which was common in the great temples of the Greeks, see Hermann's Gottesdienstliche Alterthümer, § 20. 14—16. &c.; also § 3. 9. Different opinions have been expressed on the character of these priestesses. An Italian writer says: "Per quanto casta fosse Diana, è da credersi, che le sue ierodule in Efeso ed altre città Greche ballerine piutosto erano, che Vestali." Boeckh says: "Es ist mit der Hierodulie nur der Begriff jungfräulicher Züchtigkeit zu vereinen mit männlichen Heldenmuthe." See Guhl, who adds: "ita ut eundem fere in *cultu* vim habuisse censeam, hierodulas, quam in *mythis* nymphæ habent, perpetuæ Dianæ et servæ et comites," p. 109.

[5] See the references in Guhl.

[6] In Boeckh, 3004. is a complimentary inscription to one Εὐοδία, ἱέρεια τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος.

[7] On the whole subject of the hieratic establishments of the Greeks, see Herm. Gott. Alt. II. iii. § 34—36. The following inscription, containing the names and titles of some of these ministers at Ephesus, is interesting. Ἐπικράτης ἱεροκήρυξ, Ὀνήσιμος ἐπιθυμίατρος, Μητρόδωρος σπονδαύλης, Λ. Κοσίννιος Γαϊανὸς ἱεροσαλπίκτης, ὀλυμπιονείκης. Boeckh, 2983.

[8] The term properly denotes "sweeper of the temple," and is nearly synonymous with the Latin "ædituus," or the French "sacristan."

[9] Primarily the term was applicable to persons, but afterwards it was applied to communities, and more especially in the Roman period. A city might be *Neocoros* with respect to several divinities, and frequently the title had regard to the deified emperor. For the whole subject of the Ephesian *Neocoratus*, see Guhl, pp. 114, 115.

reference to her national goddess. The city was personified as Diana's devotee. The title "*Neocoros*" was boastfully exhibited on the current coins.[1] Even the free people of Ephesus was sometimes named "*Neocoros*."[2] Thus, the town-clerk could with good reason begin his speech by the question,—"What man is there that knows not that the city of the Ephesians is neocoros of the great goddess Diana, and of the image which came down from heaven?"

The Temple and the Temple-services remained under the Romans as they had been since the period of Alexander. If any change had taken place, greater honour was paid to the goddess, and richer magnificence added to her sanctuary, in proportion to the wider extent to which her fame had been spread. Asia was always a favoured province[3], and Ephesus must be classed among those cities of the Greeks, to which the conquerors were willing to pay distinguished respect.[4] Her liberties and her municipal constitution were left untouched, when the province was governed by an officer from Rome. To the general remarks which have been made before in reference to Thessalonica[5], concerning the position of *free* or *autonomous* cities under the Empire, something more may be added here, inasmuch as some of the political characters of Ephesus appear on the scene which is described in the sacred narrative.

We have said, in the passage above alluded to, that free cities under the Empire had frequently their senate and assembly. There is abundant proof that this was the case at Ephesus. Its old constitution was democratic, as we should expect in a city of the Ionians, and as we are distinctly told by Xenophon[6]: and this constitution continued to subsist under the Romans. The senate, of which Josephus speaks[7], still met in the senate-house, which is alluded to by another writer[8], and the position of which was probably in the Agora below the Theatre.[9] We have still more frequent notices of the *demus* or people, and its *assembly*.[10] Wherever its customary place of meeting might be when legally

[1] See, for instance, that engraved above, p. 72. A great number of these coins are described in Mr. Akerman's paper, in the Num. Chr.

[2] It is worth our while to quote all the following words from one of the inscriptions in Boeckh, No. 2966. Η ΦΙΛΟΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΣ ΔΗΜΟΣ. ΚΑΘΙΕΡΩΣΑΝ ΕΠΙ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΥ ΠΕΔΟΥΚΑΙΟΥ ΠΡΕΙΣΚΕΙΝΟΥ ΨΗΦΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΙΒ. ΚΛ. ΙΤΑΛΙΚΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΥ.

[3] The circumstances under which this province came under the Roman power were such as to provoke no hostility. See Vol. I. pp. 257, 258.

[4] See Vol. I. p. 357.

[5] Ibid. 357–359., and compare p. 313.

[6] Xen. Hell. iii. 4. 7.

[7] Ant. xiv. 10. 12., also 2. 5., and xvi. 6. 4. 7.

[8] Ach. Tat. viii.

[9] See the allusion to the Agora above, p. 69.

[10] In Josephus xiv. xvi. (as above) the senate and assembly are combined. We find δῆμος in inscriptions, as in that just quoted, as well as 2954. mentioned above, and on coins (Mionnet,

and regularly convoked (ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, Acts xix. 39.), the *theatre*[1] would be an obvious place of meeting, in the case of a tumultuary gathering, like that which will presently be brought before our notice.

Again, like other free cities, Ephesus had its magistrates, as Thessalonica had its politarchs (Vol. I. pp. 358—360.), and Athens its archons. Among those which our sources of information bring before us, are several with the same titles and functions as in Athens.[2] One of these was that officer who is described as "*town-clerk*" in the authorized version of the Bible (γραμματεὺς, Acts xix. 35.). Without being able to determine his exact duties, or to decide whether another term, such as "Chancellor," or "Recorder," would better describe them to us[3], we may assert, from the parallel case of Athens[4], and from the Ephesian records themselves[5], that he was a magistrate of great authority, in a high and very public position. He had to do with state-papers; he was keeper of the archives; he read what was of public moment before the senate and assembly[6]; he was present when money was deposited in the Temple[7]; and when letters were sent to the people of Ephesus, they were officially addressed to him.[8] Thus, we can readily account for his name appearing so often on the coins[9] of Ephesus. He seems sometimes to have given the name to the year[10], like the archons at Athens, or the consuls at Rome. Hence no magistrate was more before the public at Ephesus. His very aspect was familiar to all the citizens; and no one was so likely to be able to calm and disperse an angry and excited multitude. (See Acts xix. 35—41.)

If we turn now from the city to the province of which it was the metropolis, we are under no perplexity as to its relation to the imperial govern-

Supp. vi. n. 447.), also ἐκκλησία (Boeckh, 2987.). Compare Cic. Tusc. Qu. v. 36. The senate is sometimes called βουλὴ, as in the inscription last quoted, sometimes γερουσία, as in another inscription. Boeckh, 2987. b.

[1] For illustrations of the habit of Greek assemblies to meet in theatres, see Cic. pro Flacc. vii. Corn. Nep. Timol. 4. 2. Tacitus says of Vespasian: "Antiochensium theatrum ingressus, ubi illis consultare mos est, concurrentes et in adulationem effusos alloquitur." Hist. ii. 80. Compare Josephus B. J. vii. 3.

[2] For instance, besides the archons, strategi, gymnasiarchs, &c.

[3] In Luther's Bible the term "Canzler" is used.

[4] There were several γραμματεῖς at Athens. Some of them were state-officers of high importance.

[5] In inscriptions he is called γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου and γραμματεὺς τῆς πόλεως.

[6] Ὃδε ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου αἱρεθεὶς γραμματεὺς ἀναγιγνώσκει τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ. Poll. Onom.

[7] See Boeckh, Corp. Insc. 2953. b.

[8] A letter of Apollonius to the Ephesians is addressed Ἐφεσίων γραμματεῦσι.

[9] The first coin described in Mr. Akerman's paper exhibits to us the same man as ἀρχιερεὺς and γραμματεύς. See note at the end of this chapter.

[10] Ἐπώνυμος.

ment. From coins and from inscriptions[1], from secular writers and Scripture itself (Acts xix. 38.), we learn that Asia was a proconsular province.[2] We shall not stay to consider the question which has been raised concerning the usage of the plural in this passage of the Acts; for it is not necessarily implied that more than one proconsul was in Ephesus at the time.[3] But another subject connected with the provincial arrangements requires a few words of explanation. The Roman citizens in a province were, in all legal matters, under the jurisdiction of the proconsul; and for the convenient administration of justice, the whole country was divided into districts, each of which had its own assize town (*forum* or *conventus*[4]). The proconsul, at stated seasons, made a circuit through these districts, attended by his interpreter (for all legal business in the Empire was conducted in Latin[5]), and those who had subjects of litigation, or other cases requiring the observance of legal forms, brought them before him or the judges whom he might appoint. Thus Pliny, after the true Roman spirit, in his geographical description of the Empire, is always in the habit of mentioning the assize-towns, and the extent of the shires which surrounded them. In the province of Asia he takes especial notice of Sardis, Smyrna, and Ephesus, and enumerates the various towns which brought their causes to be tried at these cities.[6] The official visit of the proconsul to Ephesus was necessarily among the most important; and the town-clerk, in referring to

[1] See, for instance, the coin p. 72., and the inscription p. 76.

[2] See the account of this province in the first volume.

[3] Meyer and De Wette are content to say that it is simply the generic plural, as in Matt. ii. 20. In the Syriac version the word is in the singular. Grotius takes it as denoting the proconsul and his legatus. Basnage suggested that it refers to Celer and Ælius, who governed the province of Asia as "procuratores Asiæ" after the poisoning of Silanus the proconsul (Tac. Ann. xiii. 1.), and who might have the insignia of proconsuls, and be flattered by the title. This view is followed by Biscoe, and by Mr. Lewin in his "Life and Epistles of St. Paul," which has been published during the progress of the present work. A more probable conjecture is that some of the governors of the neighbouring provinces, such as Achaia, Cilicia, Cyprus, Bithynia, Pamphylia, might be present at the public games. See Biscoe, pp. 282—285. The governors of neighbouring provinces were in frequent communication with each other. See Vol. I. p. 26.

[4] *Conventus* was used both for the assize-town and the district to which its jurisdiction extended. It was also used to denote the actual meeting for the assizes. See Hoeckh's Röm. Gesch. I. ii. p. 193.

[5] See Vol. I. pp. 3. and 26.

[6] In v. 30. he enumerates the districts which "conveniunt in Sardianam jurisdictionem." In ch. xxxi. he says of Smyrna and Ephesus, "Smyrnæum conventum magna pars Æoliæ frequentat, &c. . . . . Ephesum vero alterum lumen Asiæ, remotiores conveniunt Cæsarienses, Metropolitæ, &c." The term *forum* is used as equivalent to *conventus* and *jurisdictio*, e. g. in reference to the assizes of Alabanda, ch. xxix., "longinquiores eodem disceptant foro."

the presence of the proconsuls, could remind his fellow-citizens in the same breath that it was the very time of the assizes (ἀγοραῖοι ἄγονται, Acts xix. 38.).[1]

We have no information as to the time of the year[2] at which the Ephesian assizes were held. If the meeting took place in spring, they would then be coincident with the great gathering which took place at the celebration of the national games. It seems that the ancient festival of the United Ionians had merged into that which was held in honour of the Ephesian Diana.[3] The whole month of May was consecrated to the glory of the goddess; and the month itself received from her the name of Artemision.[4] The Artemisian festival was not simply an Ephesian ceremony, but was fostered by the sympathy and enthusiasm of all the surrounding neighbourhood. As the Temple of Diana was called "the Temple of Asia," so this gathering was called "the common meeting of Asia."[5] From the towns on the coast and in the interior, the Ionians came up with their wives and children to witness the gymnastic and musical contests[6], and to enjoy the various amusements, which made the days and nights of May one long scene of revelry.[7] To preside over these games, to provide the necessary expenses, and to see that due order was maintained, annual officers were appointed by election from the whole province. About the time of the vernal equinox each of the principal towns within the district called Asia, chose one of its wealthiest citizens, and, from the whole number thus returned, ten were finally selected to discharge the duty of *Asiarchs*.[8] We find similar titles in use in the neigh-

[1] The phrase ἀγοραίους [ἡμέρας]. ἀγειν is equivalent to Cæsar's *conventus agere*, and Cicero's *forum agere*. We find the same Greek phrase in Strabo.

[2] We find Cæsar in Gaul holding the *conventus* in winter; but this was probably because he was occupied with military proceedings in the summer, and need not be regarded as a precedent for other provinces.

[3] What the festival of Delos was for the islands, the Panionian festival was for the mainland. But Ephesus seems ultimately to have absorbed and concentrated this celebration. See Hermann, § 47. 4. § 66. 4. These games were called Artemisia, Ephesia, and Œcumenica.

[4] The important inscription alluded to before (Boeckh, 2954.) contains the decree: Ὅλον τὸν μῆνα τὸν ἐπώνυμον τοῦ θείου ὀνόματος εἶναι ἱερὸν καὶ ἀνακεῖσθαι τῇ θεῷ, ἄγεσθαι δὲ ἐπ' αὐταῖς (τοῦ μηνὸς ἡμέραις) τάς ἑορτὰς καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀρτεμισίων πανήγυριν. And it concludes by saying: Οὕτω γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον τῆς θρησκείας γινομένης ἡ πόλις ἡμῖν ἐνδοξοτέρα τε καὶ εὐδαίμων εἰς τὸν πάντα διαμενεῖ χρόνον. The inscription has been noticed by a long series of travellers, from Ricaut to Forchammer. Boeckh's judgment is: "Habes fragmentum decreti Ephesiorum de augenda religione Dianæ suæ, factum fortasse tum, quum asylorum examinarentur jura." Tac. Ann. iii. 61. If this is correct, the stone was cut not many years before St. Paul's arrival in Ephesus.

[5] Κοινὸν Ἀσίας Ἐφεσίων on coins. The temple appears as ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας νάος in inscriptions.

[6] Thucydides says of these Ephesian games, Ἀγὼν καὶ γυμνικός and μουσικός. Thuc. iii. 104.

[7] Ἦν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερομηνία, καὶ μεθυόντων πάντα μεστά· ὥστε καὶ δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἅπασαν κατεῖχε πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων. Ach. Tac. vi. p. 363. (ed. 1640).

[8] Ἀσίαρχαι, Acts xix., translated "*Chief of*

bouring provinces, and read, in books or on inscriptions and coins, of *Bithyniarchs*, *Galatarchs*, *Lyciarchs*[1], and *Syriarchs*.[2] But the games of Asia and Ephesus were pre-eminently famous; and those who held there the office of "Presidents of the Games" were men of high distinction and extensive influence. Receiving no emolument from their office, but being required rather to expend large sums for the amusement of the people and their own credit[3], they were necessarily persons of wealth. Men of consular rank were often willing to receive the appointment, and it was held to enhance the honour of any other magistracies with which they might be invested. They held for the time a kind of sacerdotal position[4]; and, when robed in mantles of purple and crowned with garlands[5], they assumed the duty of regulating the great gymnastic contests, and controlling the tumultuary crowd in the theatre, they might literally be called the "Chief of Asia" (Acts xix. 31.).

These notices of the topography and history of Ephesus, of its religious institutions, and political condition under the Empire, may serve to clear the way for the narrative which we must now pursue. We resume the history at the twenty-second verse of the nineteenth chapter of the Acts, where we are told of a continued stay[6] in Asia after the burning of the books of the magicians.[7] St. Paul was indeed looking forward to a journey through Macedonia and Achaia, and ultimately to Jerusalem and Rome[8]; and in anticipation of his departure he had sent two of his companions into Macedonia before him.[9] The events which had previously occurred have already shown us the great effects

Asia" in the A. V. Aristides is the authority for what is here said of the mode of appointment. From what is said in Eusebius (H. E. iv. 15.) of one Asiarch presiding at the martyrdom of Polycarp, it has been needlessly supposed that in this passage of the Acts we are to consider all but one to have been assessors of the chief Asiarch, or else those to be meant who had held the office in previous years and retained the title, like the High Priest at Jerusalem. See Winer's Real Wörterbuch. Among the Ephesian inscriptions in Boeckh we find the following:—M. I. AYP. ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΙΕΡΟΚΗΡΥΚΑ ΚΑΙ Β ΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΝ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ Τ ΦΛ ΜΟΥΝΑΤΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Ο ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΙΑΡΧΗΣΑΣ. No. 2990. See also 2994. The abbreviation B. ACI. (twice Asiarch) appears on a coin of Hypressa, represented in Ak. Num. Ill. p. 51.

[1] Strabo, xiv. 3.

[2] Malalas, pp. 285. 289. ed Bonn.

[3] Compare the case of those who discharged the state-services or *liturgies* at Athens. Such was often the position of the Roman ædiles: and the same may be said of the county sheriffs in England.

[4] See Hemsen. Compare the *præsides sacerdotales* of Tertullian. De Spect.

[5] See Eckhel. In inscriptions they are called *στεφανήφοροι*.

[6] *Αὐτὸς ἐπέσχε χρόνον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.*

[7] Related above, Acts xviii. 18—20.

[8] V. 21.

[9] V. 22.

which his preaching had produced both among the Jews and Gentiles.[1] And those which follow show us still more clearly how wide a "door"[2] had been thrown open to the progress of the Gospel. The idolatrous practices of Ephesus were so far endangered, that the interests of one of the prevalent trades of the place were seriously affected; and meanwhile St. Paul's character had risen so high, as to obtain influence over some of the wealthiest and most powerful personages in the province. The scene which follows is entirely connected with the religious observances of the city of Diana. The Jews[3] fall into the background. Both the danger and safety of the Apostle originate with the Gentiles.

It seems to have been the season of spring when the occurrences took place which are related by St. Luke at the close of his nineteenth chapter.[4] We have already seen that he purposed to stay at Ephesus "till Pentecost;"[5] and it has been stated that May was the "month of Diana," in which the great religious gathering took place to celebrate the games.[6] If this also was the season of the provincial assize (which, as we have seen, is highly probable), the city would be crowded with various classes of people. Doubtless those who employed themselves in making the portable shrines of Diana expected to drive a brisk trade at such a time; and when they found that the sale of these objects of superstition was seriously diminished, and that the preaching of St. Paul was the cause of their merchandise being depreciated, "no small tumult arose concerning that way" in which the new teacher was leading his disciples (v. 23.). A certain Demetrius, a master-manufacturer in the craft, summoned together his workmen[7], along with other artizans[8] who were occupied in trades of the same kind—(among whom we may reckon with great probability "Alexander the coppersmith" (2 Tim. iv. 14.), against whom the Apostle warned Timothy at a later period),—and addressed to them an inflammatory speech. It is evident that St. Paul, though he had made no open and calumnious attack on the divinities of the place, as was admitted below (v. 37.), had said something like what he had said at Athens, that we ought not to suppose that the Deity is "like gold or silver carved with the art and device of man" (Acts xvii. 29.), and that "they are no

[1] See Chap. XIV.

[2] 1 Cor. xvi. 9.

[3] Yet it seems that the Jews never ceased from their secret machinations. In the address at Miletus (xx. 19.), St. Paul speaks especially of the temptations which befel him by the "*lying in wait of the Jews.*"

[4] Vv. 21—41.

[5] See the end of the preceding chapter.

[6] See above.

[7] Τοὺς τεχνίτας συναθροίσας, vv. 24, 25.

[8] Καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐργάτας, v. 25.

gods that are made with hands" (v. 26.). Such expressions, added to the failure in the profits of those who were listening, gave sufficient materials for an adroit and persuasive speech. Demetrius appealed first to the interest of his hearers[1], and then to their fanaticism.[2] He told them that their gains were in danger of being lost—and, besides this, that "the temple of the great goddess Diana" (to which we can imagine him pointing as he spoke[3]) was in danger of being despised, and that the honour of their national divinity was in jeopardy, whom not only "all Asia,"[4] but "all the civilized world,"[5] had hitherto held in the highest veneration. Such a speech could not be lost, when thrown like fire on such inflammatory materials. The infuriated feeling of the crowd of assembled artizans broke out at once into a cry in honour of the divine patron of their city and their craft,—"Great is Diana of the Ephesians."[6]

The excitement among this important and influential class of operatives was not long in spreading through the whole city.[7] The infection seized upon the crowds of citizens and strangers; and a general rush was made to the theatre, the most obvious place of assembly.[8] On their way, they seem to have been foiled in the attempt to lay hold of the person of Paul[9], though they hurried with them into the theatre two of the companions of his travels, Caius and Aristarchus, whose home was in Macedonia.[10] A sense of the danger of his

[1] See vv. 25, 26.

[2] See v. 27. As one of the commentators says: "Sic callidus opifex (et habuit in istac parte per omnia sæcula suos imitatores) causam suam privatam tegit sub larva religionis."

[3] See what is said above on the position of the Temple. It would probably be visible from the neighbourhood of the Agora, where we may suppose Demetrius to have harangued the workmen.

[4] Ὅλη ἡ Ἀσία, v. 27. Compare πάσης τῆς Ἀσίας, v. 26.; and πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν Ἀσίαν, v. 10.

[5] Ἡ οἰκουμένη, v. 27. Compare τίς γάρ ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ὃς οὐ γινώσκει, κ. τ. λ., in the town-clerk's speech, v. 35.

[6] In an inscription (Boeckh, 2963. c.), which contains the words γραμματεὺς and ἀνθύπατος, we find ΤΗΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ ΘΕΑΣ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ ΠΡΟ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ. [In illustration of this latter phrase, compare what has been said of the Lystrian Jupiter, Vol. I. p. 203.] In Xenophon's Ephesiaca, cited by Rosenmüller, we have the words, Ὀμνύω τὴν πάτριον ἡμῖν θεόν, τὴν μεγάλην Ἐφεσίων Ἄρτεμιν. We read of a similar cry in honour of Æsculapius at Pergamus, and the same title is given on inscriptions to the Nemeses at Smyrna.

[7] V. 29.

[8] See above.

[9] Something of the same kind seems to have happened as at Thessalonica (Acts xvii. 5, 6.) when the Jews sought in vain for Paul and Silas in the house of Jason, and therefore dragged the host and some of the other Christians before the magistrates. Perhaps the house of Aquila and Priscilla may have been a Christian home to the Apostle at Ephesus, like Jason's house at Thessalonica. See Acts xviii. 18. 26., with 1 Cor. xvi. 19.; and compare Rom. xvi. 3, 4., where they are said to have "*laid down their necks*" for St. Paul's life.

[10] Συνεκδήμους τοῦ Π., v. 29. Compare συνέκδημος ἡμῶν, 2 Cor. viii. 19. See what is said above of these companions of St. Paul, p. 3.

companions, and a fearless zeal for the truth, urged St. Paul, so soon as this intelligence reached him, to hasten to the theatre and present himself before the people; but the Christian disciples used all their efforts to restrain him. Perhaps their anxious solicitude might have been unavailing[1] on this occasion, as it was on one occasion afterwards[2], had not other influential friends interposed to preserve his safety. And now was seen the advantage which is secured to a righteous cause by the upright character and unflinching zeal of its leading champion. Some of the Asiarchs[3], whether converted to Christianity or not, had a friendly feeling towards the Apostle; and, well knowing the passions of an Ephesian mob when excited at one of the festivals of Asia, they sent an urgent message to him to prevent him from venturing into the scene of disorder and danger.[4] Thus he reluctantly consented to remain in privacy, while the mob crowded violently into the theatre, filling the stone seats, tier above tier, and rending the air with their confused and fanatical cries.[5]

It was indeed a scene of confusion; and never perhaps was the character of a mob more simply and graphically expressed, than when it is said, that "the majority knew not why they were come together," (v. 32.). At length an attempt was made to bring the expression of some articulate words before the assembly. This attempt came from the Jews[6], who seem to have been afraid lest they should be implicated in the odium which had fallen on the Christians. By no means unwilling to injure the Apostle's cause, they were yet anxious to clear themselves, and therefore they "put Alexander forward" to make an apologetic speech[7] to the multitude. If this man was really, as we

[1] Observe the imperfect *οὐκ εἴων*, v. 30.

[2] See Acts xxi. 13.

[3] For the office of the Asiarchs, see above, p. 79.

[4] *Πέμψαντες πρὸς αὐτὸν, παρεκάλουν μὴ δοῦναι ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ θέατρον*, v. 31. The danger in which St. Paul was really placed, as well as other points in the sacred narrative, is illustrated by the account of Polycarp's martyrdom. "The proconsul, observing Polycarp filled with confidence and joy, and his countenance brightened with grace, was astonished, and sent the herald to proclaim, in the middle of the stadium, 'Polycarp confesses that he is a Christian?' When this was declared by the herald, all the multitude, Gentiles and Jews, dwelling at Smyrna, cried out, 'This is that teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the destroyer of our gods; he that teaches multitudes not to sacrifice, not to worship.' Saying this, they cried out, and asked Philip the Asiarch to let a lion loose upon Polycarp." Euseb. H. E. iv. 15.

[5] *Ἄλλοι ἄλλο τι ἔκραζον*, v. 32. An allusion has been made (Vol. I. p. 139.) to the peculiar form of Greek theatres, in the account of Herod's death at Cæsarea. From the elevated position of the theatre at Ephesus, we may imagine that many of the seats must have commanded an extensive view of the city and the plain, including the Temple of Diana.

[6] *Προβαλόντων αὐτὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, v. 33.

[7] *Ἀπολογεῖσθαι*, v. 33. Our view of the purpose for which Alexander was put forward will depend upon whether we consider him to have been a Jew, or a Christian, or a renegade from Christianity. It is most natural to suppose

have suggested, "Alexander the coppersmith," he might naturally be expected to have influence with Demetrius and his fellow-craftsmen. But when he stood up and "raised his hand"[1] to invite silence, he was recognised immediately by the multitude as a Jew. It was no time for making distinctions between Jews and Christians; and one simultaneous cry arose from every mouth, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians;" and this cry continued for two hours.

The excitement of an angry multitude wears out after a time, and a period of reaction comes, when they are disposed to listen to words of counsel and reproof. And, whether we consider the official position of the "Town-Clerk," or the character of the man as indicated by his speech, we may confidently say that no one in the city was so well suited to appease this Ephesian mob. The speech is a pattern of candid argument and judicious tact.[2] He first allays the fanatical passions of his listeners by this simple appeal[3]: "Is it not notorious everywhere that this city of the Ephesians is Neocoros of the great goddess Diana and of the image that came down from the sky?" The contradiction of a few insignificant strangers could not affect what was notorious in all the world. Then he bids them remember that Paul and his companions had not been guilty of approaching or profaning the temple[4], or of outraging the feelings of the Ephesians by calumnious expressions against the goddess.[5] And then he turns from the general subject to the case of Demetrius, and points out that the remedy for any injustice was amply provided by the assizes which were then going on,—or by an appeal to the proconsul. And reserving the most efficacious argument to the last, he reminded them that such an uproar exposed the city of Ephesus to the displeasure of the Romans: for, however great were the liberties allowed to an ancient and loyal city, it was well known to the whole population, that a tumultuous meeting which endangered the public peace would never be tolerated. So having rapidly brought his arguments to a climax, he tranquillised the whole multitude and pronounced the technical words

that he was a Jew, that the Jews were alarmed by the tumult and anxious to clear themselves from blame, and to show they had nothing to do with St. Paul. As a Jew, Alexander would be recognised as an enemy to idolatry, and naturally the crowd would not hear him.

[1] Κατασείσας τὴν χειρά, ibid. The expression used concerning St. Paul's attitude before speaking (Acts xiii. 16., xxi. 40.) is κατάσεισας (κατέσεισε) τῇ χειρί: so of St. Peter, xii. 17. See the remarks already made on the former passage.

[2] See Menken's good remarks on this speech (Blicke in das Leben, u. s. w.).

[3] Τίς ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ὃς οὐ γινώσκει, κ. τ. λ., v. 35. For the Neocorate of Ephesus and its notoriety, see above.

[4] Ἱεροσύλους. The rendering in the English version, "robbers of Churches," is unfortunate.

[5] Βλασφημοῦντας.

which declared the assembly dispersed. (Acts xix. 41.) The stone seats were gradually emptied. The uproar ceased (Ib. xx. 1.), and the rioters dispersed to their various occupations and amusements.

Thus God used the eloquence of a Greek magistrate to protect His servant, as before He had used the right of Roman citizenship (Vol. I. p. 333.), and the calm justice of a Roman governor (Vol. I. p. 451.). And, as in the cases of Philippi and Corinth[1], the narrative of St. Paul's sojourn at Ephesus concludes with the notice of a deliberate and affectionate farewell. The danger was now over. With gratitude to that Heavenly Master, who had watched over his life and his works, and with a recognition of that love of his fellow-Christians and that favour of the "Chief of Asia," which had been the instruments of his safety, he gathered together the disciples (Acts xx. 1.), and in one last affectionate meeting—most probably in the school of Tyrannus—he gave them his farewell salutations, and commended them to the grace of God, and parted from them with tears.

This is the last authentic account which we possess,—if we except the meeting at Miletus (Acts xx.),—of any personal connection of St. Paul with Ephesus. The other historical associations of Christianity with this city are connected with a different Apostle and a later period of the Church. Legend has been busy on this scene of apostolic preaching and suffering. Without attempting to unravel what is said concerning others who have lived and died at Ephesus[2], we are allowed to believe that the robber-haunts[3] in the mountains around have witnessed some passages in the life of St. John, that he spent the last year of the first century in this "metropolis of the Asiatic Churches,"[4] and that his body rests among the sepulchres of Mount Prion.[5] Here we may believe that the Gospel and Epistles were written, which teach us that "love" is greater than "faith and hope" (1 Cor. xiii. 13); and here,—though the "candlestick" is removed, according to the prophetic word (Rev. ii. 5.),—a monument yet survives, in the hill strewn with the ruins of many centuries[6], of him who was

[1] Acts xvi. 40., xviii. 18.

[2] It is said that Timothy died at Ephesus, and was buried, like St. John, on Mount Prion. It has been thought better to leave in reverent silence all that has been traditionally said concerning the Mother of our Blessed Lord.

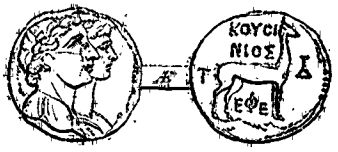
[3] Euseb. H. E. iii. 23., which should be compared with 2 Cor. xi. 26. See Vol. I. p. 175.

[4] Stanley's Sermons &c. on the Apostolic Age, p. 250. See the whole sermon, and the essay which follows it.

[5] See Hamilton, ii. 38, 39.

[6] Ayasaluk, supposed, as we have said above, to be a corruption of ὁ ἅγιος Θεόλογος. For the meaning of this term, as applied to St. John, see Stanley's Sermons, p. 271. There is a curious tradition concerning the destruction of the Temple and Image of Diana by St. John in the apocryphal

called "John the Theologian," because he emphatically wrote of the "Divinity of our Lord."



COIN OF EPHESUS.[1]

work of Abdias. We give it at length from Fabricius. "Dum hæc fierent apud Ephesum, et omnes indies magis magisque Asiæ provinciæ Joannem et excolerent et prædicarent, accidit ut cultores idolorum excitarent seditionem. Unde factum est, ut Joannem traherent ad templum Dianæ, et urgerent eum, ut ei fœditatem sacrificiorum offerret. Inter hæc beatus Joannes inquit: Ducamus omnes eos ad Ecclesiam Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et cum invocaveritis nomen ejus, faciam cadere templum hoc, et comminui idolum hoc vestrum. Quod ubi factum fuerit, justum nobis videri debet, ut relicta superstitione ejus rei quæ à Deo meo victa est, et confracta, ad id ipsum convertamini. Ad hanc vocem conticuit populus: et licet essent pauci, qui contradicerent huic definitioni, pars tamen maxima consensum attribuit. Tunc beatus Joannes blandis alloquiis exhortabatur populum, ut à templo longe se facerent. Cumque universi exteriore parte foràs exissent, voce clara clamavit: ut sciat hæc omnis turba, quia idolum hoc Dianæ vestræ dæmonium est, et non Deus, corruat cum omnibus manufactis idolis quæ coluntur in eo, ita tamen, ut nullam in hominibus læsionem faciat. Continuo ad hanc vocem Apostoli, omnia simul cum templo suo idola ita corruerunt, ut efflicerentur, sicut pulvis, quem projecit ventus à facie terræ. Itaque conversa sunt eadem die xii millia gentilium, exceptis parvulis et mulieribus, et baptizati sunt à beato Joanne, et virtute consecrati." Cod. Apoc. N.T. ii. 573. The contrast between this story and the narratives in the canonical Acts of the Apostles is sufficiently obvious.

[1] From the Numismatic Illustrations of Mr. Akerman (p. 53.), who considers Cusinius to have been Γραμματεὺς for the fourth time. See his notice of the same coin in the pages in the Num. Chron. p. 13. He adds that the deer is the common type of the autonomous coins of Ephesus, and quotes Libanius: Ἐφεσίοις δὲ καὶ τὸ νόμισμα τὴν ἔλαφον ἔφερεν. Orat. xxxii.

CHAPTER XVII.

"Without were fightings, within were fears."—2 Cor. vii. 5.

ST. PAUL AT TROAS.—HE PASSES OVER TO MACEDONIA.—CAUSES OF HIS DEJECTION.—HE MEETS TITUS AT PHILIPPI.—WRITES *THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.*—COLLECTION FOR THE POOR CHRISTIANS IN JUDÆA.—JOURNEY BY ILLYRICUM TO GREECE.

AFTER his mention of the affectionate parting between St. Paul and the Christians of Ephesus, St. Luke tells us very little of the Apostle's proceedings during a period of nine or ten months;—that is, from the early summer of the year A.D. 57, to the spring of A.D. 58.[1] All the information which we find in the Acts concerning this period, is comprised in the following words:—"*He departed to go into Macedonia, and when he had gone over those parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece, and there abode three months.*"[2] Were it not for the information supplied by the Epistles, this is all we should have known of a period which was, intellectually at least, the most active and influential of St. Paul's career. These letters, however, supply us with many additional incidents belonging to this epoch of his life; and, what is more important, they give us a picture drawn by his own hand of his state of mind during an anxious and critical season; they bring him before us in his weakness and in his strength, in his sorrow and in his joy; they show the causes of his dejection, and the source of his consolation.

In the first place, we thus learn, what we should, *à priori*, have expected,—that he visited Alexandria Troas on his way from Ephesus to Macedonia. In all probability he travelled from the one city to the other by sea, as we know he did[3] on his return in the following year. Indeed, in countries in such a stage of civilisation, the safest and most expeditious route from one point of the coast to another, is generally by water rather than by land[4]; for the "perils in the

[1] The date of the year is according to the calculations of Wieseler (Chronologie, p. 118.), of which we shall say more when we come to the period upon which they are founded. The season at which he left Ephesus is ascertained by St. Paul's own words (1 Cor. xvi. 8.) compared with Acts xx. 1. The time of his leaving Corinth on his return appears from Acts xx. 6.

[2] Acts xx. 1—3.

[3] Except the small space from Troas to Assos by land, Acts xx. 13, 14.

[4] At the same time it should be remembered that this was the most populous part of one of the most peaceful provinces, and that one of the great roads passed by Smyrna and Pergamus between Ephesus and Troas. The stages are

sea," though greater in those times than in ours, yet did not so frequently impede the voyager, as the "perils of rivers" and "perils of robbers" which beset the traveller by land.

We are not informed who were St. Paul's companions in this journey; but as we find that Tychicus and Trophimus (both Ephesians) were with him at Corinth (Acts xx. 4.) during the same apostolic progress, and returned thence in his company, it seems probable that they accompanied him at his departure. We find both of them remaining faithful to him through all the calamities which followed; both exerting themselves in his service, and executing his orders to the last; both mentioned as his friends and followers, almost with his dying breath.[1]

In such company, St. Paul came to Alexandria Troas. We have already described the position and character of this city, whence the Apostle of the Gentiles had set forth when first he left Asia to fulfil his mission,—the conversion of Europe. At that time, his visit seems to have been very short, and no results of it are recorded; but now he remained for a considerable time; he had meant to stay long enough to lay the foundation of a Church (see 2 Cor. ii. 12.), and would have remained still longer than he did, had it not been for the non-arrival of Titus, whom he had sent to Corinth from Ephesus soon after the despatch of the first Epistle; the object of his mission[2] was connected with the great collection now going on for the Hebrew Christians at Jerusalem, but he was also enjoined to enforce the admonitions of St. Paul upon the Church of Corinth, and endeavour to defeat the efforts of their seducers; and then to return with a report of their conduct, and especially of the effect upon them of the recent Epistle. Titus was desired to come through Macedonia, and to rejoin St. Paul (probably) at Troas, where the latter had intended to arrive shortly after Pentecost; but now that he was forced to leave Ephesus prematurely, he had resolved to wait for Titus at Troas, expecting, however, his speedy arrival. In this expectation he was disappointed; week after week passed, but Titus came

given in the Peutingerian Table, and the road is laid down in Leake's Map. At Pergamus it meets one of the roads in the Antonine Itinerary (see Wesseling), and the two lines thence coincide through Adramyttium and Assos to Troas. See our map of the north of the Ægean, and compare Vol. I. p. 299. A description of the country will be found in Fellows' Asia Minor, ch. i. and ii.

[1] In the 2nd Epistle to Timothy. For Tychicus, see Acts xx. 4., Eph. vi. 21., Col. iv. 7., 2 Tim. iv. 12., Tit. iii. 12. For Trophimus, see Acts xx. 4., Acts xxi. 29., 2 Tim. iv. 20.

[2] It is not impossible that Titus may have carried another letter to the Corinthians; if so, it is referred to in 2 Cor. ii. 3., and 2 Cor. vii. 8.; passages which some have thought too strong for the supposition that they only refer to the First Epistle.

not. The tidings which St. Paul expected by him were of the deepest interest; it was to be hoped that he would bring news of the triumph of good over evil at Corinth: yet it might be otherwise; the Corinthians might have forsaken the faith of their first teacher, and rejected his messenger. While waiting in this uncertainty, St. Paul appears to have suffered all the sickness of hope deferred. "My spirit had no rest, because I found not Titus my brother."[1] Nevertheless, his personal anxiety did not prevent his labouring earnestly and successfully in his Master's service. He "published the Glad-tidings of Christ"[2] there as in other places, probably preaching as usual, in the first instance, to the Jews in the Synagogue. He met with a ready hearing; "a door was opened to him in the Lord."[3] And thus was laid the foundation of a Church which rapidly increased, and which we shall find him revisiting not long afterwards. At present, indeed, he was compelled to leave it prematurely; for the necessity of meeting Titus, and learning the state of things at Corinth, urged him forward. He sailed, therefore, once more from Troas to Macedonia (a voyage already described[4] in our account of his former journey), and, landing at Neapolis, proceeded immediately to Philippi.[5]

We might have supposed that the warmth of affection with which he was doubtless welcomed by his converts here, would have soothed the spirit of the Apostle, and restored his serenity. For, of all the Churches which he founded, the Philippians seem to have been the most free from fault, and the most attached to himself. In the Epistle which he wrote to them, we find no censure, and much praise; and so zealous was their love for St. Paul, that they alone (of all the Churches which he founded) forced him from the very beginning to accept their contributions for his support. Twice, while he was at Thessalonica[6], immediately after their own conversion, they had sent relief to him. Again they did the same while he was at Corinth[7], working for his daily bread in the

[1] 2 Cor. ii. 12.

[2] 2 Cor. ii. 12.

[3] 2 Cor. ii. 12.

[4] See Chap. IX.

[5] Philippi (of which Neapolis was the port) was the first city of Macedonia which he would reach from Troas. See Vol. I. pp. 308—311. The importance of the Philippian Church would, of course, cause St. Paul to halt there for some time, especially as his object was to make a general collection for the poor Christians of Jerusalem. Hence the scene of St. Paul's grief and anxiety (recorded, 2 Cor. vii. 5., as occurring *when he came into Macedonia*) must have been Philippi; and the same place seems (from the next verse) to have witnessed his consolation by the coming of Titus. So (2 Cor. xi. 9.) we find "*Macedonia*" used as equivalent to *Philippi* (see note 7, below). We conclude, therefore, that the ancient tradition (embodied in the subscription of 2 Cor.), according to which the Second Epistle to Corinthians was written from Philippi, is correct.

[6] Phil. iv. 10.

[7] 2 Cor. xi. 9. The Macedonian contribu-

manufactory of Aquila. And we shall find them afterwards cheering his Roman prison, by similar proofs of their loving remembrance.[1] We might suppose from this that they were a wealthy Church; yet such a supposition is contradicted by the words of St. Paul, who tells us that "in the heavy trial which had proved their steadfastness, the fulness of their joy had overflowed *out of the depth of their poverty*, in the richness of their liberality."[2] In fact, they had been exposed to very severe persecution from the first. "Unto them it was given," so St. Paul reminds them afterwards,—"in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on Him, but also to suffer for His sake."[3] Perhaps, already their leading members had been prosecuted under the Roman law[4] upon the charge which proved so fatal in after times,—of propagating a "new and illegal religion" (*religio nova et illicita*); or, if this had not yet occurred, still it is obvious how severe must have been the loss inflicted by the alienation of friends and connections; and this would be especially the case with the Jewish converts, such as Lydia[5], who were probably the only wealthy members of the community, and whose sources of wealth were derived from the commercial relations which bound together the scattered Jews throughout the empire. What they gave, therefore, was not out of their abundance, but out of their penury; they did not grasp tenaciously at the wealth which was slipping from their hands, but they seemed eager to get rid of what still remained. They "remembered the words of the Lord Jesus how He said, It is more blessed to give than to receive." St. Paul might have addressed them, as another Apostle addressed some who were likeminded with them:—"Ye had compassion of me in my[6] bonds, and took joyfully the spoiling of your goods, knowing that ye have in heaven a better and an enduring substance."

Such were the zealous and loving friends who now embraced their father in the faith; yet the warmth of their welcome did not dispel the gloom which hung over his spirit; although amongst them[7] he found Timotheus also, his

tions there mentioned must have been from Philippi, because Philippi was the only Church which at that time contributed to St. Paul's support (Phil. iv. 9.). See Vol. I. p. 417.

[1] Phil. iv. 16.

[2] 2 Cor. viii. 2.

[3] Phil. i. 29.

[4] It must be remembered that Philippi was a *Colonia*. See Vol. I. pp. 3. 10. &c.

[5] Lydia had been a Jewish proselyte before her conversion.

[6] Or "on those in bonds," if we adopt the reading of the best MSS. See note on Heb. x. 34.

[7] This we infer because Timotheus was with him when he began to write the Second Epistle to Corinth (2 Cor. i. 1.), which (for the reasons mentioned in the preceding page, n. 5.) we believe to have been written at Philippi. Now Timotheus had been despatched on some commission into Macedonia shortly before Easter, and St. Paul had then expected (but thought it doubtful) that he would reach Corinth and return thence to Ephesus; and that he would reach it *after* the

"beloved son in the Lord," the most endeared to him of all his converts and companions. The whole tone of the Second Epistle to Corinth shows the depression under which he was labouring; and he expressly tells the Corinthians that this state of feeling lasted, not only at Troas, but also after he reached Macedonia. "When first I came into Macedonia," he says, "my flesh had no rest; without were fightings, within were fears." And this had continued until "God, who comforts them that are cast down, comforted me by the coming of Titus."

It has been sometimes supposed that this dejection was occasioned by an increase of the chronic malady under which St. Paul suffered[1]; and it seems not unlikely that this cause may have contributed to the result. He speaks much, in the Epistle written from Philippi, of the frailty of his bodily health; and, in a very affecting passage, he describes the earnestness with which he had besought his Lord to take from him this "thorn in the flesh,"—this disease which continually impeded his efforts, and shackled his energy. We can imagine how severe a trial to a man of his ardent temper, such a malady must have been. Yet this alone would scarcely account for his continued depression, especially after the assurance he had received, that the grace of Christ was sufficient for him,—that the vessel of clay[2] was not too fragile for the Master's work,—that the weakness of his body would but the more manifest the strength of God's Spirit.[3] The real weight which pressed upon him was the "care of all the churches;" the real cause of his grief was the danger which now threatened the souls of his converts, not in Corinth only, or in Galatia, but everywhere throughout the empire. We have already described the nature of this danger, and seen its magnitude; we have seen how critical was the period through which the Christian Church was now passing.[4] The true question (which St. Paul was enlightened to comprehend) was no less than this;—whether the Catholic Church should be dwarfed into a Jewish sect; whether the religion of spirit and of truth should be supplanted by the worship of letter and of form. The struggle at Corinth, the result of which he was now

reception at Corinth of the First Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xvi. 10, 11.). This, however, Timotheus seems not to have done; for it was Titus, not Timotheus, who brought to St. Paul the first tidings of the reception of the First Epistle at Corinth (2 Cor. vii. 6—11.). Also had Timotheus reached Corinth, he would have been mentioned, 2 Cor. xii. 18. Hence it would appear that Timotheus must have been retained in Macedonia.

[1] We need not notice the hypothesis that St. Paul's long-continued dejection was caused by the danger which he incurred on the day of the tumult in the theatre at Ephesus; a supposition most unworthy of the character of him who sustained such innumerable perils of a more deadly character with unshrinking fortitude.

[2] See 2 Cor. iv. 7.

[3] 2 Cor. xii. 7—9.

[4] Vol. I. pp. 473—477.

anxiously awaiting, was only one out of many similar struggles between Judaism[1] and Christianity. These were the "fightings without" which filled him with "fears within;" these were the agitations which "gave his flesh no rest," and "troubled him on every side."[2]

At length the long-expected Titus arrived at Philippi, and relieved the anxiety of his master by better tidings than he had hoped to hear.[3] The majority of the Corinthian Church had submitted to the injunctions of St. Paul, and testified the deepest repentance for the sins into which they had fallen. They had passed sentence of excommunication upon the incestuous person, and they had readily contributed towards the collection for the poor Christians of Palestine. But there was still a minority, whose opposition seems to have been rather embittered than humbled by the submission which the great body of the Church had thus yielded. They proclaimed, in a louder and more contemptuous tone than ever, their accusations against the Apostle. They charged him with craft in his designs, and with selfish and mercenary motives;—a charge which they probably maintained by insinuating that he was personally interested in the great collection which he was raising. We have seen[4] what scrupulous care St. Paul took to keep his integrity in this matter above every shade of suspicion; and we shall find still farther proof of this as we proceed. Meanwhile, it is obvious how singularly inconsistent this accusation was, in the mouths of those who eagerly maintained that Paul could be no true Apostle, because he did not demand support from the Churches which he founded. The same opponents accused him likewise of egregious vanity, and of cowardly weakness; they declared that he was continually threatening without striking, and promising without performing; always on his way to Corinth, but never venturing

[1] That the great opponents of St. Paul at Corinth were Judaizing emissaries, we have endeavoured to prove below; at the same time a complication was given to the struggle at Corinth by the existence of another element of error in the free-thinking party, whose theoretic defence of their practical immorality we have already noticed.

[2] 2 Cor. vii. 5.

[3] Wieseler is of opinion that before the coming of Titus St. Paul had already resolved to send another letter to the Corinthians, perhaps by those two brethren who travelled with Titus soon after, bearing the Second Epistle; and that he wrote as far as the 2nd verse of the 7th chapter of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians before the appearance of Titus. He infers this from the change of tone which takes place at this point, and from St. Paul's returning to topics which, in the earlier portion of the Epistle, he appeared to have dismissed; and from the manner in which the arrival of Titus is mentioned at 2 Cor. vii. 4—7. On this hypothesis some other person from Corinth must have brought intelligence of the first impression produced on the Corinthians by the Epistle which had just reached them; and Titus conveyed the farther tidings of their subsequent conduct.

[4] 1 Cor. xvi. 3.

to come; and that he was as vacillating in his teaching as in his practice; refusing circumcision to Titus, yet circumcising Timothy; a Jew among the Jews, and a Gentile among the Gentiles.

It is an important question, to which of the divisions of the Corinthian Church these obstinate opponents of St. Paul belonged. From the notices of them given by St. Paul himself, it seems certain that they were Judaizers (see 2 Cor. xi. 22.); and still farther, that they were of the Christine section of that party (see 2 Cor. xi. 7.). It also appears that they were headed by an emissary from Palestine (ὁ ἐρχόμενος, 2 Cor. xi. 4.), who had brought letters of commendation from some members of the Church at Jerusalem[1], and who boasted of his pure Hebrew descent, and his especial connection with Christ himself.[2] St. Paul calls him a false apostle, a minister of Satan disguised as a minister of righteousness, and hints that he was actuated by corrupt motives. He seems to have behaved at Corinth with extreme arrogance, and to have succeeded, by his overbearing conduct, in impressing his partizans with a conviction of his importance, and of the truth of his pretensions.[3] They contrasted his confident bearing with the timidity and self-distrust which had been shown by St. Paul.[4] And they even extolled his personal advantages over their first teacher; comparing his rhetoric with Paul's inartificial speech, his commanding appearance with the insignificance of Paul's "bodily presence."[5]

Titus, having delivered to St. Paul this mixed intelligence of the state of Corinth, was immediately directed to return thither (in company with two deputies specially elected, to take charge of their contribution, by the Macedonian Churches[6],) in order to continue the business of the collection. St. Paul made him the bearer of another letter, which is addressed (still more distinctly than the First Epistle), not to Corinth only, but to all the Churches in the whole province of Achaia, including Athens and Cenchreæ, and perhaps also Sicyon, Argos, Megara, Patræ, and other neighbouring towns; all of which probably shared more or less in the agitation which so powerfully affected the Christian community at Corinth. The two-fold character[7] of this Epistle

[1] See 2 Cor. iii. 1. It may safely be assumed that Jerusalem was the head-quarters of the Judaizing party, from whence their emissaries were despatched. Compare Gal. ii. 12., Acts xv. 1. and xxi. 20.

[2] See 2 Cor. xi. 7. 22.

[3] See 2 Cor. xi. 18—20., and the note there.

[4] 1 Cor. ii. 3.

[5] 2 Cor. x. 10. 16.

[6] See notes on 2 Cor. viii. 18. 22.

[7] This twofold character pervades the *whole Epistle;* it is incorrect to say (as has been often said) that the portion before Chap. X. is addressed to the obedient section of the Church, and that after Chap. X. to the disobedient. Polemical passages occur throughout the earlier

is easily explained by the existence of the majority and minority which we have described in the Corinthian Church. Towards the former the Epistle overflows with love; towards the latter it abounds with warning and menace. The purpose of the Apostle was to encourage and tranquillise the great body of the Church; but, at the same time, he was constrained to maintain his authority against those who persisted in despising the commands of Christ delivered by his mouth. It was needful, also, that he should notice their false accusations; and that (undeterred by the charge of vanity which they brought[1]), he should vindicate his apostolic character by a statement of facts, and a threat of punishment to be inflicted on the contumacious. With these objects, he wrote as follows: —

SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.[2]

Salutation.

PAUL, an Apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God, and I. 1
Timotheus the Brother, to the church of God which is in Corinth, and to all Christ's people, throughout the whole province of Achaia.

Grace be unto you and peace, from God our Father, 2
and from our Lord Jesus Christ.

Thanksgiving for his deliverance from

Thanks be to God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, 3
the father of compassion, and the God of all comfort, who 4

portion also; see i. 15—17., ii. 17., iii. 1., v. 12., &c.

[1] It is a curious fact, and marks the *personal* character of this Epistle, that the verb καυχᾶσθαι and its derivatives occur twenty-nine times in it, and only twenty-six times in all the other Epistles of St. Paul put together.

[2] St. Paul has given us the following particulars to determine the date of this Epistle: —

(1.) He had been exposed to great danger in Proconsular Asia, *i. e.* at Ephesus (2 Cor. i. 8.). This had happened Acts xix. 23—41.

(2.) He had come thence to Troas, and (after some stay there) had passed over to Macedonia. This was the route he took Acts xx. i.

(3.) He was in Macedonia at the time of writing (2 Cor. ix. 2., καυχῶμαι, present tense), and intended (2 Cor. xiii. 1.) shortly to visit Corinth. This was the course of his journey, Acts xx. 2.

(4.) The same collection is going on which is mentioned in 1 Cor. See 2 Cor. viii. 6., and 2 Cor. ix. 2.; and which was completed during his three months' visit to Corinth (Rom. xv. 26.), and taken up to Jerusalem immediately after Acts xxiv. 17.

(5.) Some of the other topics mentioned in 1 Cor. are again referred to, especially the punishment of the incestuous offender, in such a manner as to show that no long interval had elapsed since the first Epistle.

consoles me[1] in all my tribulation, thereby enabling me to comfort those who are in any affliction, with the same comfort wherewith I am myself comforted by God. For as the sufferings of Christ have come upon me above measure, so by Christ also my consolation is above measure multiplied. But if, on the one hand, I am afflicted, it is for your consolation and salvation, (which works within you a patient endurance of the same sufferings which I also suffer[2]; so that my hope is stedfast on your behalf); and if, on the other hand, I am comforted, it is for your consolation[3], because I know that as you partake of my sufferings, so you partake also of my comfort. For I would have you know, brethren, concerning the tribulation which befel me in the province of Asia[4], that I was exceedingly pressed down by it beyond my strength to bear, so as to despair even of life. Yea, by my own self I was already doomed to death; that I might rely no more upon myself, but upon God who raises the dead to life, and who delivered me from a death so grievous, and does yet deliver me; in whom I have hope that He will still deliver me for the time to come; you also helping me by your supplications, that thanksgivings may from many tongues be offered up on my behalf, for the blessing gained to me by many prayers.[5]

great danger in Proconsular Asia.

I. 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

12 For this is my boast, the testimony of my conscience, Self defence

[1] For the translation of ἡμᾶς, see the reasons given in the note on 1 Thess. i. 2. It is evident here that St. Paul considers himself alone the writer, since Timotheus was not with him during the danger in Asia; and, moreover, he uses ἐγὼ frequently, interchangeably with ἡμεῖς (see verse 23.); and when he includes others in the ἡμεῖς he specifies it, as in verse 19. See, also, other proofs in the note on vi. 11.

[2] Καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς, &c., should follow πάσχομεν. See Tischendorf for the MS. authorities.

[3] We omit the second καὶ σωτηρίας here, with Griesbach's text.

[4] It has been questioned whether St. Paul here refers to the Ephesian tumult of Acts xix.; and it is urged that he was *not* then in danger of his life. But had he been found by the mob during the period of their excitement, there can be little doubt that he would have been torn to pieces, or perhaps thrown to wild beasts in the Arena; and it seems improbable that within so short a period he should *again* have been exposed to peril of his life in the same place, and that nothing should have been said of it in the Acts.

[5] Literally, *that from many persons the gift given to me by means of many may have thanks returned for it on my behalf.*

against accusation of double-dealing.

that I have dealt with the world, and above all with you, in godly honesty and singleness of mind[1], not in the strength of carnal wisdom, but in the strength of God's grace. For I. 13
I write nothing else to you but what you read openly, yea and what your acknowledge inwardly, and I hope that even to the end you will acknowledge[2], as some of you have already 14
acknowledged, that I am your boast, even as you are mine, in the day of our Lord Jesus.[3]

Reason for the postponement of his visit to Corinth.

And in this confidence it was my wish to come first[4] 15
to you, that afterwards you might have a second benefit.
For I meant to go by you into Macedonia, and to return 16
from Macedonia to you, and by you to be forwarded on my way to Judæa. Am I accused[5] then of forming this 17
purpose in levity and caprice? or is my purpose carnal, to please all, by saying at once both yea and nay?[6] Yet 18
as God is faithful, my words to you are[7] no [deceitful] mixture of yea and nay. For when the Son of God, Jesus 19
Christ, was proclaimed among you by us, (by me, I say, and Silvanus, and Timotheus,) in Him was found no wavering between yea and nay, but in Him was yea alone; 20
for all the promises of God have in Him the yea [which seals their truth], and in Him the Amen [which acknowledges their fulfilment,] uttered to the praise of God by 21
our voice. But God is He who keeps both us and you stedfast to His anointed, and we also are anointed[8] by Him.

[1] St. Paul here alludes to his opponents, who accused him of dishonesty and inconsistency in his words and deeds. From what follows, it seems that he had been suspected of writing privately to some individuals in the church, in a different strain from that of his public letters to them.

[2] It is difficult in English to imitate this play upon the words ἐπιγινώσκετε and ἀναγινώσκετε.

[3] *I. e.* the day when the Lord Jesus will come again.

[4] *I. e.* before visiting Macedonia. See p. 18. note 1.

[5] Μήτι ἄρα. Compare μήτι, xii. 18.

[6] This translation (the literal English being, *do I purpose my purposes carnally, that both yea, yea, and nay, nay, may be* [*found*] *with me*) appears to give the full force of the ἵνα, as much as that of Chrysostom: "*or must I hold to the purposes which I have formed from fleshly fear, lest I be accused of changing my yea into nay;*" which is advocated by Winer, but which does not agree with the context.

[7] We read ἐστὶ with Lachmann, Tischendorf, and the best MSS.

[8] The commentators do not seem to have remarked the reference of χρίσας to the pre-

I. 22 And He has set the mark of His own seal upon us, and has given us His Spirit to dwell in our hearts, as the earnest
23 of His promises. But for my[1] own part, I call God to witness, as my soul shall answer for it, that I gave up my purpose[2] of visiting Corinth because I wished to spare you
24 pain. I speak not[3] as though your faith was enslaved to my authority, but because I desire to help your joy[4]; for your
II. 1 faith [I know] is stedfast. But[5] I determined not again[6] to
2 visit you in grief, for if I cause you grief, who is there to
3 cause me joy, but those whom I have grieved. And for this very[7] reason I wrote[8] to you instead of coming, that I might not receive grief from those who ought to give me
4 joy; and I confide in you all that my joy is yours. For I wrote to you out of much affliction and anguish of heart, with many tears; not to pain you, but that you might know the abundance of my love.

Pardon of the incestuous person.

5 As concerns him[9] who has caused the pain, it is not me that he has pained, but some of you[10]; [some, I say,] that
6 I may not press too harshly upon all. For the[11] offender

ceding Χριστόν. The anointing spoken of as bestowed on the Apostles, was that grace by which they were qualified for their office. The ἡμᾶς and ἡμῶν in verses 20, 21, and 22., include Silvanus and Timotheus, as is expressly stated verse 19.

[1] Observe the emphatic ἐγὼ.

[2] Οὐκέτι, mistranslated in A. V. as if it were οὔπω.

[3] St. Paul adds this sentence to soften what might seem the magisterial tone of the preceding, in which he had implied his power to punish the Corinthians.

[4] *I. e.* I desire not to cause you sorrow, but to promote your joy.

[5] Ἐμαυτῷ can scarcely mean *for my own sake* (as Billroth and others propose to translate it). Compare ἔδοξα ἐμαυτῷ, Acts xxvi. 9.

[6] This alludes to the intermediate visit which St. Paul paid to Corinth. See p. 18. note 1.

[7] Τοῦτο αὐτὸ. Compare Gal. ii. 10., and Phil. i. 6.

[8] *I. e.* the First Ep. Cor.

[9] Literally, "*if any man has caused pain;*" a milder expression, which would not in English bear so definite a meaning as it does in the Greek.

[10] The punctuation we adopt is ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μέρους (ἵνα μὴ ἐπιβαρῶ πάντας) ὑμᾶς. For the meaning of ἀπὸ μέρους, see Chap. I. 14. With regard to the sentiment, St. Paul intends to say that not *all* the Corinthian Church had been included in his former censure, but only *that part of it* which had supported the offender; and therefore the pain which the offender had drawn down on the Church was not inflicted on the whole Church, but only on that erring part of it.

[11] Τῷ τοιούτῳ. This expression is used elsewhere for a definite offending individual. Compare Acts xxii. 22., and 1 Cor. v. 5. It is not adequately represented by the English "*such a man.*"

himself, this punishment, which has already been inflicted on him by the sentence of the majority[1], is sufficient without increasing it. On the contrary, you ought rather to forgive II. 7
and comfort him, lest he should be overwhelmed by the greatness of his sorrow. Wherefore I beseech you fully 8
to restore him to your love. For the very end which 9
I sought when I wrote before, was to test you in this matter, and learn whether you would be obedient in all things. But whomsoever you forgive, I forgive also; for whatever[2] 10
I have forgiven, I have forgiven on your account in the sight[3] of Christ, that we[4] may not be robbed [of our brother] 11
by Satan; for we are not ignorant of his devices.

Cause of his leaving Troas.

When I had come to Troas to publish the Glad-tidings 12
of Christ, and a door was opened to me in the Lord, I had no rest in my spirit because I found not Titus my 13
brother; so that I parted from them[5], and came from thence into Macedonia. But thanks be to God who leads me on 14
from place to place in the train of his triumph, to celebrate his victory over the enemies of Christ[6]; and by me sends forth the knowledge of Him, a steam of fragrant incense, throughout the world. For Christ's is the fragrance[7] which 15
I offer up to God, whether among those in the way of

[1] Τῶν πλειόνων, not "*many*" (A. V.); but *the majority.*

[2] The best MSS. read ὅ not ᾧ.

[3] Ἐν προσώπῳ. Compare Proverbs viii. 30.: εὐφραινόμην ἐν προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ (LXX.). The expression is used somewhat differently in iv. 6.

[4] The *we* of this verse appears to include the readers, judging from the change of person before and after.

[5] Namely, from *the Christians of Troas.*

[6] Θριαμβεύειν (which is mistranslated in A. V.) means *to lead a man as a captive in a triumphal procession;* θριαμβεύειν ἐν Χριστῷ means, *to lead captive in a triumph over the enemies of Christ.* The metaphor is taken from the triumphal procession of a victorious general. God is celebrating his triumph over His enemies; St. Paul (who had been so great an opponent of the Gospel) is a captive following in the train of the triumphal procession, yet (at the same time, by a characteristic change of metaphor) an incense-bearer, scattering incense (which was always done on these occasions) as the procession moves on. Some of the conquered enemies were put to death when the procession reached the Capitol; to them the smell of the incense was ὀσμὴ θανάτου εἰς θάνατον; to the rest who were spared, ὀσμὴ ζωῆς εἰς ζωήν. The metaphor appears to have been a favourite one with St. Paul; it occurs again Col. ii. 15.

[7] Literally, *Christ's fragrance am I, unto God.*

II.16 salvation [1], or among those in the way of perdition; but to these it is an odour of death, to those of life.[2]

Defence of the manner in which he discharged his apostolic office, and its glory contrasted with that of the Mosaic dispensation.

And [if some among you deny my sufficiency], who then
17 is sufficient for these things? For I seek no profit (like most [3]) by setting the word of God to sale [4], but I speak from a single heart, from the command of God, as in God's
III.1 presence, and in fellowship with Christ. Will you say that I am again beginning to commend myself? Or think you that I need letters of commendation (like some other
2 men) either to you, or from you? Nay, ye are yourselves my letter of commendation, a letter written on [5] my
3 heart, known and read [6] by all men; a letter coming manifestly from Christ, and committed to my charge; written not with ink, but with the spirit of the living God; not upon tablets of stone [7], but upon the fleshly tablets of
4 the heart. But through Christ have I this confidence [8]
5 before God; not thinking myself sufficient to gain wisdom by my own reasonings [9], as if it came from myself, but
6 drawing my sufficiency from God. For He it is who has made me suffice for the ministration of a new covenant, a covenant not of letter, but of spirit; for the letter gives the doom of death, but the spirit gives the power of life.
7 Yet if a glory was shed upon the ministration of the law of death, (a law written in letters, and graven upon stones),

[1] Σωζομένοις, not "*who are saved*" (A. V.).

[2] Literally, *to these it is an odour of death, ending in death; to those an odour of life, ending in life.*

[3] The mistranslation of οἱ πολλοὶ, by "many" (A. V.), materially alters the sense. He evidently alludes to his antagonists at Corinth; see p. 93., and xi. 13.

[4] Καπηλεύειν, is *to sell by retail*, including a notion of fraud in the selling.

[5] It is possible that in using ταῖς καρδίαις here St. Paul meant to include Timotheus; yet as this supposition does not agree well with the context, it seems better to suppose the plural used merely to suit the plural form of ἡμῶν.

[6] The paronomasia γινωσκομένη καὶ ἀναγινώσκομένη cannot well be here imitated in English. Compare i. 14.

[7] Like the law of Moses.

[8] Viz. of his sufficiency. Compare ii. 16. ἱκανός; iii. 5. ἱκανοί, 6. ἱκάνωσεν.

[9] Λογίσασθαί τι ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν, literally, *to reach any conclusion by my own reason.* As Theodoret explains it, οὐκ ἐξ οἰκείων ὑφαίνοντες λογισμῶν προσφέρομεν τὰ κηρύγματα (Comment. in loco).

so that the children of Israel could not fix their eyes on the face of Moses, for the glory of his countenance, although its brightness was soon to fade[1]; how far more glorious must III.8
the ministration of the spirit be. For if the ministration of 9
doom had glory, far more must the ministration of righteousness abound in glory.[2] Yea, that which then was glorified 10
with brightness, is now turned into darkness[3], by the surpassing glory wherewith it is compared. For if a glory 11
shone upon that which was doomed to pass away, much more shall glory rest[4] upon that which remains for ever. Therefore, having this hope [in the abiding glory of the new 12
covenant], I speak and act without disguise; and not like 13
Moses, who spread a veil over his face, that[5] the children of Israel might not see the end of that fading brightness. But 14
their minds were blinded; yea to this day, when they read in their synagogues[6] the ancient covenant, the same veil rests thereon, nor[7] can they see beyond it that the law is done away in Christ; but even now, when Moses is read in 15
their hearing, a veil[8] lies upon their heart. But when they 16
turn to the Lord[9] Jesus, the veil is rent away. Now the 17
Lord is the Spirit; and where the Spirit of the Lord abides, there bondage gives place to freedom; and we all, 18

[1] Καταργούμενος. See note on 1 Cor. ii. 6.

[2] The whole of this contrast between the glory of the new and the old dispensations, appears to confirm the hypothesis that St. Paul's chief antagonists at Corinth were of the Judaizing party.

[3] Τὸ δεδοξασμένον ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει, *that which, in this particular, was glorified with brightness;* οὐδὲ δεδόξασται, *has not so much as been glorified with brightness;* the latter expression being equivalent to *has no brightness at all.* If, with the best MSS., we read οὐ instead of οὐδὲ, the meaning will not be essentially altered.

[4] Ἐν, opposed to the preceding διὰ.

[5] See Exod. xxxiv. 35. St. Paul here (as usual) blends the allegorical with the historical view of the passage referred to in the Old Testament.

[6] *In their synagogues* is implied in the term ἀναγνώσει. Compare Acts xv. 21.

[7] We take μὴ ἀνακαλυπτόμενον absolutely (with Meyer); literally, *it being not unveiled* [i. e. *not revealed*] *to them that it* [*the ancient covenant*] *is done away in Christ.* Καταργεῖται is predicated, not of the veil, but of the old covenant. Compare καταργουμένου in the preceding verse, and the use of the same word in verses 7 and 11.

[8] Perhaps there may be here an allusion to the Tallith, which was worn in the synagogue by every worshipper, and was literally a veil hung over the breast. See Vol. I. p. 185.

[9] Κύριον.

while with face unveiled we behold as in a mirror the brightness of our Lord's glory, are ourselves transformed into the same likeness; and the glory which shines upon us[1] is reflected by us, even as it proceeds from the Lord, the Spirit.

IV.1 Therefore having this ministry, I discharge it with no faint-hearted fears, remembering the mercy which I[2] received.
2 I have renounced the secret dealings of shame, I walk not in the paths of cunning, I[3] adulterate not God's message; but openly setting forth the truth, as in the sight of God, I com-
3 mend myself to the conscience of all men. But if there be still a veil which hides my Glad-tidings from some who hear me, it is among those[4] who are in the way of perdition;
4 whose unbelieving minds the God of this passing world[5] has blinded, and shut out the light of the Glad-tidings, even the glorious brightness of Christ, who is the image of God.
5 For I proclaim not myself, but Christ Jesus as Lord and Master, and myself your bondsman for the sake of Jesus.
6 For God, who called forth light out of darkness, has caused His light to shine in my heart, that the knowledge of His glory manifested in the face of Jesus Christ might be shed forth [upon others also].[6]

7 But this treasure is lodged in a body of fragile clay, that so the surpassing might which aids me should be God's, and
8 not my own. I am hard pressed, yet not crushed; help-
9 less, yet not hopeless; persecuted, yet not forsaken; cast
10 down, yet not destroyed.[7] I bear about continually in my body the dying of Jesus[8], that the life also of Jesus might in

In sickness and in danger his strength is from the power of Christ, and the hope of eternal life.

[1] Ἀπὸ δόξης describes the cause, viz. *the glory shining on us*; εἰς δόξαν, the effect; viz. *the reflection of that glory by us*. For the metaphor, compare 1 Cor. xiii. 11. and note. We observe in both passages that even the representation of divine truth given us by Christianity is only a *reflection* of the reality.

[2] Viz. in his conversion from a state of Jewish unbelief.

[3] St. Paul plainly intimates here (as he openly states xi. 17.) that some other teachers were liable to these charges.

[4] Compare ii. 15, 16.

[5] For this translation of αἰῶνος τούτου, see note on 1 Cor. i. 20.

[6] For the meaning of φωτισμόν, compare verse 4.

[7] Observe the force of the present tense of all these participles, implying that the state of things described was constantly going on.

[8] Κυρίου is not found in the best MSS.

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my body be shewn forth. For I, in the midst of life, am IV.11
daily given over to death for the sake of Jesus, that in my
dying flesh the life whereby Jesus conquered death[1] might
show forth its power.

So then death working in me, works life[2] in you. Yet 12,13
having the same spirit of faith whereof it is written "I[3] had
faith, and therefore have I spoken," I also have faith, and
therefore speak: For I know that He who raised our Lord 14
Jesus from the dead, shall raise me also by Jesus, and shall
call me into His presence together with you; for all my 15
sufferings are on your behalf, that the mercy which has
abounded above them all, might call forth your thankfulness;
that so the fulness of praise might be poured forth to God,
not by myself alone, but multiplied by many voices.[4]
Wherefore I faint not; but though my outward man decays, 16
yet my inward man is renewed from day to day. For my 17
light afflictions, which last but for a moment, work for me a
weight of glory, immeasurable and eternal. Meanwhile I 18
look not to things seen, but to things unseen: for the
things that are seen pass away; but the things that are
unseen endure for ever. Yea, I know that if the tent[5] V.1
which is my earthly house be destroyed, I have a mansion
built by God, a house not made with hands, eternal, in the
heavens. And for this I groan with earnest longings, 2
desiring to cover[6] my earthly raiment with the robes of my
heavenly mansion. (If indeed I shall be found[7] still clad 3

[1] Observe the force of the *καί*. Literally "*the life, as well as the death, of Jesus.*"

[2] *I. e.* the mortal peril, to which St. Paul exposed himself, was the instrument of bringing spiritual life to his converts.

[3] Ps. cxvi. 10. (LXX.).

[4] The exactly literal translation would be, "*that the mercy which has above all abounded might, through the thanksgiving of the greater number, overflow to the praise of God.*" Compare the similar sentiment at Chap. I. 11.

[5] The *shifting tent*, *σκῆνος*, is here opposed to the *enduring mansion*, *οἰκοδομή*; the vile body of flesh and blood, to the spiritual body of the glorified saint.

[6] Observe the force of *ἐπενδύσασθαι* as distinguished from *ἐνδύσασθαι*.

[7] Literally, "*If indeed I shall be found clad, and not stripped of my clothing;*" i. e. "If, at the Lord's coming, I shall be found still living in the flesh." We know from other passages that it was a matter of uncertainty with St. Paul

V. 4 in my fleshly garment). For we who are dwelling in the tent, groan and are burdened; not desiring to put off our earthly clothing, but to put over it our heavenly raiment, that this our dying nature might be swallowed up by life. 5 And He who has prepared me for this very end is God, who has given me the Spirit as the earnest of my hope. 6 Therefore, in all my perils[1] I am of good courage, knowing that while my home is in the body, I am in banishment from my Lord; (for I walk by faith, not by 8 sight). Yea, my heart fails me not, but I would gladly suffer banishment from the body, and have my home 9 with Christ.[2] Therefore I strive earnestly that, whether in banishment or at home, I may be pleasing in His sight. 10 For we must all be made manifest[3] without disguise before the judgment seat of Christ, that each may receive according to that which he has done in the body, either good or evil.

His earnestness springs from a sense of his responsibility to Christ, whose commission he bears, and by union with whom his whole nature has been changed.

11 Knowing therefore the fearfulness of the Lord's judgment, though I seek to win men[4], yet my uprightness is manifest in the sight of God; and I hope also that it is 12 manifested by the witness of your consciences. I write not thus to repeat my own commendation[5], but that I may furnish you with a ground of boasting on my behalf, that you may have an answer for those whose boasting is in the outward matters of sight, not in the inward possessions of the 13 heart. For if I be mad[6], it is for God's cause; if sober, it is 14 for yours. For the love of Christ constrains me, because I thus judge, that if one died for all, then His death was

whether he should survive to behold the second coming of Christ or not. Compare 1 Thess. iv. 15. and 1 Cor. xv. 51.

[1] Πάντοτε.

[2] Literally, *the Lord.*

[3] Φανερωθῆναι is mistranslated in the Authorised Version.

[4] Ἀνθρώπους πείθω. He was accused by the Judaizers of ἀνθρώπους πείθειν and ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκειν. (See Gal. i. 10., and the note.)

[5] This alludes to the accusation of vanity brought against him by his antagonists.

[6] I. e. *if I exalt myself* (his opponents called him beside himself with vanity), *it is for God's cause; if I humble myself, it is for your sakes.*

their death[1]; and that He died for all, that the living might V.15
live no longer to themselves, but to Him, who, for their
sakes, died and rose again.[2]

I[3] therefore, from henceforth, view no man carnally; 16
yea, though once my view of Christ was carnal[4], yet now
it is no longer carnal. Whosoever, then, is in Christ, is 17
created anew; his old being has passed away, and behold,
all has become new. But all comes from God, for He 18
it is who reconciled me to Himself by Jesus Christ, and
charged me with the ministry of reconciliation; for[5] God 19
was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself, reckoning
their sins no more against them, and He made it my task to
bear the message of reconciliation. Therefore I am an 20
ambassador for Christ, as though God besought you by my
voice; in Christ's stead I beseech you, be ye reconciled to
God. For Him who knew no sin, God struck with the doom 21
of sin on our behalf; that we might[6] be changed into the
righteousness of God in Christ. Moreover, as working[7] VI.1
together with Him, I also exhort you, that the grace which
you have received from God be not in vain. For He saith: 2
"I have heard thee in an acceptable time, and in the day of
salvation have I succoured thee." Behold, now is the
acceptable time; behold, now is the day of salvation.

Vindication of the faithfulness with which he had discharged his

Meanwhile I take heed to give no cause of stumbling, 3
lest blame should be cast on the ministration wherein I
serve; but in all things I commend myself as one who 4

[1] Οἱ πάντες ἀπέθανον can not mean *all were dead* (A. V.), but *all died.*

[2] The best commentary on the 14th and 15th verses is Gal. ii. 20.

[3] Ἡμεῖς, emphatic.

[4] We agree with Billroth, Neander, and De Wette, that this cannot refer to any actual knowledge which St. Paul had of our Lord when upon earth; it would probably have been Ἰησοῦν had that been meant; moreover, οἴδαμεν κατὰ σάρκα, above, does not refer to *personal knowledge,* but to *a carnal estimate.* For other reasons against such an interpretation, see Vol. I. p. 69. St. Paul's *view of Christ was carnal* when he looked (like other Jews) for a Messiah who should be an earthly conqueror.

[5] Ὡς ὅτι, *als weil, nämlich weil,* pleonastisch (De Wette, in loco). So also Winer, § 67.

[6] Γενώμεθα is the reading of the best MSS.

[7] See note on 1 Cor. iii. 9.

[8] Is. xlix. 8. (LXX.)

[9] Συνιστῶντες ἑαυτούς, an allusion apparently

ministers to God's service; in patient endurance, in afflic- duty, and appeal to the affection of his converts.
VI.5 tions, in necessities, in straitness of distress, in stripes, in
imprisonments, in tumults, in labours, in sleepless watchings,
6 in hunger and thirst; in purity, in knowledge, in long-suffer-
ing, in kindness, in [the gifts of] the Holy Spirit, in love
7 unfeigned; speaking the word of truth, working with the
power of God, fighting with the weapons of righteousness,
8 both sword and shield; through good report and evil,
9 through honour and through infamy; counted as a deceiver,
yet being true; as unknown [by men], yet acknowledged[1]
[by God]; as ever dying, yet behold I live; as chastened by
10 suffering, yet not destroyed; as sorrowful, yet ever filled
with joy; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing,
yet possessing all things.

11 Corinthians, my[2] mouth has spoken to you freely,—my
12 heart has opened itself fully towards you. You find no
narrowness in my love, but the narrowness is in your own.
13 I pray you therefore in return for my affection (I speak as
to my children), let your hearts be opened in like manner.

14 Cease to yoke yourselves unequally in ill-matched inter- Exhortation to the Anti-Judaising party (πνευματικοί) to shun all fellowship with heathen vice.
course with unbelievers; for what fellowship has righteous-
ness with unrighteousness; what communion has light with
15 darkness? what concord has Christ with Belial? what part-
16 nership has a believer with an unbeliever? what agreement
has the temple of God with idols? For ye are yourselves
a temple of the living God, as God said: "I[3] will dwell
in them, and walk in them, and I will be their God, and
17 they shall be my people." Wherefore, "Come[4] out from

to συνιστάνειν ἑαυτοὺς and συστατικῶν ἐπιστολῶν (iii. 1.); as though he said, *I commend myself, not by word, but by deed.*

[1] For this meaning of ἐπιγινωσκόμενοι, see 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

[2] Observe, as a confirmation of previous remarks, ἡμῶν (11.), λέγω (13.); also ἡμᾶς (vii. 2.), λέγω (vii. 3.), ἡμῶν (vii. 3.), μοι (vii. 4.).

[3] Levit. xxvi. 11, 12. (according to LXX. with slight variations).

[4] Isaiah lii. 11. (according to LXX., with alterations); κἀγω εἰσδέξομαι ὑμᾶς not being either in the LXX. or the Hebrew.

among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you." And "I[1] will be unto you a father, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty." Having therefore these promises (my beloved children), let us cleanse ourselves from every defilement, either of flesh or spirit, and perfect our holiness, in the fear of God. VI.18 VII.1

Satisfaction at the tidings just brought by Titus from Corinth.

[2] Give me a favourable hearing. I have wronged no man, I have done hurt[3] to no man, I have defrauded no man; yet I say not this to condemn you, [as though I had myself been wronged by you], for I have said before that I have you in my heart, to live and die with you. Great is my freedom towards you, great is my boasting of you; I am filled with the comfort which you have caused me; I have more than an overweight of joy, for all the affliction which has befallen me. When first I came into Macedonia my flesh had no rest, but I was troubled on every side; without were fightings, within were fears. But God who comforts them that are cast down, comforted me by the coming of Titus; and not by his coming only, but by the comfort which he felt on your account, and the tidings which he brought of your longing for my love, your mourning for my reproof, your zeal for my cause; so that my sorrow has been turned into joy. And I do not now regret, (although I did before regret,) that I wrote the letter[4] which has given you pain; (for I see that you were pained by that letter, though it was but for a season;) — not that I rejoice in your sorrow, but because 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

[1] This passage is not to be found exactly in the Old Testament, although 2 Sam. vii. 14. and Jer. xxxi. 9., and xxxiii. 32., contain the substance of it.

[2] It is not impossible that the preceding part of the Epistle may have been written before the coming of Titus. See p. 92. n. 3.

[3] St. Paul appears frequently to use φθείρειν in this sense (compare 1 Cor. vii. 13.), and not in the ordinary meaning of *corrupt*.

[4] Viz. 1 Cor., unless we adopt the hypothesis that another letter had been written in the interval, according to the view mentioned p. 88. n. 2.

it led you to repentance; for the sorrow which I caused
you was a godly sorrow; so that I might nowise harm you,
VII.10 [even when I grieved you]. For godly sorrow works
repentance not to be repented of, leading to salvation; but
11 worldly sorrow works nought but death. Consider what was
wrought among yourselves when you were grieved with a
godly sorrow; what earnestness it wrought in you, yea, what
eagerness to clear yourselves from blame, what indignation[1],
what fear[2], what longing[3], what zeal[4], what punishment
of wrong. You have cleared yourselves altogether from
12 every stain of guilt in this matter. Know, therefore, that
although I wrote to rebuke you, it was not so much to
punish the wrong doer, nor to avenge him[5] who suffered the
wrong, but that my earnest zeal for you in the sight of God
might be manifest to yourselves.

13 This, therefore, is the ground of my comfort[6]; but
besides my consolation on your account, I was beyond
measure rejoiced by the joy of Titus, because his spirit has
14 been refreshed by the conduct of you all. For whatever
boast of you I may have made to him, I have not been put
to shame. But as all I ever said to you was spoken in
truth, so also my boasting of you to Titus has been proved a
15 truth. And his heart is more than ever drawn towards you,
while he calls to mind the obedience of you all, and the
16 anxiety and self-distrust[7] wherewith you received him. I
rejoice that I can now confide in you altogether.

VIII.1 I desire, brethren, to make known to you the mani- Explanations and directions concerning
festation of God's grace, which has been given in[8] the churches

[1] Indignation against the offender.

[2] Fear of the wrath of God.

[3] Longing for restoration to St. Paul's approval and love.

[4] Zeal on behalf of right, and against wrong.

[5] Viz. the father of the offender. We need not be perplexed at his wife's forming another connection during his life time, when we consider the great laxity of the law of divorce among the Greeks and Romans.

[6] The reading of the best MSS. is *ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ παρακλήσει*.

[7] For the meaning of *φόβου καὶ τρόμου*, see 1 Cor. ii. 3.

[8] *Δεδομένην ἐν* cannot mean "bestowed *on*" (A. V.).

the collection for the poor Christians in Jerusalem.

of Macedonia. For in the heavy trial which has proved their VIII. 2
stedfastness, the fulness of their joy has overflowed, out of the
depth of their poverty, in the richness of their liberality.
They have given (I bear them witness) not only according to 3
their means, but beyond their means, and that of their own
free will; for they besought me with much entreaty that 4
they might bear their part[1] in the grace of ministering to
Christ's people. And far beyond my hope, they gave their 5
very selves to the Lord Jesus[2] first, and to me also, by the
will of God. So that I have desired Titus [to revisit you], 6
that as he caused you to begin this work, so he may lead you
to finish it, that this grace may not be wanting[3] in you; but 7
that, as you abound in all gifts, in faith and utterance, and
knowledge, and earnest zeal, and in the love which joins[4] your
hearts with mine, so you may abound in this grace also. I 8
say not this by way of command; but by the zeal of others
I would prove the reality of your love. For you know 9
the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, how, though He was
rich, yet for our sakes He became poor, that you, by His
poverty, might be made rich. And I give you my advice in 10
this matter; for it becomes you to do thus, inasmuch as you
began not only the contribution, but the purpose of making
it, before others[5], in the year which is past. Now, therefore, 11
fulfil your purpose by your deeds, that as you then shewed
your readiness of will, so now you may finish the work,
according to your means. For if there be a willing mind, 12
the[6] gift is acceptable when measured by the giver's power,
and needs not to go beyond. Nor is this collection made 13
that others may be eased, and you distressed, but to make 14
your burdens equal, that, as now your abundance supplies

[1] Δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς is omitted by the best MSS.
[2] Τῷ Κυρίῳ.
[3] Observe the force of the second καί.
[4] Τῇ ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀγαπῇ, literally, *the love which springs from you and dwells in me.*
[5] Προ-ενήρξασθε; viz. before the Macedonian churches.
[6] Literally, *it is acceptable according to that which it possesses, not that which it possesses not.* The τις is omitted in the best MSS.

their need, your own need may at another time be relieved in equal measure by their abundance, as it is written[1],—
VIII. 15 "He that gathered much had nothing over; and he that
16 gathered little had no lack." But, thanks be to God, that He has put into the heart of Titus the same zeal as I have on your
17 behalf; for he not only has consented to my desire, but is himself very zealous in the matter, and goes[2] to you of his own
18 accord. And I have sent as his companion the brother who is with him, whose praise in publishing the Glad-tidings[3] is
19 spread throughout all the churches, and who has moreover been chosen by the churches [of Macedonia] to accompany me in my journey (when I bear this gift, which I have undertaken to administer); that our Lord[4] Jesus might be glorified, and
20 that[5] I might undertake the task with more good will. For I guard myself against all suspicion which might be cast upon me in my administration of this bounty with which I am
21 charged; being careful to do all things in a seemly manner, not only in the sight of our Lord, but also in the sight of
22 men. The brother[6] whom I have sent likewise with them, is one whom I have put to the proof in many trials, and found always zealous in the work, but who is now yet more zealous
23 from the full trust which he has in you. Concerning Titus, then (on the one hand), he is partner of my lot, and fellow-

[1] Exodus xvi. 18., quoted according to LXX. The subject is the gathering of the manna.

[2] Ἐξῆλθε in the past, because the act is looked upon, according to the classical idiom, from the position of the reader.

[3] Τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ here cannot refer, as some have imagined, to a *written Gospel;* the word is of constant occurrence in the New Testament (occurring sixty times in St. Paul's writings, and sixteen times in the other books), but never once in the supposed sense. Who the deputy here mentioned was, we have no means of ascertaining. Probably, however, he was either Luke (Acts xx. 6.), or one of those, not Macedonians (ix. 4.), mentioned Acts xx. 4.; and possibly may have been Trophimus. See Acts xxi. 29. We may notice the coincidence between the phrase here (συνέκδημος ἡμῶν) and συνεκδήμους τοῦ Παύλου (Acts xix. 29.).

[4] Τοῦ Κυρίου.

[5] The best MSS. omit αὐτοῦ, and read ἡμῶν (not ὑμῶν).

[6] There is even less to guide us in our conjectures as to the person here indicated, than in the case of the other deputy mentioned above. Here, also, the emissary was elected by some of the Churches who had contributed to the collection. He may have been either Luke, Gaius, Tychicus, or Trophimus (Acts xx. 4.).

labourer with me for your good; concerning our brethren (on the other hand), they are ambassadors of the churches, —a manifestation of the glory of Christ. I beseech you, VIII.
therefore, to justify my boasting on your behalf, in the sight of the churches whence they come, by proofs of your love to them.[1] For of your ministration to Christ's people IX.
[at Jerusalem] it is needless that I should write to you; since I know the forwardness of your mind, and boast of 2
it to the Macedonians, saying that Achaia has been ready ever since last year; and the knowledge of your zeal has roused the most of them to follow it. But I have 3
sent the brethren[2], lest my report of you in this matter should be turned into an empty boast; that you may be truly ready, as I have declared you to be. Lest per- 4
chance the Macedonians, who may come with me to visit you, should find you not yet ready, and so shame should fall upon me (for I will not say upon you) by the failure of this boast, whereon I founded[3] my appeal to them. Therefore, I 5
thought it needful to desire these brethren to visit you before my coming, and to arrange beforehand the completion of this bounty which you before promised to have in readiness; so it be really given by your bounty, not wrung from your covetousness. But remember, he[4] who 6
sows sparingly shall reap sparingly; and he who sows bountifully shall reap bountifully. Let each do according to the 7
free choice of his heart; not grudgingly, or of necessity; for "God loveth a cheerful giver."[5] And God is able to give 8
you an overflowing measure of all good gifts, that all your wants may be supplied, and you may give of your abundance to every good work. As it is written,—"The good man 9

[1] Εἰς *αὐτοὺς* answers to *εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους* in the following verse. The *καί* before *εἰς πρόσωπον* is omitted by all the best MSS.

[2] Viz. Titus and the other two.

[3] Ὑποστάσει, literally, *the groundwork on which some superstructure is founded.* If (with the best MSS.) we omit *τῆς καυχήσεως*, the meaning will be unaltered. Compare xi. 17.

[4] The same expression occurs Gal. vi. 7.

[5] Prov. xxii. 8. (according to LXX., with slight variation).

hath scattered abroad, he hath given to the poor; his righte-
IX.10 ousness remaineth for ever."[1] Now may He who furnisheth
" seed to the sower, and bread for the food of man,"[2] furnish
you with plenteous store of seed, and bless your righteousness
11 with fruits of increase. May you be enriched with all good
things, and give them freely with singleness of mind; causing
thanksgivings to God from[3] those to whom I bear your gifts.
12 For the administration of this service not only fills up the
measure of the necessities of Christ's people, but also over-
13 flows beyond it, in many thanks to God; while they[4] praise
God for the proof thus given of the obedience wherewith you
have consented to the Glad-tidings of Christ, and for the
single-minded liberality which you have shewn both to them,
14 and to all. Moreover, in their prayers for you they express
the earnest longings of their love towards you, called forth
through the surpassing grace of God manifested in you.
15 Thanks be to God for His unspeakable gift.

X. 1 Now I, Paul, myself exhort you by the meekness and gentleness of Christ—(I, who am mean, forsooth[5], and lowly in outward presence, while I am among you, yet treat you
2 boldly when I am absent)—I beseech you (I say), that you will not force me to show, when I come, the bold reliance on my own authority, wherewith I reckon to deal with some
3 who measure[6] me by the standard of the flesh. For, though living in the flesh, my warfare is not waged according to the
4 flesh. For the weapons which I wield are not of fleshly weakness, but mighty in the strength of God to overthrow

He contrasts his own character and services with those of the false teachers who depreciated him.

[1] Ps. cxii. 9. (LXX.).

[2] The words *σπέρμα τῷ σπείροντι καὶ ἄρτον εἰς βρῶσιν*, are an exact quotation from Isaiah lv. 10. (LXX.). Ignorance of this fact has caused an inaccuracy in A. V. The literal translation of the remainder of the verse is,—"*Furnish and make plenteous your seed, and increase the fruits springing from your righteousness.*"

[3] Literally, *causing thanksgiving to God by my instrumentality.*

[4] Literally, *they being caused, by the proof of this ministration, to praise God for the obedience*, &c.

[5] Compare verse 10. and *κατὰ πρόσωπον* (verse 7.); also V. 12. *τοὺς ἐν προσώπῳ καυχωμένους.*

[6] Literally, *who account of me as though I walked according to the flesh.* The verses which follow explain the meaning of the expression.

the strongholds of the adversaries. Thereby can I overthrow X. 5
the reasonings of the disputer, and pull down the lofty bulwarks which raise themselves against the knowledge of God, and bring every rebellious thought into captivity and subjection to Christ. And when the obedience of your[1] church 6
shall be complete, I am still ready to punish all those who remain disobedient.

Do you look at matters of outward advantage? If there 7
be any among you who boasts that he belongs above the rest to Christ[2], I bid him once more to consider my words, that if he belong to Christ, so do I no less. For although I were 8
to boast somewhat highly concerning the authority which the Lord Jesus has given me (not to cast you down, but to build you up), my words would not be shamed by the truth. I say 9
this, lest you should imagine that I am writing empty threats to terrify you. "For his letters," says one[3], "are written 10
with authority and firmness, but his bodily presence is weak, and his speech contemptible." Let such a man assure himself 11
that the words which I write while absent, shall be borne out by my deeds when present.[4] For I venture not to number or 12
compare myself with those among you who prove their worth by their self-commendation; but they, measuring themselves by themselves, and comparing themselves with themselves, are guilty of folly.[5] But I, for my part, will not let my boasting 13

[1] Ὑμῶν. Compare ii. 5.

[2] The party who said ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ (1 Cor. i. 12.). See Vol. I. p. 476. As we have remarked above, p. 93., this party at Corinth seems to have been formed and led by an emissary from the Judaizers of Palestine, who is especially referred to in this chapter.

[3] Φησὶ, literally, "says he;" but it is occasionally used impersonally (see Winer, § 49.) for "they say;" yet as, in that sense, φασὶ would be more naturally used, the use of φησὶ and of ὁ τοιοῦτος in the next verse, seems to point to a single individual at the head of St. Paul's opponents. See last note and p. 93., and compare the use of ὁ τοιοῦτος for the single incestuous person (2 Cor. ii. 7.), and for St. Paul himself (2 Cor. xii. 2.).

[4] Literally, "*Let such a man reckon, that such as I am in word by letters while absent, such will I be also in deed when present.*"

[5] Συνιοῦσιν is an Hellenistic form of the 3rd pl. ind. present from συνίημι, and occurs Mat. xiii. 13. Hence we need not take it here for the dative pl. of συνιών, with Olshausen and others. If the latter view were correct, the translation would be, "but I measure myself by my own standard, and compare myself with myself alone, unwise as I am." But this translation presents

carry me beyond all measure, but will confine it within that measure given me by God, who made my line reach
x. 14 even to you. For I stretch not myself beyond due bounds (as though I reached you not); for I have already come as far even as Corinth[1] to publish the Glad-tidings of
15 Christ. I am not boasting beyond my measure, for the labours of others[2]; but I hope that if your faith goes on increasing among[3] yourselves, I shall be still further honoured,
16 within the limits appointed to me, by bearing the Glad-tidings to the countries beyond you; not by boasting of work made ready to my hand within the field assigned to another.
17 Meantime, "He that boasteth, let him boast in the Lord."[4]
18 For a man is proved worthy, not when he commends himself, but when he is commended by his Lord.

xi. 1 Would that ye could bear with me a little in my folly!
2 Yea, ye already bear with me. For I love you with a Godly jealousy, because I betrothed you to one only husband, even to Christ, that I might present you unto Him in virgin
3 purity; but now I fear lest, as Eve was beguiled by the craftiness of the serpent, so your imaginations should be corrupted, and you should be seduced from your single-minded faithful-
4 ness to Christ. For even if he that is come among you proclaims to you another Jesus, of whom I told you not, or if you receive from him the gift of another Spirit, which you received not before, or a new Glad-tidings, which you never
5 heard from me, yet you would fitly bear with me[5]; for I

several difficulties, both in itself, and considered in reference to the context. Lachmann, with cod. B., reads *συνιᾶσιν*, a reading which (as well as the omission of the words from *οὐ* to *δὲ* in several ancient MSS.) has apparently been caused by the difficulty of the Hellenistic form *συνιοῦσιν*.

[1] Ὑμῶν.

[2] This was the conduct of St. Paul's Judaizing antagonists.

[3] We join *αὐξανομένης* with *ἐν ὑμῖν*.

[4] Quoted, according to the sense, from Jer. ix. 24. (LXX.); *ἐν Κυρίῳ* being substituted for *ἐν τούτῳ συνιεῖν ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι Κύριος*. Quoted also 1 Cor. i. 31.

[5] Ἠνείχεσθε. Lachmann (with the Vatican Manuscript) reads *ἀνέχεσθε*, which makes the coincidence with v. 1. more exact; but if we keep *ἠνείχεσθε* (or rather its Hellenistic form, *ἀνείχεσθε*), it may bear the sense here given it, on the same principle on which *erat* is often used for *esset*, and *fuerat* for *fuisset*. We understand *μου* (not *αὐτοῦ* with most commenta-

reckon myself no whit behind those who are counted[1] such chief Apostles. Yea, though I be unskilled in the arts of xi. 6
speech, yet I am not wanting in the gift of[2] knowledge; but I have manifested[3] it to you in all things, and amongst all men. Or is it a sin [which must rob me of the name of 7
Apostle[4]], that I have proclaimed to you, without fee or reward, the Glad-tidings of God, and have abased[5] myself that you might be exalted? Other churches I have spoiled, 8
and taken their wages to do you service. And when I was 9
with you, though I was in want, I pressed not upon any of you; for the brethren[6], when they came from Macedonia, supplied my needs; and I kept, and will keep myself altogether from casting a burden upon you. As the truth 10
of Christ is in me, no deed of mine shall rob me[7] of this boasting in the region of Achaia. And why? Because I 11
love you not? God knows my love. But what I do I will 12
continue to do, that I may cut off all ground from those who wish to find something whereon they may rest a slander; and let them show the same cause for their boasting as I for mine.[8] For men like these are false Apostles, deceitful 13
workmen, clothing themselves in the garb of Christ's

tors), because this agrees better with the context (γάρ following), and with the first verse of the chapter.

[1] Τῶν ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλων. This phrase (which occurs only in this Epistle) is ironical, as is evident from the epithet ὑπερλίαν, "*the super-apostolic Apostles.*"

[2] The gift of γνώσις was *a deep insight into spiritual truth.* See Vol. I. p. 458. n. 2.

[3] Φανερώσαντες is the reading supported by the preponderating weight of MS. authority.

[4] See Vol. I. p. 468.

[5] *I. e.* by working with his hands for his daily bread. See Vol. I. p. 416. In all probability (judging from what we know of other manufactories in those times) his fellow-workmen in Aquila's tent manufactory were slaves. Compare Phil. iv. 12., οἶδα ταπεινοῦσθαι.

[6] Probably Timotheus and Silvanus, who may have brought the contribution sent by the Philippians, (see page 67. n. 7.). The A. V. would require οἱ ἐλθόντες.

[7] Φραγήσεται, not σφραγίσεται, is the reading of the MSS. The literal English would be "*this boasting shall not be stopped for me.*"

[8] The literal English of this difficult passage is, "*that they, in the ground of their boasting, may be found even as I.*" De Wette refers ἐν ᾧ καυχῶνται to *the Apostolic Office.* We take it more generally. A more obvious way would be to take ἐν ᾧ καυχῶνται (with Chrysostom and the older interpreters) to mean their *abstaining from receiving maintenance;* but we know that the false teachers at Corinth did not do this (compare v. 20. below), but, on the contrary, boasted of their privilege, and alleged that St. Paul, by not claiming it, showed his consciousness that he was not truly sent by Christ. See 1 Cor. ix.

Apostles. And no wonder; for even Satan can transform himself into an angel of light. It is not strange, then, if his servants disguise themselves as servants of righteousness; but their end shall be according to their works.

I entreat you all once more[1] not to count me for a fool; or, if you think me such, yet bear with me in my folly, while I, too, boast a little of myself. But, in so doing, I speak not in the spirit of Christ, but, as it were, in folly, while we stand upon this ground of boasting; for, since many are boasting in the spirit of the flesh, I will boast likewise. And I know that you bear kindly with fools, as beseems the wise. Nay, you bear with men though they enslave you, though they devour you, though they entrap you, though they exalt themselves over you, though they smite you on the face, (I speak of degradation)[2], as though I were weak [and they were strong]. And yet, if any think they have grounds of boldness, I too (I speak in folly) have grounds to be as bold as they. Are they Hebrews? so am I. Are they children of Israel? so am I. Are they the seed of Abraham? so am I. Are they servants of Christ? (I speak as though I were beside myself) such, far more, am I. In labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft. (Five times I received from Jews the forty stripes save one; thrice I was scourged with the Roman rods; once I was stoned; thrice I suffered shipwreck[3]; a night and day I spent in the open[4] sea).

[1] Literally, "*I say once more, let none of you count me,*" &c.

[2] Κατὰ ἀτιμίαν λέγω. This explanation, which only requires a slight alteration of the ordinary punctuation, is simpler than De Wette's, who translates "I speak to my own shame," which the Greek can scarcely mean. St. Paul virtually says, "*you bear with my opponents, as though I were too weak to resist them.*"

[3] The five Jewish scourgings, two of the three Roman beatings with rods (one being at Philippi), and the three shipwrecks, are all unrecorded in the Acts. The stoning was at Lystra. What a life of incessant adventure and peril is here disclosed to us! And when we remember that he who endured and dared all this was a man constantly suffering from infirm health (see 2 Cor. iv. 7—12., and 2 Cor. xii. 7—10., and Gal. iv. 13, 14.), such heroic self-devotion seems almost superhuman.

[4] Probably in a small boat, escaping from one of the wrecks.

In journeyings often; in perils of rivers, in perils of robbers; xi. 26
in perils from my countrymen, in perils from the heathen;
in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in
the sea; in perils among false brethren. In toil and weari- 27
ness, often in sleepless watchings; in hunger and thirst,
often without bread to eat; in cold and nakedness. And
besides all the rest[1], there is the crowd[2] which presses upon 28
me daily, and the care of all the churches. Who is weak[3],
but I share his weakness? Who is caused to fall, but I burn 29
with indignation? If I must needs boast, it shall not be in 30
my strength, but in my weakness. God, who is the Father 31
of our Lord Jesus Christ, He who is blessed for ever, knows
that I lie not.[4]

In Damascus, the governor under Aretas[5], the king, 32
kept watch over the city with a garrison, purposing to ap-
prehend me; and I was let down by the wall, through a 33
window, in a basket, and thus [not by my strength, but by
my weakness] I escaped his hands. It is not for me, then, xii. 1
to boast.[6]

But I will come also to visions and revelations of the

[1] Τῶν παρεκτὸς, not "*those things that are without*" (A. V.).

[2] For this meaning of ἐπισύστασις, compare Acts xxiv. 12.

[3] For the way in which St. Paul shared the weakness of the "weaker brethren," see Vol. I. p. 477., and the passages there referred to.

[4] This solemn oath, affirming his veracity, refers to the preceding statements of his labours and dangers. Compare Gal. i. 20.

[5] For the historical questions connected with this incident, see Vol. I. p. 109. Also on ἐθνάρχης, see Winer's Realwörterbuch.

[6] (xii. 1.) We prefer the reading καυχᾶσθαι δὴ οὐ συμφέρει μοι of the Textus Receptus (which is also adopted by Chrysostom and by Tischendorf) to that of the Vatican Manuscript, adopted by Lachmann, καυχᾶσθαι δεῖ οὐ σύμφερον μέν. On the other hand, we read with Lachmann, on the authority of the Codex Vaticanus, ἐλεύσομαι δὲ καὶ, instead of the Textus Receptus, ἐλ. γάρ. The whole passage is most perplexing, from the obscurity of its connection with what precedes and what follows. Why did St. Paul mention his escape from Damascus in so much detail? Was it merely as an event ignominious to himself? This seems the best view, but it is far from satisfactory. There is something most disappointing in his beginning thus to relate in detail the first in that series of wonderful escapes of which he had just before given a rapid sketch, and then suddenly and abruptly breaking off; leaving our curiosity roused and yet ungratified. We cannot agree with De Wette in considering the Damascene escape to be introduced as the climax of all the other perils mentioned, nor in referring to it the solemn attestation of v. 31.

Lord Jesus. I know[1] a man who was caught up fourteen
XII. 2 years ago (whether in the body or out of the body, I cannot
tell; God knoweth), caught up, I say, in the power of Christ[2],
3 even to the third heaven. And I know that such a man
(whether in the body or out of the body I cannot tell; God
4 knoweth) was caught up into Paradise[3], and heard unspeak-
5 able words, which it is not lawful for man to utter. Of
such a man, I will boast; but of myself I will not boast,
6 save in the tokens of my weakness. If I should choose
to boast, I should not be guilty of empty vanity, for I should
speak the truth; but I forbear to speak, that I may not
cause any man to think of me more highly than when he
7 sees my deeds or hears my teaching. And lest, through the
exceeding greatness of these revelations, I should be lifted up
with pride, there was given me a thorn in the flesh[4], a mes-
8 senger of Satan, to buffet me and keep down my pride. And
thrice I besought the Lord Jesus[5] concerning it, that it
9 might depart from me; but He said to me, "My grace is
sufficient for thee; for my strength shows its full might in
weakness." Most gladly, therefore, will I boast rather in my
weakness than in my strength, that the strength of Christ
may rest upon me, and dwell in me.[6] Therefore I rejoice in
signs of weakness, in outrage, in necessities, in persecutions,
in straitness of distress, endured for Christ; for when I am
weakest, then am I strongest.[7]

I have been guilty of folly in boasting, but you have forced me to it; for I ought myself to have been commended

[1] The mistranslation of οἶδα in A. V. (*knew* for *know*) very seriously affects the sense: πρὸ is also mistranslated.

[2] We take ἐν Χριστῷ with ἁρπαγέντα, which would have come immediately after δεκατεσσάρων, had it not been intercepted by the parenthetic clause.

[3] Compare Luke xxiii. 43., *To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise*, and Rev. ii. 7.

[4] *I. e.* a painful bodily infirmity. See Gal. iv. 13, 14., and Vol. I. p. 294.

[5] Τὸν Κύριον.

[6] The full meaning of ἐπισκηνόω is, to *come to a place for the purpose of fixing one's tent there.* Compare (with the whole verse) iv. 7.

[7] *I. e.* the more he was depressed by suffering and persecution, the more was he enabled to achieve by the aid of Christ.

by you: for I have come no whit behind those who are reckoned such chief[1] Apostles, although I be of no account. The XII.12
marks, at least, of an Apostle were seen in the deeds which I wrought among you, in signs and wonders, and miracles, with steadfast endurance of persecution.[2] Wherein had you 13
the disadvantage of other churches, unless, indeed, that I did not burden you with my own maintenance; forgive me, I pray, this wrong which I have done you. Behold 14
I am now for the third time[3] preparing to visit you, and I purpose to cast no burden upon you; for I seek not your substance, but yourselves. And children should not lay up wealth for parents, but parents for children. Nay, rather, most 15
gladly will I spend, yea, and myself be spent, for your souls, though the more abundantly I love you, the less I be loved.

But though it be granted that I did not burden you 16
myself, yet perchance this was my cunning, whereby I entrapped your simplicity. Did I then defraud you of your 17
wealth by some of the messengers whom I sent to you? I desired Titus to visit you, and, with him, I sent the 18
brother, his fellow-traveller. Did Titus defraud you? Did we not act in the same spirit? Did we not walk in the same steps?

He warns the factious and immoral minority that he must be constrained to punish them if they persist in their disobedience.

Do you again imagine that it is before you I defend 19
myself? Nay, before God I speak, in fellowship with Christ; but doing all, beloved, for your sakes, that you may be built up. For I fear lest perchance when I come I should find you not such as I could wish, and that you also should find from me other treatment than you desire. I fear to find you full of strife, jealousies, passions, intrigues[4], slanderings, backbitings, vaunting, sedition. I fear lest, when I come, my God will again humble me[5] by your faults, and I shall be

[1] See note on xi. 5.

[2] Ὑπομονή (in St. Paul's language) means *steadfastness under persecution.* Some of the persecutions referred to are recorded in Acts xviii.

[3] See note on xiii. 1.

[4] Ἐριθεῖαι, *intrigues.* See note on Rom. ii. 8.

[5] Literally, *humble me in respect of you.* See on this verse p. 18. note 1.

compelled to mourn over many among those who had sinned before my[1] last visit, and have not repented of the uncleanness, and fornication, and wantonness which they committed.

XIII. 1 I now come to you for the third time.[2] "**But of the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be con-**
2 **firmed.**"[3] I have warned you formerly, and I now forewarn you, as when[4] I was present the second time, so now, while I am absent, saying to those who had sinned before my last visit, and to all the rest of the offenders,—"If I come again, I will
3 not spare."[5] Thus you shall have the proof you seek of the power of Christ, who speaks in me; for He shows no weakness
4 towards you, but works mightily among you. For although He died upon the cross through the weakness of the flesh, yet now He lives through the power of God. And so I, too, share the weakness of His body; yet I shall share also the power of God, whereby he lives, when[6] I come to deal with
5 you. Examine[7] not me, but yourselves, whether you are truly in the faith; put yourselves to the proof [concerning Christ's presence with you which ye seek in me.] Know ye not of your own selves, that Jesus Christ is dwelling in you? unless, perchance, when thus proved[8], you fail to abide the
6 test. But I hope you will find that I, for my part, abide

[1] Προ-ημαρτηκότες.

[2] Τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. This could scarcely mean merely, "I am for the third time *preparing* to visit you," although 2 Cor. xii. 14. *might* imply no more than that. See p. 18. note 1.

[3] Deut. xix. 15. (from LXX. nearly verbatim), meaning, "I will judge not without examination, nor will I abstain from punishing upon due evidence." Or else (perhaps), "I shall now assuredly fulfil my threats."

[4] This passage, in which γράφω is omitted by the best MSS., seems conclusive for the intermediate journey. What would be the meaning of saying, "I forewarn you as if I were present the second time, now also while I am absent"? which is the translation that we must adopt, if we deny the intermediate visit. Also the προ-ημαρτηκότες, contrasted with the λοιποὶ πάντες (v. 2.), seems inexplicable except on this hypothesis. See p. 18. n. 1.

[5] Ὅτι (as frequently) is here equivalent to a mark of quotation.

[6] Εἰς ὑμᾶς.

[7] Observe here the reference of δοκιμάζετε to the previous δοκιμὴν ζητεῖτε.

[8] Ἀδόκιμος εἶναι, means, *to fail when tested;* this was the original meaning of the English *to be reprobate* (A. V.). Observe here, again, the reference to the context (see preceding note). A paronomasia on the same words occurs Rom. i. 28.

the proof.[1] Yet I pray to God that I may not harm you in any wise. I pray, not that my own power may be clearly proved, but that you may do right, although I should seem unable to abide the proof [because I should show no sign of power]; for I have no power against the truth, but only for the truth's defence. I rejoice, therefore, when I am powerless [against you], and you are strong; yea, it is the very end of my prayers, that you may be perfected. Therefore I write this to you while absent, that, when present, I may not deal harshly with you in the strength of that authority which the Lord Jesus has given me, not to cast down[2], but to build up. xiii. 7 8 9 10

Conclusion.

Finally, brethren, farewell. Perfect what is lacking in yourselves, exhort one another, be of one mind, live in peace; so shall the God of love and peace be with you. Salute one another with the kiss of holiness.[3] All Christ's people here salute you. 11 12 13

Autograph benediction.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit, be with you all.[4] 14

In this letter we find a considerable space devoted to subjects connected with a collection now in progress for the poor Christians in Judæa.[5] It is not the first time that we have seen St. Paul actively exerting himself in such a project.[6] Nor is it the first time that this particular contribution has been brought before our notice. At Ephesus, in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, St. Paul gave special directions as to the method in which it should be laid up in store (1 Cor. xvi. 1—4.) Even before this period similar instructions had been given to the Churches of Galatia (ib. 1.). And the whole project was in fact the fulfilment of a promise made at a still earlier period, that in the course

[1] Viz. *the proof that Christ's power is with me.*

[2] Com pare x. 8.

[3] See note on 1 Thess. v. 25.

[4] The ἀμήν is not found in the best MSS.

[5] The whole of the eighth and ninth chapters

[6] See the account of the mission of Barnabas and Saul to Jerusalem in the time of the famine, Vol. I. ch. iv.

of his preaching among the Gentiles, the poor in Judæa should be remembered (Gal. ii. 10.).

The collection was going on simultaneously in Macedonia and Achaia; and the same letter gives us information concerning the manner in which it was conducted in both places. The directions given to the Corinthians were doubtless similar to those under which the contribution was made at Thessalonica and Philippi. Moreover, direct information is incidentally given of what was actually done in Macedonia; and thus we are furnished with materials for depicting to ourselves a passage in the Apostle's life which is not described by St. Luke. There is much instruction to be gathered from the method and principles according to which these funds were gathered by St. Paul and his associates, as well as from the conduct of those who contributed for their distant and suffering brethren.

Both from this passage of Scripture and from others we are fully made aware of St. Paul's motives for urging this benevolent work. Besides his promise made long ago at Jerusalem, that in his preaching among the Gentiles the poor Jewish Christians should be remembered[1], the poverty of the residents in Judæa would be a strong reason for his activity in collecting funds for their relief, among the wealthier communities who were now united with them in the same faith and hope.[2] But there was a far higher motive, which lay at the root of the Apostle's anxious and energetic zeal in this cause. It is that which is dwelt on in the closing verses of the ninth chapter of the Epistle which has just been read[3], and is again alluded to in words less sanguine in the Epistle to the Romans.[4] A serious schism existed between the Gentile and Hebrew Christians[5], which, though partially closed from time to time, seemed in danger of growing continually wider under the mischievous influence of the Judaizers. The great labour of St. Paul's life at this time was directed to the healing of this division. He felt that if the Gentiles had been made partakers of the spiritual blessings of the Jews, their duty was to contribute to them in earthly blessings (Rom. xv. 27.), and that nothing would be more likely to allay the prejudices of the Jewish party than charitable gifts freely contributed by the Heathen converts.[6] According as cheerful or discouraging thoughts predo-

[1] Gal. ii. 10. above quoted. See Vol. I. p. 236.

[2] See the remarks on this subject, in reference to the early jealousy between the Christians of Aramaic and Hellenistic descent, Vol. I. p. 71.

[3] 2 Cor. ix. 12—15.

[4] Rom. xv. 30, 31.

[5] See the remarks on this subject in Ch. VII.

[6] See Vol. I. p. 141. Compare Neander's remarks at the end of the 7th chapter of the Pfl. u. L.

minated in his mind,—and to such alternations of feeling even an apostle was liable,—he hoped that "the ministration of that service would not only fill up the measure of the necessities of Christ's people" in Judæa, but would "overflow" in thanksgivings and prayers on their part for those whose hearts had been opened to bless them (2 Cor. ix. 12—15.), or he feared that this charity might be rejected, and he entreated the prayers of others, "that he might be delivered from the disobedient in Judæa, and that the service which he had undertaken for Jerusalem might be favourably received by Christ's people" (Rom. xv. 30, 31.).

Influenced by these motives, he spared no pains in promoting the work; but every step was conducted with the utmost prudence and delicacy of feeling. He was well aware of the calumnies with which his enemies were ever ready to assail his character; and therefore he took the most careful precautions against the possibility of being accused of mercenary motives. At an early stage of the collection, we find him writing to the Corinthians, to suggest that "whomsoever they should judge fitted for the trust, should be sent to carry their benevolence to Jerusalem" (1 Cor. xvi. 3.); and again he alludes to the delegates commissioned with Titus, as "guarding himself against all suspicion which might be cast on him in his administration of the bounty with which he was charged," and as being "careful to do all things in a seemly manner, not only in the sight of the Lord, but also in the sight of men" (2 Cor. viii. 20, 21.). This regard to what was seemly appears most strikingly in his mode of bringing the subject before those to whom he wrote and spoke. He lays no constraint upon them. They are to give "not grudgingly or of necessity," but each "according to the free choice of his heart; for God loveth a cheerful giver" (2 Cor. ix. 7.). "If there is a willing mind, the gift is acceptable when measured by the giver's power, and needs not to go beyond" (2 Cor. viii. 12.). He spoke rather as giving "advice" (viii. 10.), than a "command;"[1] and he sought to prove the reality of his converts' love, by reminding them of the zeal of others (viii. 8.). In writing to the Corinthians, he delicately contrasts their wealth with the poverty of the Macedonians. In speaking to the Macedonians themselves, such a mode of appeal was less natural, for they were poorer and more generous. Yet them also he endeavoured to rouse to a generous rivalry, by reminding them of the zeal of Achaia (viii. 24., ix. 2.). To them also, he would doubtless say that "he who sows sparingly shall reap sparingly, and he who sows bountifully shall reap bountifully" (ix. 6.), while he would gently remind them that God was ever

[1] Compare his language to Philemon, whom he "might have commanded," but "for love's sake he rather besought him," v. 9. See the Introduction, p. x.

able to give them an overflowing measure of all good gifts, supplying all their wants, and enabling them to be bountiful[1] to others (ib. 8.). And that one overpowering argument could never be forgotten,—the example of Christ, and the debt of love we owe to Him,—"You know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, how, though He was rich, yet for our sakes He became poor, that you, by His poverty, might be made rich" (viii. 9.). Nor ought we, when speaking of the instruction to be gathered from this charitable undertaking, to leave unnoticed the calmness and deliberation of the method which he recommends of laying aside, week by week[2], what is devoted to God (1 Cor. xvi. 2.),—a practice equally remote from the excitement of popular appeals, and the mere impulse of instinctive benevolence.

The Macedonian Christians responded nobly to the appeal which was made to them by St. Paul. The zeal of their brethren in Achaia "roused the most of them to follow it" (2 Cor. ix. 2.). God's grace was abundantly "manifested in the Churches"[3] on the north of the Ægean (ib. viii. 1.). Their conduct in this matter, as described to us by the Apostle's pen, rises to the point of the highest praise. It was a time, not of prosperity, but of great affliction, to the Macedonian Churches; nor were they wealthy communities like the Church of Corinth; yet, "in their heavy trial, the fulness of their joy overflowed out of the depth of their poverty in the riches of their liberality" (ib. viii. 2.). Their contribution was no niggardly gift, wrung from their covetousness (viii. 5.); but they gave honestly "according to their means" (ib. 3.), and not only so, but even "beyond their means" (ib.); nor did they give grudgingly, under the pressure of the Apostle's urgency, but "of their own free will, beseeching him with much entreaty that they might bear their part in the grace of ministering to Christ's people" (ib. 3, 4.). And this liberality arose from that which is the basis of all true Christian charity. "They gave themselves first to the Lord Jesus Christ, by the will of God" (ib. 5.).

The Macedonian contribution, if not complete, was in a state of much forwardness[4], when St. Paul wrote to Corinth. He speaks of liberal funds as being already pressed upon his acceptance (2 Cor. viii. 4.), and the delegates who

[1] Compare what was said at Miletus, Acts xx. 35.; also Eph. iv. 28.

[2] From 2 Cor. viii. 10., ix. 2., it would seem that the plan recommended in 1 Cor. xvi. 2. had been carried into effect. See Paley's remarks in the Horæ Paulinæ on 2 Cor. The same plan had been recommended in Galatia, and probably in Macedonia.

[3] See p. 107. n. 8.

[4] The aorist ἐπερίσσευσεν (2 Cor. viii. 2.) does not necessarily imply that the collection was closed; and the present κανχῶμαι (ix. 2.) rather implies the contrary.

were to accompany him to Jerusalem had already been chosen (2 Cor. viii. 19. 23.). We do not know how many of the Churches of Macedonia took part in this collection[1], but we cannot doubt that that of Philippi held a conspicuous place in so benevolent a work. In the case of the Philippian Church, this bounty was only a continuation of the benevolence they had begun before, and an earnest of that which gladdened the Apostle's heart in his imprisonment at Rome. "In the beginning of the Gospel" they and they only had sent once and again[2] to relieve his wants, both at Thessalonica and at Corinth (Philip. iv. 15, 16.); and "at the last" their care of their friend and teacher "flourished again" (ib. 10.), and they sent their gifts to him at Rome, as now they sent to their unknown brethren at Jerusalem. The Philippians are in the Epistles what that poor woman is in the Gospels, who placed two mites in the treasury. They gave much, because they gave of their poverty; and wherever the Gospel is preached throughout the whole world, there shall this liberality be told for a memorial of them.

If the principles enunciated by the Apostle in reference to the collection command our devout attention, and if the example of the Macedonian Christians is held out to the imitation of all future ages of the Church, the conduct of those who took an active part in the management of the business should not be unnoticed. Of two of these the names are unknown to us[3], though their characters are described. One was a brother, "whose praise in publishing the Gospel was spread throughout the Churches," and who had been chosen by the Church of Macedonia to accompany St. Paul with the charitable fund to Jerusalem (2 Cor. viii. 18, 19.). The other was one "who had been put to the proof in many trials, and always found zealous in the work" (ib. 22.). But concerning Titus, the third companion of these brethren, "the partner of St. Paul's lot and his fellow-labourer for the good of the Church," we have fuller information; and this seems to be the right place to make a more particular allusion to him, for he was nearly concerned in all the steps of the collection now in progress.

Titus does not, like Timothy, appear at intervals through all the passages

[1] In 2 Cor. xi. 9. we find Philippi used as equivalent to Macedonia (p. 89.), and so it may be here. But it is not absolutely certain (ibid.) that the Second Epistle to the Corinthians was written at Philippi. The Churches in Macedonia were only few, and communication among them was easy along the Via Egnatia; as when the first contributions were sent from Philippi to St. Paul at Thessalonica. See Vol. I. p. 353.

[2] See above, p. 89. For the account of this relief being sent to St. Paul, see Vol. I. p. 353.; and p. 417. n. 6., in reference to Phil. iv. 10. and 2 Cor. xi. 9.

[3] See the notes on 2 Cor. viii.

of the Apostle's life. He is not mentioned in the Acts at all, and this is the only place where he comes conspicuously forward in the Epistles[1]; and all that is said of him is connected with the business of the collection.[2] Thus we have a detached portion of his biography, which is at once a thread that guides us through the main facts of the contribution for the Judæan Christians, and a source whence we can draw some knowledge of the character of that disciple, to whom St. Paul addressed one of his pastoral Epistles. At an early stage of the proceedings he seems to have been sent,—soon after the First Epistle was despatched from Ephesus to Corinth,—not simply to enforce the Apostle's general injunctions, but[3] to labour also in forwarding the collection (2 Cor. xii. 18.). Whilst he was at Corinth, we find that he took an active and zealous part at the outset of the good work (ib. viii. 6.). And now that he had come to Macedonia, and brought the Apostle good news from Achaia, he was exhorted to return, that he might finish what was so well begun, taking with him (as we have seen) the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and accompanied by the two deputies who have just been mentioned. It was a task which he was by no means unwilling to undertake. God "put into his heart the same zeal" which Paul himself had; he not only consented to the Apostle's desire, but was "himself very zealous in the matter, and went of his own accord" (2 Cor. viii. 16, 17.). If we put together these notices, scanty as they are, of the conduct of Titus, they set before us a character which seems to claim our admiration for a remarkable union of enthusiasm, integrity, and discretion.

After the departure of Titus, St. Paul still continued to prosecute the labours of an evangelist in the regions to the north of Greece. He was unwilling as yet to visit the Corinthian Church, the disaffected members of which still caused him so much anxiety,—and he would doubtless gladly employ this period of delay to accomplish any plans he might have formed and left incomplete on his former visit to Macedonia. On that occasion he had been persecuted in Philippi[4], and had been forced to make a precipitate retreat from

[1] See Vol. I. p. 227. n. 6. It is observed there that the only epistles in which he is mentioned are 2 Cor. and 2 Tim.

[2] The prominent appearance of Titus in this part of the history has been made an argument for placing the Epistle to Titus, as Wieseler and others have done, about this part of St. Paul's life. This question will be discussed afterwards.

[3] See above, p. 88. The fact that the mission of Titus had something to do with the collection, might be inferred from 2 Cor. xii. 18.: "Did Titus *defraud* you?" We do not know who the "brother" was, that was sent with him on that occasion from Ephesus.

[4] Vol. I. p. 319.

Thessalonica[1]; and from Berœa his course had been similarly urged to Athens and Corinth.[2] Now he was able to embrace a wider circumference in his Apostolic progress. Taking Jerusalem as his centre[3], he had been perpetually enlarging the circle of his travels. In his first missionary journey he had preached in the southern parts of Asia Minor and the northern parts of Syria: in his second journey he had visited the Macedonian towns which lay near the shores of the Ægean: and now on his third progress he would seem to have penetrated into the mountains of the interior, or even beyond them, to the shores of the Adriatic, and "fully preached the Gospel of Christ round about unto Illyricum" (Rom. xv. 19.).

We here encounter a subject on which some difference of opinion must unavoidably exist. If we wish to lay down the exact route of the Apostle, we must first ascertain the meaning of the term "Illyricum" as used by St. Paul in writing to the Romans: and if we find this impossible, we must be content to leave this part of the Apostle's travels in some degree of vagueness; more especially as the preposition ("unto," μέχρι) employed in the passage is evidently indeterminate.

The political import of the word "Illyricum" will be seen by referring to what has been written in an earlier chapter on the province of Macedonia.[4] It has been there stated that the former province was contiguous to the north-western frontier of the latter. It must be observed, however, that a distinction was anciently drawn[5] between *Greek Illyricum*, a district on the south, which was incorporated by the Romans with Macedonia, and formed the coast line of that province where it touched the Adriatic[6],—and *Barbarous*, or *Roman Illyricum*, which extended towards the head of that gulf, and was under the administration of a separate governor. This is "one of those ill-fated portions of the earth which, though placed in immediate contact with civilisation, have remained perpetually barbarian."[7] For a time it was in close connection, politically and afterwards ecclesiastically, with the capitals both of the Eastern and Western empires: but afterwards it relapsed almost into its former rude condition, and "to this hour it is devoid of illustrious

[1] Vol. I. p. 355.

[2] Ib. p. 365.

[3] Notice the phrase, ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ. Rom. xv. 19.; and see the Horæ Paulinæ.

[4] Vol. I. p. 337. &c. See our map of St. Paul's third missionary journey.

[5] See Forbiger, Alte Geographie, iii. p. 833.

[6] For the seaboard of Macedonia on the Adriatic, see Vol. I. pp. 337, 338.

[7] Arnold's Rome, vol. i. p. 495.

names and noble associations."[1] Until the time of Augustus, the Romans were only in possession of a narrow portion along the coast, which had been torn during the wars of the Republic from the piratic inhabitants.[2] But under the first emperor a large region, extending far inland towards the valleys of the Save and the Drave, was formed into a province, and contained some strong links of the chain of military posts, which was extended along the frontier of the Danube.[3] At first it was placed under the senate[4]: but it was soon found to require the presence of large masses of soldiers: the emperor took it into his own hands[5], and inscriptions are still extant on which we can read the records of its occupation by the seventh and eleventh legions.[6] *Dalmatia*, which is also mentioned by St. Paul (2 Tim. iv. 10.), was a district in the southern part of this province; and after the final reduction of the Dalmatian tribes[7], the province was more frequently called by this name than by that of Illyricum.[8] The limits of this political jurisdiction (to speak in general terms) may be said to have included Bosnia and the modern[9] Dalmatia, with parts of Croatia and Albania.

But the term Illyricum was by no means always, or even generally, used in a strictly political sense. The extent of country included in the expression was various at various times. The Illyrians were loosely spoken of by the earlier Greek writers as the tribes which wandered on the eastern shore of the Adriatic.[10] The Illyricum which engaged the arms of Rome under the Republic was only a narrow strip of that shore with the adjacent islands. But in the Imperial times it came to be used of a vast and vague extent of country lying to the south of the Danube, to the east of Italy, and to the west of Macedonia.[11] So it is used by Strabo in the reign of Augustus[12], and similarly by Tacitus in

[1] Arnold's Rome, vol. i. p. 495.

[2] It extended from the river Drilon to the Istrian peninsula. For the conquest of the country under Augustus, see Appian, Illyr. 18—21., and Dio. xlix. 35. seq., also Strabo, iv. and vii.

[3] One of the most important of these military posts was Siscia, in the Pannonian country, on the Save. See App. Illyr. 23., Dio. xlix. 36. seq. The line was continued by Augustus through Mœsia, though the reduction of that region to a province was later. Six legions protected the frontier of the Danube. Tac. Ann. iv. 5.

[4] Dio. liii. 12.

[5] Dio. liv. 34.

[6] Orelli's inscriptions, 3452. 3553. 4995. 4996. Josephus alludes to these legions in the following passage, and his language on geographical subjects is always important as an illustration of the Acts: Οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν Ἰλλυριοὶ τὴν μέχρι Δαλματίας ἀποτεμνομένης Ἴστρῳ κατοικοῦντες, οὐ δυσὶ μόνοις τάγμασιν ὑπείκουσι, μεθ' ὧν αὐτοὶ τὰς τῶν Δακῶν ἀνακόπτουσιν ὁρμάς. B. J. ii. 16.

[7] See the history in Dio.

[8] Hoeck's Röm. Gesch. p. 379. Dalmatia is a name unknown to the earlier Greek writers. See Cramer's Greece, vol. i. p. 35.

[9] The modern name of Illyria has again contracted to a district of no great extent in the northern part of the ancient province.

[10] Herodotus and Scylax. Compare Appian, Illyr. 1.

[11] See Gibbon's first chapter.

[12] Strabo, vii. See Appian Illyr. 6.

his account of the civil wars which preceded the fall of Jerusalem[1]; and the same phraseology continues to be applied to this region till the third century of the Christian era.[2] We need not enter into the geographical changes which depended on the new division of the empire under Constantine[3], or into the fresh significance which, in a later age, was given to the ancient names, when the rivalry of ecclesiastical jurisdictions led to the schism of Eastern and Western Christendom.[4] We have said enough to show that it is not possible to assume that the Illyricum of St. Paul was a definite district ruled as a province by a governor from Rome.

It seems by far the most probable that the terms "Illyricum" and "Dalmatia" are both used by St. Paul in a vague and general sense: as we have before had occasion to remark in reference to Asia Minor, where many geographical expressions, such as "Mysia," "Galatia," and "Phrygia," were variously used, popularly or politically.[5] It is indeed quite possible that St. Paul, not deeming it right as yet to visit Corinth, may have pushed on by the Via Egnatia[6], from Philippi and Thessalonica, across the central mountains which turn the streams eastward and westward, to Dyrrhachium, the landing-place of those who had come by the Appian Road from Rome to Brundusium.[7] Then, though still in the province of Macedonia, he would be in the district called Greek Illyricum[8]: and he would be on a line of easy communication with Nicopolis[9] on the south, where, on a later occasion, he proposed to winter (Tit. iii. 12.); and he could easily penetrate northwards into Roman or Barbarous

[1] Tac. Hist. i. 2. 76. &c., where under the term Illyricum are included Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Mœsia: and this, it must be remembered, is strictly contemporaneous with the Apostle.

[2] See Vopiscus, Aurel. 13. Treb. Claud. 15.

[3] In this division, *Illyricum occidentale* (including Pannonia and Noricum) was a *diocese* of the Præfecture of Italy. The *Præfecture of Illyricum* contained only that part of the old Illyrian country which was called Greek Illyricum, and belonged, in the time of Claudius, to the province of Macedonia. See above.

[4] A geographical account of Illyricum in its later ecclesiastical sense, and of the dioceses which were the subjects of the rival claims of Rome and Constantinople, will be found in Neale's History of the Eastern Church.

[5] See Vol. I. pp. 255. 296.

[6] See the account of the Via Egnatia, Vol. I. p. 339.

[7] It has been said above (Vol. I. p. 339.) that when St. Paul was on the Roman way at Philippi, he was really on the road which led to Rome. The ordinary ferry was from Dyrrhachium to Brundusium.

[8] See above, p. 126., comparing Vol. I. pp. 337, 338.

[9] Nicopolis was in Epirus, which, it will be remembered (see above under Macedonia), was in the *province of Achaia*. The following passage may be quoted in illustration of the geography of the district:—Eum honorem [consulis] Germanicus iniit apud urbem *Achaiæ* Nicopolim, quo venerat per *Illyricam* oram, viso fratre Druso in *Dalmatia* agente. Tac. Ann. ii. 53. See Wieseler, p. 353. For the stages on the Roman road between Apollonia on the Adriatic and Nicopolis, see Cramer's Greece, vol. i. p. 154.

Illyricum, where was that district of Dalmatia[1], which was afterwards visited by his companion Titus, whom, in the present instance, he had dispatched to Corinth. But we must admit that the expression in the Romans might have been legitimately[2] used, if he never passed beyond the limits of Macedonia, and even if his Apostolic labours were entirely to the eastward of the mountains, in the country watered by the Strymon and the Axius.[3]

Whether he travelled widely and rapidly in the regions to the north of Greece, or confined his exertions to the neighbourhood of those churches which he had previously founded,—the time soon came when he determined to revisit that church, which had caused him so much affliction not unmixed with joy. During the course of his stay at Ephesus, and in all parts of his subsequent journey in Troas and Macedonia, his heart had been continually at Corinth. He had been in frequent communication with his inconsistent and rebellious converts. Three letters[4] had been written to entreat or to threaten them. Besides his own personal visit[5] when the troubles were beginning, he had sent several messengers, who were authorised to speak in his name. Moreover, there was now a special subject in which his interest and affections were engaged, the contribution for the poor in Judæa, which he wished to "seal" to those for whom it was destined (Rom. xv. 28.) before undertaking his journey to the West.[6]

Of the time and the route of this southward journey we can only say that the most probable calculation leads us to suppose that he was travelling with his companions towards Corinth at the approach of winter[7]; and this makes it likely that he went by land rather than by sea.[8] A good road to the south had long been formed from the neighbourhood of Berœa[9], connecting the chief towns of Macedonia with those of Achaia. Opportunities would not be wanting

[1] See above, p. 127. It is indeed possible that the word Dalmatia in this Epistle may be used for the *province* (of Illyricum or Dalmatia), and not a subordinate district of what was called Illyricum in the wider sense.

[2] The preposition μέχρι need not denote anything more than that St. Paul came to the frontier. See Hemsen's remarks in answer to the question, "Kam Paulus nach Illyricum?" p. 390., and compare p. 399.

[3] See what has been said of these rivers in Ch. IX.

[4] The question of the lost letter has been discussed above in this volume, Ch. XV. pp. 21, 22.

[5] See again, on this intermediate visit, the beginning of Ch. XV.

[6] For the project of this westward journey see the end of Chap. XV. above.

[7] See Wieseler.

[8] See Acts xxvii. 9.

[9] The roads through Dium have been alluded to above, Vol. I. p. 367., and compare p. 363. n. 1. The stages between Berœa and Larissa in Thessaly may be seen in Cramer's Greece, vol. i. p. 281. See again p. 450.

for preaching the Gospel at every stage in his progress; and perhaps we may infer from his own expression in writing to the Romans (xv. 23.),—"I have no more place in those parts,"—either that churches were formed in every chief city between Thessalonica and Corinth, or that the Glad-tidings had been unsuccessfully proclaimed in Thessaly and Bœotia, as on the former journey they had found but little credence among the philosophers and triflers of Athens.[1]

[1] Athens is never mentioned again after Acts xviii. 1., 1 Thess. iii. 1. We do not know that it was ever revisited by the Apostle, and in the second century we find that Christianity was almost extinct there. See Vol. I. p. 409. At the same time nothing would be more easy than to visit Athens, with other "churches of Achaia" during his residence at Corinth. See Vol. I. p. 439., and Vol. II. p. 93.

CHAPTER XVIII.

"O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you?"—Gal. iii. 1.

ST. PAUL'S FEELINGS ON APPROACHING CORINTH.—CONTRAST WITH HIS FIRST VISIT.—BAD NEWS FROM GALATIA.—HE WRITES *THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.*

It was probably already winter, when St. Paul once more beheld in the distance the lofty citadel of Corinth, towering above the isthmus which it commands. The gloomy season must have harmonised with his feelings as he approached. The clouds which hung round the summit of the Acro-Corinthus, and cast their shadow upon the city below, typified the mists of vice and error which darkened the minds even of its Christian citizens. Their father in the faith knew that, for some of them at least, he had laboured in vain. He was returning to converts who had cast off the morality of the Gospel; to friends who had forgotten his love; to enemies who disputed his divine commission. It is true, the majority of the Corinthian church had repented of their worst sins, and submitted to his Apostolic commands. Yet what was forgiven could not entirely be forgotten; even towards the penitent he could not feel all the confidence of earlier affection; and there was still left an obstinate minority, who would not give up their habits of impurity, and who, when he spoke to them of righteousness and judgment to come, replied either by openly defending their sins, or by denying his authority and impugning his orthodoxy.

He now came prepared to put down this opposition by the most decisive measures; resolved to cast out of the Church these antagonists of truth and goodness, by the plenitude of his Apostolic power. Thus he warned them a few months before (as he had threatened, when present on an earlier occasion), "when I come again, I will not spare" (2 Cor. xiii. 2.). He declared his determination to punish the disobedient (2 Cor. x. 6.). He "boasted" of the authority which Christ had given him (2 Cor. x. 8.). He besought them not to compel him to use the weapons entrusted to him (2 Cor. x. 2.), weapons not of fleshly weakness, but endowed with the might of God (2 Cor. x. 4.). He pledged himself to execute by his deeds when present, all he had threatened by his words when absent. (2 Cor. x. 11.)

As we think of him, with these purposes of severity in his mind, approaching the walls of Corinth, we are irresistibly reminded of the eventful close of a former journey, when Saul, "breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord," drew nigh to Damascus. How strongly does this accidental resemblance bring out the essential contrast between the weapons and the spirit of Saul and Paul! Then he wielded the sword of the secular power—he travelled as the proud representative of the Sanhedrin—the minister of human cruelty and injustice; he was the Jewish Inquisitor, the exterminator of heretics, seeking for victims to imprison or to stone. Now he is meek and lowly[1], travelling in the humblest guise of poverty, with no outward marks of pre-eminence or power; he has no gaolers at his command to bind his captives, no executioners to carry out his sentence. All he can do is to exclude those who disobey him from a society of poor and ignorant outcasts, who are the objects of contempt to all the mighty, and wise, and noble among their countrymen. His adversaries despise his apparent insignificance; they know that he has no outward means of enforcing his will; they see that his bodily presence is weak; they think his speech contemptible. Yet he is not so powerless as he seems. Though now he wields no carnal weapons, his arms are not weaker but stronger than they were of old. He can not bind the bodies of men, but he can bind their souls. Truth and love are on his side; the spirit of God bears witness with the spirits of men on his behalf. His weapons are "mighty to overthrow the strongholds of the adversaries;" "Thereby" he could "overthrow the reasonings of the disputer, and pull down the lofty bulwarks which raise themselves against the knowledge of God, and bring every rebellious thought into captivity and subjection to Christ."[2]

Nor is there less difference in the spirit of his warfare than in the character of his weapons. Then he "breathed out threatenings and slaughter;" he "made havoc of the Church;" he "haled men and women into prison;" he "compelled them to blaspheme." When their sentence was doubtful, he gave his vote for their destruction[3]; he was "exceedingly mad against them." Then his heart was filled with pride and hate, uncharitableness and self-will. But now his proud and passionate nature is transformed by the spirit of God; he is crucified with Christ; the fervid impetuosity of his character is tempered by meekness and gentleness; his very denunciations and threats of punishment are full of love; he grieves over his contumacious opponents; the thought of their

[1] Ταπεινος ἐν ὑμῖν (2 Cor. x. 1.). [2] 2 Cor. x. 4, 5. [3] Acts xxvi. 10.

pain fills him with sadness. "For if I cause you grief, who is there to cause me joy?"[1] He implores them, even at the eleventh hour, to save him from the necessity of dealing harshly with them; he had rather leave his authority doubtful, and still remain liable to the sneers of his adversaries, than establish it by their punishment (2 Cor. xiii. 7—9.). He will condescend to the weakest prejudices, rather than cast a stumbling-block in a brother's path; he is ready to become all things to all men, that he may by all means save some.

Yet all that was good and noble in the character of Saul remains in Paul, purified from its old alloy. The same zeal for God burns in his heart, though it is no longer misguided by ignorance nor warped by party spirit. The same firm resolve is seen in carrying out his principles to their consequences, though he shows it not in persecuting but in suffering. The same restless energy, which carried him from Jerusalem to Damascus that he might extirpate heresy, now urges him from one end of the world to the other[2], that he may bear the tidings of salvation.

The painful anticipations which now saddened his return to Corinth were not, however, altogether unrelieved by happier thoughts. As he approached the well-known gates, in the midst of that band of faithful friends who, as we have seen, accompanied him from Macedonia, his memory could not but revert to the time when first he entered the same city, a friendless and lonely[3] stranger. He could not but recall the feelings of extreme depression with which he first began his missionary work at Corinth, after his unsuccessful visit to Athens. The very firmness and bold confidence which now animated him,—the assurance which he felt of victory over the opponents of truth,—must have reminded him by contrast of the anxiety and self-distrust[4] which weighed him down at his first intercourse with the Corinthians, and which needed a miraculous vision[5] for its removal. How could he allow discouragement to overcome his spirit, when he remembered the fruits borne by labours which had begun in so much sadness and timidity. It was surely something that hundreds of believers now called on the name of the Lord Jesus, who when he first came among them, had worshipped nothing but the deification of their own

[1] 2 Cor. ii. 2.

[2] He was at this very time intending to go first to Jerusalem, thence to Rome, and thence to Spain; that is, to travel from the Eastern to the Western extremities of the civilised world. See Rom. xv. 28. Compare the conclusion of Chap. XVII.

[3] He was left at Athens *alone* (1 Thess. iii. 1.), and so remained till Timotheus and Silas rejoined him at Corinth. See Vol. I. p. 388.

[4] See 1 Cor. iii. 1—3.

[5] Acts xviii. 9.

lusts. Painful no doubt it was, to find that their conversion had been so incomplete; that the pollutions of heathenism still defiled those who had once washed away the stains[1] of sin; yet the majority of the Church had repented of their offences; the number who obstinately persisted in sin was but small; and if many of the adult converts were so tied and bound by the chains of habit, that their complete deliverance could scarce be hoped for, yet at least their children might be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Moreover, there were some, even in this erring church, on whom St. Paul could think with unmingled satisfaction; some who walked in the spirit, and did not fulfil the lust of the flesh; who were created anew in Christ Jesus; with whom old things had passed away, and all things had become new; who dwelt in Christ, and Christ in them. Such were Erastus the treasurer, and Stephanas, the first fruits of Achaia; such were Fortunatus and Achaicus, who had lately travelled to Ephesus on the errand of their brethren; such was Gaius[2], who was even now preparing to welcome beneath his hospitable roof the Apostle who had thrown open to himself the door of entrance into the Church of Christ. When St. Paul thought of "them that were such," and of the many others "who worked with them and laboured"[3] as he threaded the crowded streets on his way to the house of Gaius, doubtless he "thanked God and took courage."

But a painful surprise awaited him on his arrival. He found that intelligence had reached Corinth from Ephesus, by the direct route, of a more recent date than any which he had lately received; and the tidings brought by this channel concerning the state of the Galatian churches, excited both his astonishment and his indignation. His converts there, whom he seems to have regarded with peculiar affection, and whose love and zeal for himself had formerly been so conspicuous, were rapidly forsaking his teaching, and falling an easy prey to the arts of Judaizing missionaries from Palestine. We have seen the vigour and success with which the Judaizing party at Jerusalem were at this period pursuing their new tactics, by carrying the war into the territory of their great opponent, and endeavouring to counterwork him in the very centre of his influence, in the bosom of those Gentile Churches which he had so lately founded. We know how great was the difficulty with which he had defeated (if indeed they were yet defeated) the agents of this restless party at

[1] 1 Cor. vi. 11.

[2] It would be more correct to write this name Caius; but as the name under its Greek form of Gaius has become naturalised in the English language as a synonym of Christian hospitality, it seems undesirable to alter it.

[3] 1 Cor. xvi. 16.

Corinth; and now, on his reaching that city to crush the last remains of their opposition, he heard that they had been working the same mischief in Galatia, where he had least expected it. There, as in most of the early Christian communities, a portion of the Church had been Jews by birth; and this body would afford a natural fulcrum for the efforts of the Judaizing teachers; yet we cannot suppose that the number of Jews resident in this inland agricultural district could have been very large. And St. Paul, in addressing the Galatians, although he assumes that there were some among them familiar with the Mosaic Law, yet evidently implies that the majority were converts from heathenism.[1] It is remarkable, therefore, that the Judaizing emissaries should so soon have gained so great a hold over a church consisting mainly of Gentile Christians; and the fact that they did so proves not only their indefatigable activity, but also their skill in the arts of conciliation and persuasion. It must be remembered, however, that they were by no means scrupulous as to the means which they employed to effect their objects. At any cost of falsehood and detraction, they resolved to loosen the hold of St. Paul upon the affection and respect of his converts. Thus to the Galatians they accused him of a want of uprightness, in observing the Law himself whilst among the Jews, yet persuading the Gentiles to renounce it[2]; they argued that his motive was to keep his converts in a subordinate state, excluded from the privileges of a full covenant with God, which was enjoyed by the circumcised alone[3]; they declared that he was an interested flatterer[4], "becoming all things to all men," that he might make a party for himself; and above all, they insisted that he falsely represented himself as an apostle of Christ, for that he had not, like the Twelve, been a follower of Jesus when He was on earth, and had not received His commission; that, on the contrary, he was only a teacher sent out by the authority of the Twelve, whose teaching was only to be received so far as it agreed with theirs and was sanctioned by them; whereas his doctrine (they alleged) was now in opposition to that of Peter and James, and the other "Pillars" of the Church.[5] By such representations they succeeded to a great extent in alienating the Galatian Christians from their father in the faith; already many of the recent converts submitted to circumcision[6], and embraced the party of their new teachers with the same zeal which they had formerly

[1] See Gal. iv. 8.
[2] Gal. v. 11.
[3] Gal. iv. 16. compared with Gal. ii. 17.
[4] Gal. i. 10.
[5] See the whole of the first two chapters of the Epistle.
[6] Gal. vi. 13.

shown for the Apostle of the Gentiles[1]; and the rest of the Church was thrown into a state of agitation and division.

On receiving the first intelligence of these occurrences, St. Paul hastened to check the evil before it should have become irremediable. He wrote to the Galatians an Epistle which begins with an abruptness and severity showing his sense of the urgency of the occasion, and the greatness of the danger; it is also frequently characterised by a tone of sadness, such as would naturally be felt by a man of such warm affections when he heard that those whom he loved were forsaking his cause and believing the calumnies of his enemies. In this letter his principal object is to show that the doctrine of the Judaizers did in fact destroy the very essence of Christianity, and reduced it from an inward and spiritual life to an outward and ceremonial system; but, in order to remove the seeds of alienation and distrust which had been designedly planted in the minds of his converts, he begins by fully contradicting the falsehoods which had been propagated against himself by his opponents, and especially by vindicating his title to the Apostolic office as received directly from Christ, and exercised independently of the other Apostles. Such were the circumstances and such the objects which led him to write the following Epistle.

EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.[2]

Defence of his independent apostolic au-

PAUL,—an Apostle, sent not from men nor by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised Him from I. 1

[1] Gal. iv. 14, 15.

[2] The date of this Epistle cannot be so clearly demonstrated as that of most of the others; but we conclude that it was written at the time assumed in the text on the following grounds:—

1st. It was not written till *after St. Paul's second visit to the Galatians.* This is proved (A) by his speaking of their conversion as having occurred at his *first* visit (τὸ πρότερον, iv. 13.); implying that he had paid them a second visit. (B) (iv. 16.): "Am I now *become* (γέγονα) your enemy by speaking truth among you?" implies that there had been a second visit in which he had offended them, contrasted with the first when he was so welcome.

2ndly. It is maintained by many eminent authorities that it was written *soon* after his second visit. This St. Paul (they argue) expressly says; he marvels that the Galatians are *so soon* (οὕτω ταχέως, i. 6.) forsaking his teaching. The question is (according to these writers), within what interval of time would it have been possible for him to use this word "*soon?*" Now this depends on the length of their previous Christian life; for instance, had St. Paul known them as Christians for twenty years, and then after an absence of four years heard of their perversion, he might have said their abandonment of the truth was marvellously *soon* after their possession of it; but if they had been only converted

the dead;—With all the brethren[1] who are in my company. To the Churches of Galatia.

thority against the Judaizing

to Christianity for three years before his second visit (as was really the case), and he had heard of their perversion not till four years after his second visit, he could scarcely, in that case, speak of their perversion as having occurred *soon* after they had been in the right path, in reference to the whole time they had been Christians. He says virtually, "You are wrong now, you were right a *short time ago.*" The natural impression conveyed by this language (considering that the time of their previous stedfastness in the true faith was only three years altogether) would certainly be, that St. Paul must have heard of their perversion within about a year from the time of his visit. At that time he was resident at Ephesus, where he would most naturally and easily receive tidings from Galatia. Hence they consider the Epistle to have been written at Ephesus during the first year of St. Paul's residence there. But in answer to these arguments it may be replied, that St. Paul does not say the Galatians were perverted *soon after his own last visit to them.* His words are, θαυμάζω ὅτι οὕτω ταχέως μετατίθεσθε, "I wonder that you are so quickly shifting your ground." The same word, ταχέως, he uses (2 Thess. ii. 2.) where he exhorts the Thessalonians μὴ ταχέως σαλευθῆναι, "not *rashly* to let themselves be shaken;" where ταχέως refers not so much to the *time* as to the *manner* in which they were affected, like the English *hastily.* But even supposing the ταχέως in Gal. i. 6. to refer simply to *time*, and to be translated *quickly* or *soon*, we still (if we would fix the date from it) must ask, "quickly *after what event?*"—"soon *after what event?*" And it is more natural (especially as μετατίθεσθε is the present tense) to understand "soon *after the entrance of the Judaizing teachers,*" than to understand "soon *after my last visit.*"

Hence there seems nothing in this ταχέως to fix the date of the Epistle; nor is there any other *external* evidence of a decisive nature supplied by the Epistle. But

3rdly. The *internal* evidence that the Epistle was written nearly at the same time with that to the Romans is exceedingly strong. Examples of this are Rom. viii. 15. compared with Gal. iv. 6., Rom. vii. 14—25. compared with Gal. v. 17., Rom. i. 17. compared with Gal. iii. 11., and the argument about Abraham's faith in Rom. iv. compared with Gal. iii. But the comparison of single passages does not so forcibly impress on the mind the parallelism of the two Epistles, as the study of each Epistle as a whole. The more we examine them, the more we are struck by the resemblance; and it is exactly that resemblance which would exist between two Epistles written nearly at the same time, while the same line of argument was occupying the writer's mind, and the same phrases and illustrations were on his tongue. This resemblance, too, becomes more striking when we remember the very different circumstances which called forth the two Epistles; that to the Romans being a deliberate exposition of St. Paul's theology, addressed to a Church with which he was personally unacquainted; that to the Galatians being an indignant rebuke, written on the urgency of the occasion, to check the perversion of his children in the faith.

This internal evidence, therefore, leads us to suppose that the Epistle to the Galatians was written within a few months of that to the Romans; and most probably, therefore, from Corinth during the present visit (although there is nothing to show which of the two was written the first). The news of the arrival of the Judaizers in Galatia would reach St. Paul from Ephesus; and (considering the commercial relations between the two cities) there is no place where he would be so likely to hear tidings from Ephesus as at Corinth. And since, on his arrival at the latter city, he would probably find some intelligence from Ephesus waiting for him, we have supposed, in the text, that the tidings of the perversion of Galatia met him thus on his arrival at Corinth.

[1] Some of these "brethren in St. Paul's company" are enumerated in Acts xx. 4.: Sopater

teachers, and historical proofs that his commission was not derived from the other Apostles.

Grace be to you and peace from God our[1] Father, and I. 3
our Lord Jesus Christ; who gave himself for our sins, that 4
He might deliver us from this present evil world, according
to the will of our God and Father; to whom be glory, even 5
unto the ages of ages. Amen.

I marvel that you are so soon shifting[2] your ground, and 6
forsaking Him[3] who called you[4] in the grace of Christ, for
a new Glad-tidings; which is nothing else[5] but the device 7
of certain men who are troubling you, and who desire to
pervert the Glad-tidings of Christ. But even though I 8
myself, or an angel from heaven, should declare to you any
other Glad-tidings than that which I declared, let him be
accursed. As I have said before, so now I say again, if any 9
man is come to you with a Glad-tidings different from that
which you received before, let him be accursed. Think ye 10
that man's[6] assent, or God's, is now my object? or is it that
I seek favour with men? Nay, if I still sought favour with
men, I should not be the bondsman of Christ.

For I certify you, brethren, that the Glad-tidings which 11

of Berœa; Aristarchus and Secundus of Thessalonica; Gaius of Derbe; Timotheus; and Tychicus and Trophimus from Proconsular Asia. The junction of their names with that of Paul in the salutation of this Epistle, throws light on the junction of the names of Timotheus, Sosthenes, Silvanus, &c. with Paul's in the salutation at the head of some other Epistles; showing us more clearly that these names were not joined with that of St. Paul as if they were *joint authors* of the several Epistles referred to. This clause also confirms the date we have assigned to the Epistle, since it suits a period when he had an unusual number of travelling companions, in consequence of the collection which they and he were jointly to bear to Jerusalem. See the last chapter.

[1] The text used by Chrysostom placed ἡμῶν after πάτρος, which is the usual order. The meaning of the other reading (which has the greater weight of MS. authority for it) is probably the same.

[2] For the translation of this, see the note on the date of this Epistle, above.

[3] "*Him who called you.*" St. Paul probably means God. Compare Rom. ix. 24.

[4] "In the grace of Christ." It is scarcely necessary (since Winer's writing) to observe that ἐν cannot mean *into;* Christians are called to salvation *in* the grace of Christ.

[5] The Authorised Version, "*which is not another,*" is incorrect; the ἄλλο of this verse not being a repetition of the preceding ἕτερον.

[6] This alludes to the accusations brought against him. See above, p. 134.; also 2 Cor. v. 11.; and for the words ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκειν, compare ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι (Col. iii. 22.). His answer is, that had popularity and power been his object, he would have remained a member of the Sanhedrin. The ἄρτι and ἔτι mark the reference to this contrast between his position before and since his conversion.

I. 12 I brought you is not of man's devising. For I myself received it not from man, nor was it taught me by man's
13 teaching, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ. For you have heard of my former behaviour in the days of my Judaism, how I persecuted beyond measure the Church o
14 God, and strove[1] to root it out, and outran in Judaism many of my own age and nation, being more exceedingly zealous[2]
15 for the traditions of my fathers. But when it pleased Him, who set me apart[3] from my mother's womb, and called me
16 by His grace, to reveal His Son in me, that I might proclaim His Glad-tidings among the Gentiles, I did not immediately
17 take counsel with flesh and blood, nor yet did I go up to Jerusalem to those who were Apostles before me, but I departed into Arabia[4], and from thence returned to Damascus.
18 Afterwards, when three years had passed, I went up to Jerusalem, that I might know Cephas[5], and with him I
19 remained fifteen days; but other of the Apostles saw I none,
20 save only James[6], the brother of the Lord. (Now in this which I write to you, behold I testify before God that I lie
21 not.) After this I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia;
22 but I was still unknown by face to the Churches of Christ in
23 Judæa: tidings only were brought them from time to time[7], saying, "He who was once our persecutor now bears the Glad-tidings of that Faith, which formerly he laboured to
24 root out." And they glorified God in me.

II. 1 Then fourteen[8] years after, I went up again to Jerusalem

[1] Ἐπορθοῦν (the imperfect).

[2] Ζηλωτής. This term was, perhaps, already adopted (as it was not long after, Joseph. Bell. iv. 6.) by the Ultra-Pharisaical party.

[3] Compare Rom. i. 1.: ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον.

[4] On the events mentioned in this verse, see Vol. I. p. 104.

[5] *Cephas*, not *Peter*, is the reading of the best MSS. throughout this Epistle, as well as in the Epistles to Corinth; except in one passage, Gal. ii. 7, 8. St. Peter was ordinarily known up to this period by the Syro-Chaldaic form of his name (the name actually given by our Lord), and not by its Greek equivalent. It is remarkable that he himself, in his Epistles, uses the Greek form, perhaps as a mark of his antagonism to the Judaizers, who naturally would cling to the Hebraic form.

[6] See note on 1 Cor. ix. 5.

[7] Ἀκούοντες ἦσαν.

[8] See the discussion of this passage, Vol. I.

The council of Jerusalem.

with Barnabas, and took Titus with me also. At that time II. 2
I went up in obedience to a revelation which I had received,
and I communicated to the brethren [1] in Jerusalem the Glad-
tidings which I proclaim among the Gentiles; but to the
chief brethren I communicated it privately [2], lest perchance
my labours, either past or present, might be rendered fruitless.
Yet not even Titus, my own companion (being a Greek), was 3
compelled to be circumcised. But this communication [3] [with 4
the Apostles in Judæa] I undertook on account of the false
brethren who gained entrance by fraud, for they crept in
among us to spy out our freedom [4] (which we possess in
Christ Jesus) that they might enslave us under their own
yoke. To whom I yielded no submission, no, not for an 5
hour; that you might continue to enjoy the reality of
Christ's Glad-tidings.

But from those who were held in chief reputation—it 6
matters not to me of what account they were,—God is no
respecter of persons—those (I say) who were the chief in
reputation gave me no new instruction; but, on the contrary, 7
when they saw that I had [5] been charged to preach the Glad-
tidings to the uncircumcised by the same authority as Peter
to the circumcised (for He who wrought in Peter a fitness 8
for the Apostleship of the circumcision, wrought also in me
the gifts needful for an Apostle of the Gentiles), and when 9
they had learned the grace which God had given me,—James,
Cephas, and John, who were accounted chief pillars, gave to
me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, purposing that
we should go to the Gentiles, and they to the Jews; provided 10

pp. 244—252.; also see Vol. I. p. 235. and Vol. II. p. 71.

[1] Αὐτοῖς. Compare the preceding verse.

[2] On these private conferences preceding the public assembly of the Church, see Vol. I. p. 229.

[3] Something must be supplied here to complete the sense; we understand ἀνεθέμην from v. 2.; others supply οὐ περιετμήθη, "but I refused to circumcise him (which otherwise I would have done) on account of the false brethren, that I might not seem to yield to them." Others again supply περιετμήθη, which gives an opposite sense. Our interpretation agrees best with the narrative in Acts xv.

[4] Viz. from the ordinances of the Mosaic law.

[5] Πεπίστευμαι, the perfect, used because the charge still continued.

only, that we should remember the poor [brethren in Judea], which I have accordingly[1] endeavoured to do with diligence.

St. Peter at Antioch.

II. 11 But when Cephas came to Antioch, I withstood him
12 openly, because he had incurred[2] reproach; for before the coming of certain [brethren] from James, he was in the habit of eating with the Gentiles; but when they came, he drew back, and separated himself from the Gentiles, for fear of the
13 Jewish brethren. And he was joined in his dissimulation by the rest of the Jews [in the Church of Antioch], so that even Barnabas was drawn away with them to dissemble in like
14 manner. But when I saw that they were walking in a crooked path[3], and forsaking the truth of the Glad-tidings, I said to Cephas before them all, "If thou, being born a Jew, art wont to live according to the customs of the Gentiles, and not of the Jews, why wouldest thou constrain the Gentiles to keep
15 the ordinances of the Jews? We are Jews by birth,
16 and not unhallowed Gentiles; yet[4], knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the Law, but by faith in Jesus Christ, we ourselves also have put our faith in Christ Jesus, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the Law; for by the works of the Law '**shall no flesh be justified.**'"[5]

The Jewish believers had renounced the righteousness of the law.

17 But what if, while seeking to be justified in Christ, we have indeed reduced[6] ourselves to the sinful state of unhallowed[7] Gentiles? Must we then hold Christ for the minister of sin? That be far from us![8]

[1] The A.V. here is probably incorrect. Ἐσπούδασα seems to be the aorist used for perfect (as often). Αὐτὸ τοῦτο (used in this way) is nearly equivalent to *accordingly*. Compare 2 Cor. ii. 3. and Phil. i. 6.

[2] Κατεγνωσμένος ἦν, a remarkable expression, not equivalent to the Authorised translation, "*he was to be blamed.*" For the history of this see Chap. VII.

[3] Ὀρθοποδεῖν (only found here), *to walk in a straight path.*

[4] We read δὲ here with Tischendorf and the best MSS.

[5] Ps. cxliii. 2. (LXX.); quoted also more fully, Rom. iii. 20.

[6] Literally, *been found.*

[7] Ἁμαρτωλοί. Compare ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοὶ above.

[8] Neander (P. und L. 352.) thinks that the 17th verse also ought to be included in the speech of St. Paul, and much might be said in favour of his view. Still, on the whole, we think the speech more naturally terminates with v. 16. See Vol. I. p. 242. n. 1. The hypothesis in v. 17. is that of the Judaizers, refuted (after St. Paul's manner) by an abrupt *reductio ad*

For if I again build up that [structure of the Law] which II. 18
I have overthrown, then I represent myself as a transgressor.
Whereas I, through the operation[1] of the Law, became dead 19
to the Law, that I might live to God. I am crucified with 20
Christ, and[2] live no more myself, but Christ is living in me;
and my outward life which still remains, I live in the faith
of the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me.
I will not set at naught the gift of God's grace [by seeking 21
righteousness in the Law]; for if the Law can make men
righteous, then Christ has died in vain.

Appeal to the experience of the Galatians.

O foolish Galatians, who has bewitched you?[3] You, III. 1
before whose eyes was held up the picture[4] of Jesus Christ
upon the cross. One question I would ask you. When you 2
received the Spirit, was it from the works of the Law, or
the teaching of Faith? Are you so senseless? Having begun 3
in the Spirit, would you now end in the Flesh? Have you 4
received so many benefits in vain — if indeed it has been in
vain? I say, How came the gifts of Him who furnishes 5
you with the fulness of the Spirit, and works in you the
power of miracles?[5] Came they from the deeds of the Law,
or from the teaching of Faith?

Faith, and not the Law, is the source of righteousness.

So likewise "**Abraham[6] had faith in God, and it was** 6
reckoned unto him for righteousness." Know, therefore, that 7
they only are the sons of Abraham who are children of Faith.
And the Scripture, foreseeing that God through Faith justifies 8

absurdum. The Judaizer objects, "*You say you seek righteousness in Christ, but in fact you reduce yourself to the state of a Gentile; you are farther from God, and therefore farther from righteousness, than you were before.*" To which St. Paul only replies, "*On your hypothesis, then* (ἄρα), *we must conclude Christ to be the minister of sin!* μὴ γένοιτο." This passage is illustrated by the similar mode in which he answers the objections of the same party, Rom. iii. 3—8. See note on μὴ γένοιτο below, chap. iii. 21.

[1] This thought is fully expanded in the 7th of Romans.

[2] It is with great regret that we depart from the A.V. here, not only because of its extreme beauty, but because it must be so dear to the devotional feelings of all good men. Yet ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγὼ cannot be translated "*nevertheless I live, yet not I.*"

[3] The words τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι are not found in the best MSS., and ἐν ὑμῖν is also omitted.

[4] Προεγράφη.

[5] Ἐνεργῶν δυνάμεις. Compare ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων, 1 Cor. xii. 10.

[6] Gen. xv. 6. (LXX.); quoted also Rom. iv. 3.

[not the Jews only but] the Gentiles, declared beforehand to Abraham the Glad-tidings of Christ, saying, "All[1] the nations
III. 9 of the Gentiles shall be blessed in thee." So then, they who are children of Faith [whether they be Jews or Gentiles] are blessed with faithful Abraham.

10 For all they who rest upon the works of the Law, lie under a curse; for it is written, "Cursed[2] is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the
11 Law to do them." And it is manifest that no man is counted righteous in God's judgment under the conditions of the Law; for it is written, "By[3] faith shall the righteous live."
12 But the Law rests not on Faith, but declares, "The[4] man which doeth these things, shall live therein." Christ has
13 redeemed us from the curse of the Law, for He became accursed for our sakes (as it is written, "Cursed[5] is every
14 one that hangeth on a tree"), to the end that in Christ Jesus the blessing of Abraham might come unto the Gentiles; that through Faith we might receive the promise of the Spirit.

15 Brethren — (I speak by comparison[6],) — nevertheless, — a man's covenant, when ratified, cannot by its giver be an-
16 nulled, or set aside by a later addition. Now God's promises were made to Abraham and to his seed; the scripture says not "and to thy seeds," as if it spoke of many, but as of
17 one, "and to thy seed;"[7] and this seed is Christ. But this I say; a covenant which had been ratified before by God, to be fulfilled in Christ, the law which was given four hundred and thirty[8] years afterwards, cannot make void, to the annulling

The Law could not abrogate the prior promise to Abraham.

[1] Gen. xii. 3., from the LXX. but not verbatim. Compare the similar quotation, Rom. iv. 17.

[2] Deut. xxvii. 26. Nearly verbatim from LXX.

[3] Hab. ii. 4. (LXX.); quoted also Rom. i. 17.

[4] Levit. xviii. 5. (LXX.); quoted also Rom. x. 5.

[5] Deut. xxi. 23. Nearly verbatim from LXX.

[6] Κατ' ἄνθρωπον λέγω, in St. Paul's style, seems always to mean, *I use a comparison drawn from human affairs or human language.* Compare Rom. iii. 5. and 1 Cor. xv. 32.

[7] Gen. xiii. 15. (LXX.) The meaning of the argument is, that the recipients of God's promises are not to be looked on as an aggregate of different individuals, or of different races, but are all one body, whereof Christ is the head.

[8] With regard to the chronology, see Vol. I. p. 188. n. 2. To the remarks there the following

of the promise. For if the inheritance comes from the Law, it comes no longer from promise; whereas God has given it to Abraham freely by promise. III. 18

To what end, then, was the Law? it was[1] added because of the transgressions[2] of men, till the Seed should come, to whom belonged the promise; and it was ordained through the ministration of angels[3] by the hands of [Moses[4], who was] a mediator [between God and the people]. Now where[5] a mediator is, there must be two parties. But God is one [and there is no second party to His promise]. 19 20

Relation of Judaism to Christianity.

Do I say then[6] that the Law contradicts the promises of God? that be far from me! For if a Law were given which could raise men from death to life, then we might truly say that righteousness came from the Law. But[7] the Scripture (on the other hand) has shut up the whole world 21 22

may be added: *τοὺς μηδὲν τῶν τοιούτων οἰομένους εἶναι δαιμόνιον, ἀλλὰ πάντα τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ γνώμῃ, δαιμονᾶν ἔφη· δαιμονᾶν δὲ καὶ τοὺς μαντευομένους ἃ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔδωκαν οἱ θεοὶ μαθοῦσι διακρίνειν· οἷον . . . . ἃ ἔξεστιν ἀριθμήσαντας ἢ μετρήσαντας ἢ στήσαντας εἰδέναι· τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα παρὰ τῶν θεῶν πυνθανομένους ἀθέμιστα ποιεῖν ἡγεῖτο· ἔφη δὲ δεῖν, ἃ μὲν μαθόντας ποιεῖν ἔδωκαν οἱ θεοὶ, μανθάνειν· ἃ δὲ μὴ δῆλα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ, πειρᾶσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν πυνθάνεσθαι.* Memorabilia Socratis, I. 1.

[1] *Προσετέθη* is the reading of the best MSS.

[2] Compare Rom. v. 20.: *νόμος παρεισῆλθεν ἵνα πλεονάσῃ τὸ παράπτωμα.*

[3] Compare Acts vii. 53.

[4] Moses is called "the Mediator" by the Rabbinical writers. See several passages quoted by Schoettgen (Horæ Hebraicæ) on this passage.

[5] St. Paul's argument here is left by him exceedingly elliptical, and therefore very obscure; as is evident from the fact that more than two hundred and fifty different explanations of the passage have been advocated by different commentators. The most natural meaning appears to be as follows: "It is better to depend upon an unconditional promise of God, than upon a covenant made between God and man; for in the latter case the conditions of the covenant might be broken by man (as they had been), and so the blessings forfeited; whereas in the former case, God being immutable, the blessings derived from His promise remain steadfast for ever." The passage is parallel with Rom. iv. 13—16.

[6] The expression *μὴ γένοιτο* occurs fourteen times in St. Paul; viz. three times in Galatians, ten times in Romans (another example of the similarity between these Epistles), and once in 1 Corinthians. In one of these cases (Gal. vi. 14.) it is not interjectional, but joined with *ἐμοι*; in another (1 Cor. vi. 15.), it repels a direct hypothesis, "*Shall I do (so and so)? God forbid.*" But in all the other instances it is interjectional, and rebuts *an inference deduced from St. Paul's doctrine by an opponent.* So that the question which precedes *μὴ γένοιτο* is equivalent to "*Do I then infer that.*"

[7] The connection of the argument is, that if the Law could give men spiritual life, and so enable them to fulfil its precepts, it would give them righteousness: but it does not pretend to do this; on the contrary, it shows the impotence of their nature by the contrast of its requirements with their performance. This verse is parallel with Rom. xi. 32.

together under the condemnation of sin, that through Faith in Jesus Christ the promise might be given to the faithful.

III. 23 But before Faith came, we were shut up in prison, in ward under the Law, in preparation for the Faith which should
24 afterwards be revealed. Thus, even as the slave[1] who leads a child to the house of the schoolmaster, so the Law led us to our teacher Christ, that by Faith we might be justified;
25 but now that Faith is come, we are under the slave's care no
26 longer. For you are all the sons of God, by your faith in
27 Jesus Christ; yea, whosoever among you have been baptized
28 unto Christ, have put on Christ. In Him there is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither slave nor freeman, neither male nor
29 female; for you all are one in Christ Jesus. And if you are Christ's, then you are Abraham's seed, and heirs of his blessing by promise.

IV. 1 Now I say, that the heir, so long as he is a child, has no more freedom than a slave, though he is owner of the whole
2 inheritance; but he is under overseers and stewards until the
3 time appointed by his father. And so we also [who are Israelites] when we were children, were treated like slaves, and taught the lessons of childhood by outward ordinances.[2]
4 But when the appointed time was fully come, God sent forth His own Son, who was born of a woman, [partaker of our flesh and blood], and born an Israelite, subject to the Law;
5 that so he might redeem from their slavery the subjects of the Law, and that we[3] might be adopted as the sons of God.
6 And because you are the sons of God, He has sent forth the spirit of His own Son into your hearts, crying unto Him, and
7 saying "Our Father."[4] Wherefore thou [who canst so pray]

[1] Παιδαγωγός. The mistranslation of this word in the Authorised Version has led to a misconception of the whole metaphor. See note on 1 Cor. iv. 15.

[2] Τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου literally means *the elementary lessons of outward things.* Compare Col. ii. 8. and 20.

[3] *We*, namely, *all Christians, whether Jews or Gentiles.*

[4] Ἀββᾶ is the Syro-Chaldaic word for Father,

art no more a slave, but a son; and if a son, then an heir of God through Christ.

Appeal to the heathen converts not to return to an outward and formal worship.

But you [who were Gentiles], when you knew not God, were in bondage to gods that have no real being. But now, when you have gained the knowledge of God,—or rather, when God has acknowledged you,—how is it that you are turning backwards to those childish lessons, void both of strength and blessing? Would you seek again the slavery which you have outgrown? Are you observing days[1], and months[2], and seasons[3], and years?[4] I am fearful for you, lest I have spent my labour on you in vain. I beseech you, brethren, to become as I am, [and seek no more a place among the circumcised]; for I too have become as you[5] are, [and have cast away the pride of my circumcision]. You have never wronged me hitherto: on the contrary, although it was sickness (as you know) which caused[6] me to preach the Glad-tidings to you at my first visit, yet you neither scorned nor loathed me because of the bodily infirmity which was my trial[7]; but you welcomed me as an angel of God, yea, even as Christ Jesus. Why, then, did you think yourselves so

IV. 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

and it is the actual word with which the Lord's prayer began, as it was uttered by our Lord himself. The ὁ πατήρ which follows is only a translation of Ἀββᾶ, inserted as translations of Aramaic words often are by the writers of the New Testament, but not used *along with* Ἀββᾶ. This is rendered evident by Mark xiv. 36., when we remember that our Lord spoke in Syro-Chaldaic. Rom. viii. 15. is exactly parallel with the present passage.

[1] The Sabbath-days. Compare Col. ii. 16.

[2] The seventh months.

[3] The seasons of the great Jewish feasts.

[4] The Sabbatical and jubilee years. From this it has been supposed that this Epistle must have been written in a Sabbatical year. But this does not necessarily follow, because the word may be merely inserted to complete the sentence; and of course those who observed the Sabbaths, festivals, &c. would *intend* to observe also the Sabbatical years when they came. The *plural* of the word ἐνιαυτούς being used favours this view.

[5] This is of course addressed to the Gentile converts.

[6] *I. e.* by keeping him in their country against his previous intention. See Vol. I. p. 294.

[7] Πειρασμόν. This was probably the same disease mentioned 2 Cor. xii. 7. It is very unfortunate that the word *temptation* has so changed its meaning in the last two hundred and fifty years, as to make the Authorised Version of this verse a great source of misapprehension to ignorant readers. Some have even been led to imagine that St. Paul spoke of a *sinful habit* in which he indulged, and to the dominion of which he was encouraged (2 Cor. xii. 9.) contentedly to resign himself!

happy? (for I bear you witness that, if it had been possible,
you would have torn out your own eyes[1] and given them to
IV. 16 me.) Am I then become your enemy[2] because I tell you the
17 truth? They [who call me so] show zeal for you with no
good intent; they would shut you out from others, that your
18 zeal may be for them alone. But it is good to be zealous[3]
in a good cause, and that at all times, and not when zeal
19 lasts only [like yours] while I am present with you. My
beloved children, I am again bearing the pangs of travail for
20 you, till Christ be fully formed within you. I would that
I were present with you now, that I might change my tone
[from joy to sadness]; for you fill me with perplexity.

21 Tell me, ye that desire to be under the Law, will you
22 not hear the Law? For therein it is written that Abraham
had two sons[4]; one by the bond-woman, the other by the
23 free. But the son of the bond-woman was born to him after
the flesh; whereas the son of the free-woman was born by
24 virtue of God's promise. Now, all this is allegorical; for
these two women are the two covenants; the first given
from Mount Sinai, whose children are born into bondage,
25 which is Hagar (for the word Hagar[5] signifies Mount Sinai
in Arabia); and herein she answers to the earthly Jeru-
salem, for[6] she continues in bondage with her children. But

The allegory of Hagar and Sarah teaches the same lesson to the Jew.

[1] This certainly seems to confirm the view of those who suppose St. Paul's malady to have been some disease in the eyes. The ὑμῶν appears emphatic, as if he would say, *you would have torn out your own eyes to supply the lack of mine.*

[2] The Judaizers accused St. Paul of desiring to keep the Gentile converts in an inferior position, not admitted (by circumcision) into full covenant with God; and called him, therefore, their enemy. So, in the Clementines, St. Paul is covertly alluded to as ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος.

[3] Τὸ ζηλοῦσθαι might also mean, "to be the object of zeal," as many interpreters take it; but, on the whole, the other interpretation (which is that of Winer, Meyer, and De Wette) seems to suit the context better. Perhaps, also, there may be an allusion here to the peculiar use of the word ζηλωτὴς. Compare Gal. i. 14.

[4] With this passage compare Rom. ix. 7—9.

[5] The word Hagar in Arabic means "a rock," and some authorities tell us that Mount Sinai is so called by the Arabs. The lesson to be drawn from this whole passage, as regards the Christian use of the Old Testament, is of an importance which can scarcely be overrated.

[6] All the best MSS. read γὰρ, not δὲ.

[Sarah[1] is the second covenant, which is in Christ, and answers to the heavenly Jerusalem; for] the heavenly Jerusalem is free, and is the mother of us all.[2] And so it is written [that the spiritual seed of Abraham should be more numerous than his natural seed; as says the Prophet] "Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not; break forth into shouting, thou that travailest not; for the desolate hath many more children than she which hath the husband."[3] Now, we, brethren, like Isaac, are children born [not naturally, but] by virtue of God's promise. Yet, as then the spiritual seed of Abraham was persecuted by his natural seed, so it is also now. Nevertheless, what says the Scripture? "Cast out the bond-woman and her son; for the son of the bond-woman shall not be heir with the son of the free-woman."[4] So then, brethren, we are not children of the bond-woman, but of the free. Stand fast, therefore, in the freedom which Christ has given us, and turn not back again, to entangle yourselves in the yoke of bondage.

iv. 2 27 28 29 30 31 v. 1

Lo, I Paul declare unto you, that if you cause yourselves to be circumcised, Christ will profit you nothing. I testify again to every man who submits to circumcision, that he thereby lays himself under obligation to fulfil the whole Law. By resting your righteousness on the Law, you have annulled your fellowship with Christ, you are fallen from the free gift of His grace. For we, through the power of the Spirit[5], [not through the circumcision of the Flesh], from Faith [not works], look with earnest longing for the hope[6] of right-

2 3 4 5

[1] This clause in brackets is implied, though not expressed, by St. Paul, being necessary for the completion of the parallel.

[2] The weight of MS. authority is rather against the πάντων of the received text; yet it bears an emphatic sense if retained, viz. "*we all, whether Jews or Gentiles, who belong to the Israel of God.*" Compare Gal. vi. 16.

[3] Isaiah liv. 1. (LXX.)

[4] Gen. xxi. 10., from LXX., but not quite verbatim.

[5] In the words πνεῦμα and πίστις a tacit reference is made to their antitheses (constantly present to St. Paul's mind) σάρξ or γράμμα, and νόμος or ἔργα, respectively.

[6] I. e. *the hope of eternal happiness promised to the righteous.*

v. 6 eousness. For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision avails anything, nor uncircumcision; but Faith, whose work[1] is Love.

7 You were running the race well: who has cast a stumbling-block in your way? who has turned you aside 8 from your obedience to the truth? The counsel which you have obeyed[2] came not from Him who called[3] you. [Your 9 seducers are few; but] "A little leaven leavens the whole 10 lump."[4] As for me, I rely upon you, brethren, in the Lord Jesus, that you will not be led astray; but he that is troubling you, whosoever he be, shall bear the blame.

Warning against the Judaizing teachers, and against party divisions.

11 But if I myself also [as they say] preach circumcision[5], why am I still persecuted? for if I preach circumcision, then the cross, the stone at which they stumble[6], is done away.

12 I could wish that these agitators who disturb your quiet, would execute upon themselves not only circumcision, but excision also.[7]

13 For you, brethren, have been called to freedom; only make not your freedom a vantage-ground for the Flesh, but rather enslave yourselves one to another by the bondage of 14 love. For all the Law is fulfilled in this one commandment, 15 "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."[8] But if, on the other hand, you bite and devour one another, take heed lest you be utterly destroyed by one another's means.

Exhortation to the more enlightened party not to abuse their freedom.

[1] Literally, "*whose essential operation consists in the production of love.*"

[2] Observe the paronomasia between *πεισμονή* and *πείθεσθαι*.

[3] *Τοῦ καλοῦντος*. The participle used substantively. Compare i. 6. and note.

[4] This proverb is quoted also 1 Cor. v. 6.

[5] This accusation might naturally be made by St. Paul's opponents, on the ground of his circumcising Timothy, and himself still continuing several Jewish observances. See Acts xx. 6., and Acts xxi. 24.

[6] Literally, *the stumbling-stone of the cross*; i. e. *the cross which is their stumbling-stone*. Compare 1 Cor. i. 23. The doctrine of a crucified Messiah was a stumbling-block to the national pride of the Jews; but if St. Paul would have consented to make Christianity a sect of Judaism (as he would by "preaching circumcision"), their pride would have been satisfied. But then, if salvation were made to depend on outward ordinances, the death of Christ would be rendered unmeaning.

[7] Observe the force of the *καὶ* and of the middle voice here; the A. V. is a mistranslation.

[8] Levit. xix. 18. (LXX.)

Variance between the Spirit and the Flesh.

This I say, then; walk in the Spirit, and you shall not v. 16
fulfil the desire of the Flesh; for the desire of the Flesh fights 17
against the Spirit, and the desire of the Spirit fights against the Flesh; and this variance between the Flesh and the Spirit would hinder[1] you from doing that which your will prefers. But, if you be led by the Spirit, you are not under 18
the Law.[2] Now, the works of the Flesh are manifest, which 19
are such as these[3]; fornication, impurity, lasciviousness; 20
idolatry, witchcraft[4]; enmities, strife, jealousy, passionate anger; intrigues[5], divisions, sectarian parties; envy, murder, 21
drunkenness, revellings, and such like. Of which I forewarn you (as I have told you also in times past), that they who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, 22
kindness, goodness, trustfulness[6], gentleness, self-denial. 23
Against such there is no Law.

Warning to the more enlightened party against spiritual pride.

But they who are Christ's have crucified the Flesh, with 24
its passions and its lusts. If we live by the Spirit, let us 25
take heed that our steps are guided by the Spirit. Let 26
us not thirst for empty honour, let us not provoke one

[1] Ἵνα μὴ ποιῆτε, not "*so that you cannot*" (A. V.), but *tending to prevent you from.*

[2] To be "under the yoke of the Law," and "under the yoke of the Flesh," is in St. Paul's language the same; because, for those who are under the Spirit's guidance, the Law is dead (v. 23.); they do right, not from fear of the Law's penalties, but through the influence of the Spirit who dwells within them. This, at least, is the ideal state of Christians. Compare Rom. viii. 1—14. St. Paul here, and elsewhere in his Epistles, alludes thus briefly to important truths, because his readers were already familiar with them from his personal teaching. By the Flesh (σάρξ) St. Paul denotes not merely the sensual tendency, but generally that which is earthly in man, as opposed to what is spiritual. "Die σάρξ bezeichnet die menschliche Natur überhaupt in Zustande ihrer Entfremdung von göttlichen Leben." Neander, P. und L., 664. It should be observed, that the 17th verse is a summary of the description of the struggle between flesh and spirit in Rom. vii. 7—25.; and verse 18th is a summary of the description of the Christian's deliverance from this struggle. Rom. viii. 1—14.

[3] Ἅτινα is less definite than ἃ. In the words which follow, μοιχεία is omitted in the best MSS.

[4] Φαρμακεία, the *profession of magical arts.* The history of the times in which St. Paul lived is full of the crimes committed by those who professed such arts. We have seen him brought into contact with such persons at Ephesus already. They dealt in poisons also, which accounts for the use of the term etymologically.

[5] Ἐριθείαι. Compare Rom. ii. 8. and note. Also 2 Cor. xii. 20.

[6] Πίστις seems to have this meaning here; for *faith* (in its larger sense) could not be classed as one among a number of the constituent parts of *love.* See 1 Cor. xiii.

VI. 1 another to strife, let us not envy one another. Brethren,—I speak to you who call yourselves the Spiritual[1],—even if any one be overtaken in a fault, do you correct such a man in a spirit of meekness; and let each of you take heed to 2 himself, lest he also be tempted. Bear ye one another's 3 burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ. For, if any man exalts himself, thinking to be something when he is nothing, 4 he deceives himself with vain imaginations. Rather let every man examine his own work, and then his boasting 5 will concern himself alone and not his neighbour; for each will bear the load [of sin] which is his own[2], [instead of magnifying the load which is his brother's].

Provision to be made for the maintenance of the presbyters (*καταχοῦντες*).

6 Moreover, let him who is receiving instruction in the Word[3] give to his Instructor a share in all the good things 7 which he possesses. Do not deceive yourselves—God cannot 8 be defrauded. Every man shall reap as he has sown. The man who now sows for his own Flesh, shall reap therefrom a harvest doomed[4] to perish; but he who sows for the Spirit, 9 shall from the Spirit reap the harvest of life eternal. But let us continue in well-doing, and not be weary[5]; for in due 10 season we shall reap, if we faint not. Therefore, as we have opportunity, let us do good to all men, but especially to our brethren in the household of Faith.

Autograph conclusion.

11 Observe the size[6] of the characters in which I have written to you with my own hand.

[1] *Ὑμεῖς οἱ πνευματικοί.* See Vol. I. p. 478.

[2] The allusion here is apparently to Æsop's well-known fable. It is unfortunate that in the Authorised Version the two words *φορτίον* and *βάρος* (v. 2.) are translated by the same term *burden*, which seems to make St. Paul contradict himself. His meaning is, that self-examination will prevent us from comparing ourselves boastfully with our neighbour; we shall have enough to do with our own sins, without scrutinising his.

[3] By *the Word* is meant *the doctrines of Christianity*.

[4] *Φθοράν.* See Rom. viii. 21.

[5] Compare 2 Thess. iii. 13., where the expression is almost exactly the same: *μὴ ἐκκακήσητε καλοποιοῦντες.*

[6] Thus we must understand *πηλίκοις γράμμασιν*, unless we suppose (with Tholuck) that *πηλίκοις* is used for *ποιοῖς*, as in the later Greek of the Byzantine writers. To take *γράμματα* as equivalent to *ἐπιστόλη* appears inadmissible. St. Paul does not here say that he wrote the whole Epistle with his own hand, but this is the beginning of his usual autograph postscript, and equivalent to the *οὕτω γράφω* in 2 Thess. iii. 17.

I tell you that they who wish to have a good repute in vi. 12
things pertaining to the Flesh, they, and they alone[1] are
forcing circumcision upon you; and that only to save them-
selves from the persecution which[2] Christ bore upon the cross.
For even they who circumcise themselves do not keep the 13
Law; but they wish to have you circumcised, that your
obedience[3] to the fleshly ordinance may give them a ground
of boasting. But as for me, far be it from me to boast, save 14
only in the cross[4] of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ;
whereby the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.
For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision avails anything, nor 15
uncircumcision; but a new creation. And whosoever shall 16
walk by this rule, peace and mercy be upon them, and upon
all the Israel of God.[5]

Henceforth, let no man vex me [by denying that I am 17
Christ's servant]; for I bear in my body the scars[6] which
mark my bondage to the Lord Jesus.

Brethren, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with 18
your spirit. Amen.

We may observe as a further confirmation of this view, that scarcely any Epistle bears more evident marks than this of having been written from dictation. The writer received a letter from the venerable Neander a few months before his death, which illustrated this point in a manner the more interesting, because he (Neander) takes a different view of this passage (P. u. L., p. 368.). His letter is written in the fair and flowing hand of an amanuensis, but it ends with a few irregular lines in large and rugged characters, written by himself, and explaining the cause of his needing the services of an amanuensis, namely, the weakness of his eyes (probably the very malady of St. Paul). It was impossible to read this autograph without thinking of the present passage, and observing that he might have expressed himself in the very words of St. Paul:—Ἴδε πηλίκοις σοι γράμμασιν ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί.

[1] The οὗτοι is emphatic.

[2] Literally, *persecution inflicted by the cross of Christ.*

[3] Literally, *that they may boast in your flesh.*

[4] To understand the full force of such expressions as "to *boast* in the *cross*," we must remember that the cross (the instrument of punishment of the vilest malefactors) was associated with all that was most odious, contemptible, and horrible, in the minds of that generation, just as the word *gibbet* would be now.

[5] Compare ch. iii. v. 9.

[6] Στίγματα, literally, the scars of the wounds made upon the body of a slave by the branding-iron, by which he was marked as belonging to his master. Observe the emphatic ἐγώ, "I (whatever others may do), I at least bear in my body the true marks which show that I belong to Christ; the scars, not of circumcision, but of wounds suffered for His sake."

CHAPTER XIX.

Οὕτω τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πρόθυμον καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐν ΡΩΜΗ εὐαγγελίσασθαι.—Rom. I. 15.

ST. PAUL AT CORINTH.—PUNISHMENT OF CONTUMACIOUS OFFENDERS.—SUBSEQUENT CHARACTER OF THE CORINTHIAN CHURCH.—COMPLETION OF THE COLLECTION.—PHŒBE'S JOURNEY TO ROME.—SHE BEARS *THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.*

No sooner had St. Paul despatched to Ephesus the messengers who bore his energetic remonstrance to the Galatians, than he was called upon to inflict the punishment which he had threatened upon those obstinate sinners who still defied his censures at Corinth. We have already seen that these were divided into two classes: the larger consisted of those who justified their immoral practice by antinomian[1] doctrine, and, styling themselves "the Spiritual," considered the outward restrictions of morality as mere carnal ordinances, from which they were emancipated; the other and smaller (but more obstinate and violent) class, who had been more recently formed into a party by emissaries from Palestine, were the extreme Judaizers[2], who were taught to look on Paul as a heretic, and to deny his apostleship. Although the principles of these two parties differed so widely, yet they both agreed in repudiating the authority of St. Paul; and, apparently, the former party gladly availed themselves of the calumnies of the Judaizing propagandists, and readily listened to their denial of Paul's divine commission; while the Judaizers, on their part, would foster any opposition to the Apostle of the Gentiles, from whatever quarter it might arise.

But now the time was come when the peace and purity of the Corinthian Church was to be no longer destroyed (at least openly) by either of these parties. St. Paul's first duty was to silence and shame his leading opponents, by proving the reality of his Apostleship, which they denied. This he could only do by exhibiting "the signs of an Apostle," which consisted, as he himself

[1] In applying this term *Antinomian* to the πάντα ἔξεστιν party at Corinth, we do not of course mean that all their opinions were the same with those which have been held by modern (so-called) Antinomians. But their characteristic (which was a belief that the restraints of outward law were abolished for Christians) seems more accurately expressed by the term *Antinomian*, than by any other.

[2] See above, Chap. XVII. p. 93.

informs us), mainly in the display of miraculous powers (2 Cor. xii. 12.). The present was a crisis which required such an appeal to the direct judgment of God, who could alone decide between conflicting claimants to a Divine commission. It was a contest like that between Elijah and the prophets of Baal. St. Paul had already in his absence professed his readiness to stake the truth of his claims on this issue (2 Cor. x. 8., and xiii. 3—6.); and we may be sure that now, when he was present, he did not shrink from the trial. And, doubtless, God, who had sent him forth, wrought such miracles by his agency as sufficed to convince or to silence the gainsayers. Perhaps the Judaizing emissaries from Palestine had already left Corinth, after fulfilling their mission by founding an anti-Pauline party there. If they had remained, they must now have been driven to retreat in shame and confusion. All other opposition was quelled likewise, and the whole Church of Corinth were constrained to confess that God was on the side of Paul. Now, therefore, that "their obedience was complete," the painful task remained of "punishing all the disobedient" (2 Cor. x. 6.). It was not enough that those who had so often offended and so often been pardoned before, should now merely profess once more a repentance which was only the offspring of fear or of hypocrisy. They had long infected the Church; they were not merely evil themselves, but they were doing harm to others, and causing the name of Christ to be blasphemed among the heathen. It was necessary that the salt which had lost its savour should be cast out, lest its putrescence should spread to that which still retained its purity. St. Paul no longer hesitated to stand between the living and the dead, that the plague might be stayed. We know, from his own description (1 Cor. v. 3—5.), the very form and manner of the punishment inflicted. A solemn assembly of the Church was convened; the presence and power of the Lord Jesus Christ was especially invoked; the cases of the worst offenders were separately considered, and those whose sins required so heavy a punishment, were publicly cast out of the Church, and (in the awful phraseology of Scripture) delivered over to Satan. Yet we must not suppose that even in such extreme cases the object of the sentence was to consign the criminal to final reprobation. On the contrary, the purpose of this excommunication was so to work on the offender's mind as to bring him to sincere repentance, "that his spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."[1] If it had this happy effect, and if he manifested true contrition, he was restored (as we have already seen in the case of the incestuous person[2]) to the love of the brethren and the communion of the Church.

[1] 1 Cor. v. 5.

[2] 2 Cor. ii. 6—8.

We should naturally be glad to know whether the pacification and purification of the Corinthian Church thus effected was permanent; or whether the evils which were so deeply rooted, sprang up again after St. Paul's departure. On this point Scripture gives us no farther information, nor can we find any mention of this Church (which has hitherto occupied so large a space in our narrative) after the date of the present chapter, either in the Acts or the Epistles. Such silence seems, so far as it goes, of favourable augury. And the subsequent testimony of Clement (the "fellow-labourer" of Paul, mentioned Phil. iv. 3.) confirms this interpretation of it. He speaks (evidently from his own personal experience) of the impression produced upon every stranger who visited the Church of Corinth, by their exemplary conduct; and specifies particularly their possession of the virtues most opposite to their former faults. Thus, he says that they were distinguished for the *ripeness and soundness of their knowledge*[1], in contrast to the unsound and false pretence of knowledge for which they were rebuked by St. Paul. Again, he praises the *pure and blameless lives of their women*[2]; which must therefore have been greatly changed since the time when fornication, wantonness, and impurity (2 Cor. xii. 21.) was the characteristic of their society. But especially he commends them for their entire freedom from *faction and party-spirit*[3], which had formerly been so conspicuous among their faults. Perhaps the picture which he draws of this golden age of Corinth may be too favourably coloured, as a contrast to the state of things which he deplored when he wrote. Yet we may believe it substantially true, and may therefore hope that some of the worst evils were permanently corrected; more particularly the impurity and licentiousness which had hitherto been the most flagrant of their vices. Their tendency to party-spirit, however (so characteristic of the Greek temper), was not cured; on the contrary, it blazed forth again with greater fury than ever, some years after the death of St. Paul. Their dissensions were the occasion of the letter of Clement already mentioned; he wrote in the hope of appeasing a violent and long-continued[4] schism which had arisen (like their earlier divisions) from their being "puffed up in the cause of one against another."[5] He rebukes them for their *envy, strife, and party-spirit*[6];

[1] Τὴν τελείαν καὶ ἀσφαλῆ γνῶσιν. Clem. Ep. I. cap. 1.

[2] Γυναιξὶν ἐν ἀμώμῳ καὶ σεμνῇ καὶ ἁγνῇ συνειδήσει πάντα ἐπιτελεῖν παρηγγέλλετε..... πάνυ σωφρονούσας. I. cap. 1.

[3] Πᾶσα στάσις καὶ πᾶν σχίσμα βδελυκτὸν ὑμῖν. Cap. 2.

[4] Ἐπίμονος ὑμῶν ἐστιν ἡ στάσις. Clem. Ep. I. cap. 46.

[5] 1 Cor. iv. 6.

[6] Φθόνος καὶ ἔρις καὶ στάσις. Clem. Ep. I. cap. 3.

accuses them of being devoted to the cause of their party-leaders rather than to the cause of God[1]; and declares that their divisions were rending asunder the body of Christ, and casting a stumbling-block in the way of many.[2] This is the last account which we have of the Corinthian Church in the Apostolic age; so that the curtain falls upon a scene of unchristian strife, too much like that upon which it rose. Yet, though this besetting sin was still unsubdued, the character of the Church, as a whole, was (as we have seen) very much improved since the days when some of them denied the resurrection, and others maintained their right to practise unchastity.

St. Paul continued three months[3] resident at Corinth; or, at least, he made that city his head-quarters during this period. Probably he made excursions thence to Athens and other neighbouring Churches, which (as we know[4]) he had established at his first visit throughout all the region of Achaia, and which, perhaps, needed his presence, his exhortations, and his correction, no less than the metropolitan Church. Meanwhile, he was employed in completing that great collection for the Christians of Palestine, upon which we have seen him so long engaged. The Christians of Achaia, from whose comparative wealth much seems to have been expected, had already prepared their contributions, by laying aside something for the fund on the first day of every week[5]; and, as this had been going on for more than a year[6], the sum laid by must have been considerable. This was now collected from the individual contributors, and entrusted to certain treasurers elected by the whole Church[7], who were to carry it to Jerusalem in company with St. Paul.

While the Apostle was preparing for this journey, destined to be so eventful, one of his converts was also departing from Corinth, in an opposite direction, charged with a commission which has immortalised her name. This was Phœbe, a Christian lady resident at Cenchreæ, the eastern port of Corinth. She was a widow[8] of consideration and wealth, who acted as one of the deaconesses[9] of the Church, and was now about to sail to Rome, upon some private business,

[1] Δίκαιον . . . ὑπηκόους ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον γένεσθαι τῷ Θεῷ ἢ τοῖς ἐν ἀλαζονείᾳ καὶ ἀκαταστασίᾳ ἀρχηγοῖς ἐξακολουθεῖν (cap. 14.). Also he tells them that they were δι' ἓν ἢ δύο πρόσωπα στασιάζοντες (cap. 47.). See also cap. 54.

[2] Clem. Ep. I. cap. 46.

[3] Acts xx. 3.

[4] See 2 Cor. i. 1., and 2 Cor. xi. 10. (τοῖς κλίμασι τῆς Ἀχαΐας). See, however, the remarks at the end of Chap. X. and Chap. XVII.

[5] 1 Cor. xvi. 2.

[6] 2 Cor. viii. 10., and 2 Cor. ix. 2.

[7] Οὓς ἐὰν δοκιμάσητε. 1 Cor. xvi. 3. (See the translation of the verse.)

[8] She could not (according to Greek manners) have been mentioned as acting in the independent manner described (Rom. xvi. 1—2.) either if her husband had been living or if she had been unmarried.

[9] On this appellation, however, see Vol. I. p. 466. note 7.

apparently connected with a law-suit in which she was engaged.[1] St. Paul availed himself of this opportunity to send a letter by her hands to the Roman Church. His reason for writing to them at this time was his intention of speedily visiting them, on his way from Jerusalem to Spain. He desired, before his personal intercourse with them should begin, to give them a proof of the affectionate interest which he felt for them, although they "had not seen his face in the flesh." We must not suppose, however, that they were hitherto altogether unknown to him; for we see, from the very numerous salutations at the close of the Epistle, that he was already well acquainted with many individual Christians at Rome. From the personal acquaintance he had thus formed, and the intelligence he had received, he had reason to entertain a very high opinion of the character of the Church[2]; and accordingly he tells them (Rom. xv. 14, 15.) that, in entering so fully in his letter upon the doctrines and rules of Christianity, he had done it not so much to teach as to remind them; and that he was justified in assuming the authority so to exhort them, by the special commission which Christ had given him to the Gentiles.

The latter expression shows us that the majority of the Roman Christians were of Gentile origin[3], which is also evident from several other passages in the Epistle. At the same time, we cannot doubt that the original nucleus of the Church there, as well as in all the other great cities of the Empire, was formed by converts who had separated themselves from the Jewish synagogue.[4] The name of the original founder of the Roman Church has not been preserved to us by history, nor even celebrated by tradition. This is a remarkable fact, when we consider how soon the Church of Rome attained great eminence in the Christian world, both from its numbers, and from the influence of its metropolitan rank. Had any of the Apostles laid its first foundation, the fact could scarcely fail to have been recorded. It is therefore probable that it was formed in the first instance, of private Christians converted in Palestine, who had come from the eastern[5] parts of the Empire to reside at Rome, or who had brought

[1] See note on Rom. xvi. 1.

[2] Rom. i. 8.: "Your faith is spoken of throughout the whole world."

[3] See also Rom. i. 13.

[4] This is evident from the familiarity with the Old Testament which St. Paul assumes in the readers of the Epistle to the Romans; also from the manifest reference to Jewish readers in the whole argument of chapters iii. and iv., and again of chapters ix., x., and xi.

[5] We cannot, perhaps, infer anything as to the composition of the Church at Rome, from the fact that St. Paul writes to them in Greek instead of Latin; because Hellenistic Greek was (as we have seen, Vol. I. p. 43.) his own native tongue, in which he seems always to have written; and if any of the Roman Christians did not understand that language, interpreters were not wanting in their own body who could explain it to them. It is rather remarkable that

back Christianity with them, from some of their periodical visits to Jerusalem, as the "Strangers of Rome," from the great Pentecost. Indeed, among the immense multitudes whom political and commercial reasons constantly attracted to the metropolis of the world, there could not fail to be representatives of every religion which had established itself in any of the provinces.

On this hypothesis, the earliest of the Roman Christians were Jews by birth, who resided in Rome, from some of the causes above alluded to. By their efforts others of their friends and fellow-countrymen (who were very numerous at Rome[1]) would have been led to embrace the Gospel. But the Church so founded, though Jewish in its origin, was remarkably free from the predominance of Judaizing tendencies. This is evident from the fact that so large a majority of it at this early period were already of Gentile blood; and it appears still more plainly from the tone assumed by St. Paul throughout the Epistle, so different from that in which he addresses the Galatians, although the subject-matter is often nearly identical. Yet, at the same time, the Judaizing element, though not preponderating, was not entirely absent. We find that there were opponents of the Gospel at Rome, who argued against it on the ground of the immoral consequences which followed (as they thought) from the doctrine of Justification by Faith; and even charged St. Paul himself with maintaining that the greater man's sin, the greater was God's glory; (see Rom. 3. 8.). Moreover, not all the Jewish members of the Church could bring themselves to acknowledge their uncircumcised Gentile brethren as their equals in the privileges of Christ's kingdom (Rom. iii. 9. and 29., xv. 7—11.); and, on the other hand, the more enlightened Gentile converts were inclined to treat the lingering Jewish prejudices of weak consciences with scornful contempt (Rom. xiv. 3.). It was the aim of St. Paul to win the former of these parties to Christian truth, and the latter to Christian love; and to remove the stumbling-blocks out of the way of both, by setting before them that grand summary of the doctrine and practice of Christianity which is contained in the following Epistle.

Tertius, who acted as St. Paul's amanuensis, was apparently (to judge from his name) a Roman Christian of the Latin section of the Church.

[1] Horace, Sat. I. 70.

EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.[1]

I. 1 PAUL, a bondsman of Jesus Christ, a called Apostle, set apart Salutation.
to publish the Glad-tidings of God———which He
2 promised of old by His Prophets in the Holy Scriptures,
3 concerning His Son (who was born of the seed of David
4 according to the flesh, but was marked out[2] as the Son
of God with mighty power, according to the spirit of
holiness, by his resurrection from the dead), even Jesus
5 Christ, our Lord and Master.[3] By whom I received
grace and apostleship, that I might declare His name
among all the Gentiles, and bring them to the obedience
6 of faith. Among whom ye also are numbered, being
7 called by Jesus Christ———TO ALL GOD'S BELOVED CHILDREN, CALLED TO BE CHRIST'S PEOPLE[4], WHO DWELL IN ROME.[5]

Grace be to you, and peace from God our Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ.

[1] The date of this Epistle is very precisely fixed by the following statements contained in it:—

(1.) St. Paul had never yet been to Rome. (i. 11. 13. 15.)

(2.) He was intending to go to Rome, after first visiting Jerusalem. (xv. 23—28.) This was exactly his purpose during his three months' residence at Corinth. See Acts xix. 21.

(3.) He was going to bear a collection of alms from Macedonia and Achaia to Jerusalem. (xv. 26. and 31.) This he did carry from Corinth to Jerusalem at the close of this three months' visit. See Acts xxiv. 17.

(4.) When he wrote the Epistle, Timotheus, Sosipater, Gaius, and Erastus were with him (xvi. 21. 23.); of these, the first three are expressly mentioned in the Acts as having been with him at Corinth during the three months' visit (see Acts xx. 4.); and the last, Erastus, was himself a Corinthian, and had been sent shortly before from Ephesus (Acts xix. 22.) with Timotheus on the way to Corinth. Compare 1 Cor. xvi. 10, 11.

(5.) Phœbe, a deaconess of the Corinthian port of Cenchreæ was the bearer of the Epistle (xvi. 1.) to Rome.

[2] Ὁρισθέντος, here equivalent, as Chrysostom says, to δειχθέντος. We may observe that the notes which marked Jesus as the Son of God, are here declared to be *power* and *holiness*. Neither would have been sufficient without the other.

[3] Κύριος seems to require this translation here, especially in connection with δοῦλος, v. 1.

[4] See note on 1 Cor. i. 2.

[5] If this introductory salutation appears involved and parenthetical, it the more forcibly recalls to our mind the manner in which it was written, namely, by dictation from the mouth of St. Paul. Of course an extemporary spoken composition will always be more full of paren-

Intention of visiting Rome, to declare the Glad-tidings.

First I thank my God through Jesus Christ for you all, 1.8
because the tidings of your faith are told throughout the
whole world. For God is my witness (whom I serve with 9
the worship[1] of my spirit, in proclaiming the Glad-tidings of
His Son) how unceasingly I make mention of you at all
times in my prayers, beseeching Him that if it be possible 10
I might now at length have a way open to me according to
the will of God, to come and visit you. For I long to see 11
you, that I may impart to you some spiritual gift, for the
establishment of your stedfastness; that I may share with 12
you (I would say) in mutual encouragement, through the faith
both of you and me together, one with another. But I would 13
not have you ignorant, brethren, that I have often purposed
to come to you (although hitherto I have been hindered), that
I might have some fruit among you also, as I have among
the other Gentiles. I am a debtor both to Greeks and Bar- 14
barians, both to wise and foolish; therefore, as far as in me 15
lies, I am ready to declare the Glad-tidings to you that are in
Rome, as well as to others. For [even in the chief city of 16
the world] I am not ashamed of the Glad-tidings of Christ,
seeing it is the mighty power whereby God brings salvation
to every man that has faith therein, to the Jew first, and
also to the Gentile.[2] For therein God's righteousness[3] is 17
revealed, a righteousness which springs from Faith, and which

This Glad-tidings consists in the revelation

theses, abrupt transitions, and broken sentences, than a treatise composed in writing by its author.

[1] Τῷ πνεύματί μου qualifies λατρεύω, a term which was generally applied to acts of outward worship. As much as to say, "My worship of God is not the outward service of the temple, but the inward homage of the spirit." See λατρείαν similarly qualified, chap. xii. 1.

[2] St. Paul uses Ἕλλην as the singular of ἔθνη, because the singular of the latter word is not used in the sense of *a Gentile*. Also the plural Ἕλληνες is used when *individual Gentiles* are meant; ἔθνη when *Gentiles collectively* are spoken of.

[3] Δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ. Not an attribute of God, but the righteousness which God considers such; and which must, therefore, be the perfection of man's moral nature. This righteousness may be looked on under two aspects: 1. *in itself*, as a moral condition of man; 2. *in its consequences*, as involving a freedom from guilt in the sight of God. Under the first aspect it is the possession of a certain disposition of mind called πίστις, or faith. Under the second aspect it is regarded as something reckoned by God to the account of man — an acquittal of past offences.

Faith receives—as it is written: "By faith shall the righteous live."[1]

of a new and more perfect moral state (δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ), of which faith is the condition (ἐκ) and the recipient (εἰς).

1. 18 For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who keep[2] down the truth [which they know] by the wickedness wherein they 19 live.[3] Because that which can be known of God is manifested in their hearts, God himself having shown it to them; 20 for His eternal power and Godhead, though they be invisible, yet are seen ever since the world was made, being understood by His works, that they [who despised Him] might have no 21 excuse; because although they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, nor gave Him thanks, but in their reasonings they went astray after vanity, and their heart, being void 22 of wisdom, was filled with darkness. Calling themselves 23 wise, they were turned into fools, and forsook the glory[4] of the imperishable God for idols graven in the likeness of perishable men, or of birds and beasts, and creeping things. 24 Therefore God also gave them up to work uncleanness according to their hearts' lust, to dishonour their bodies one 25 with another; seeing they had bartered the truth of God for lies, and reverenced and worshipped the things made instead 26 of the Maker, who is blessed for ever, Amen. For this cause God gave them up to shameful passions; for on the one hand their women changed the natural use into that 27 which is against nature; and on the other hand their men, in like manner, leaving the natural use of the woman, burned in their lust one toward another, men with men working abomination, and receiving in themselves the due recom- 28 pense of their transgression. And as they thought fit to cast out the acknowledgment of God, God gave them over

For by God's previous revelations, only His prohibition of sin had been revealed. Thus the law of conscience was God's revelation to the Gentiles, and had been violated by them, as was testified by the utterly corrupt state of the heathen world.

[1] Habakkuk, ii. 4. (LXX.)

[2] For this meaning of κατέχω, compare 2 Thess. ii. 6.

[3] Ἐν ἀδικίᾳ, *by living in wickedness.*

[4] This is nearly a quotation from Ps. cvi. 20.: ἠλλάξαντο τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν ἐν ὁμοιώματι μόσχου (LXX.). Ἀλλάσσεσθαι τι ἔν τινι means to *forsake one thing for another, to change one thing against another.*

to an outcast[1] mind, to do the things that are unseemly. They are filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, de- 1. 29
pravity, covetousness, maliciousness. They overflow with envy, murder, strife, deceit, malignity. They are whisperers, 30
backbiters, God-haters[2]; outrageous, overweening, false boasters; inventors of wickedness; undutiful to parents; bereft of wisdom; breakers of covenanted faith; devoid 31
of natural affection; ruthless, merciless. Who knowing the 32
righteous judgment of God[3], whereby all that do such things are worthy of death, not only commit the sins, but delight in their fellowship with the sinners.

It was also violated by those who acknowledged its obligation (whether Jews or heathen philosophers). Such acknowledgment would not avail in God's sight. His judgment would depend on the agreement between the actions and the law revealed, whether outwardly (as to the Jews) or inwardly (as to the heathen).

Wherefore thou, O man, whosoever thou art that II. 1
judgest others, art thyself without excuse[4] if thou doest evil; for in judging thy neighbour thou condemnest thyself, since thy deeds are the same which in him thou dost condemn. And we know that God judges them who do such wickedness 2
not[5] by their words, but by their deeds. But reckonest 3
thou, O thou that condemnest these evil-doers, and doest the like thyself, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God? or does the rich abundance of His kindness and 4
forbearance and long-suffering cause thee to despise[6] Him? and art thou ignorant that God, by His kindness [in withholding punishment], strives to lead thee to repentance? But thou in the hardness and impenitence of thy heart, art 5
treasuring up against thyself a store of wrath, which will be manifested in[7] the day of wrath, even the day when God will

[1] Οὐκ ἐδοκίμασαν . . . ἀδόκιμον. A translation should, if possible, retain such plays upon words, as they are one of the characteristics of St. Paul's style. A paronomasia upon the same words is found 2 Cor. xiii. 6, 7.

[2] We venture to consider θεοστυγεῖς active, against the opinion of Winer, Meyer, and De Wette; relying first, on the authority of Suidas, and secondly, on the context.

[3] How did they know this? By the law of conscience (see ii. 14.) confirmed by the laws of nature (i. 20.).

[4] Ἀναπολόγητος. Inexcusable *in doing evil* is evidently meant, just as it is before (i. 20.) by the same word, ἀναπολογήτους.

[5] This appears to be the meaning of κατὰ ἀλήθειαν.

[6] Literally, "*is it the rich abundance of his kindness, &c., which thou despisest?*"

[7] Ἐν, not *against*, but *manifested in*.

reveal to the sight[1] of men the righteousness of His judgment.
II. 6 And He will pay to all their due, according to their deeds;
7 to those who with stedfast endurance in well doing seek the
8 glory which[2] cannot perish, He will give life eternal; but for
men of guile[3], who are obedient to unrighteousness, and dis-
9 obedient to the truth, indignation and wrath, tribulation and
anguish shall[4] fall upon them; yea, upon every soul of man
that does the work of evil, upon the Jew first, and also upon
10 the Gentile. But glory and peace shall be given to every
man who does the work of good, to the Jew first, and also
11 to the Gentile; for there is no respect of persons with God.
12 For they who have sinned without [the knowledge of]
the Law, shall perish without [the punishment of] the Law;
and they, who have sinned under the Law, shall be judged
13 by the Law.[5] For not they who hear the words of the Law
[in their synagogues] are righteous in God's sight, but they
14 who do the works of the Law shall be counted righteous. For
when the Gentiles, who have no Law, do by nature the works
of the Law, they, though they have no Law, are a Law to
15 themselves; since they manifest the work of the Law written
in their hearts, and their conscience also bears them witness,
while their inward thoughts answering one to the other, either
16 justify, or else condemn them; [as will be seen] in that day
when God shall judge the secret counsels of men by Jesus
Christ, according to the Glad-tidings which I preach.

[1] Ἀποκαλύπτειν means to *disclose to sight what has been hidden;* the word *reveal* does not by itself represent the full force of the original term, although etymologically it precisely corresponds with it.

[2] δ. κ. τ. καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν, an Hendiadys for ἀφθαρτὸν δ. κ. τ. Δόξα καὶ τιμὴ together is equivalent to *glory.*

[3] Ἐριθεία seems to mean *selfish party intrigue, conducted in a mercenary spirit,* and more generally, *selfish cunning;* being derived from ἐριθεύομαι, *to undertake a work for hire.* It occurs also 2 Cor. xii. 20., Phil. i. 17., Phil. ii. 3., Gal. v. 20. Ἐριθευομένους is used for *intriguing partizans* by Aristotle (Polit. v. 3.). The history of this word seems to bear a strong analogy to that of our term *job.*

[4] Observe the change of construction here.

[5] We have remarked elsewhere (but the remark may be here repeated with advantage) that the attempts which were formerly made to prove that νόμος, when used with and without the article by St. Paul, meant in the former case *a moral law in general,* and in the latter only *the Mosaic Law,* have now been abandoned by the best interpreters. See note on iii. 20.

Nor would the Jews be shielded by their boast in the Law, since they broke the Law; nor by their outward consecration to God, since true circumcision is that of the heart.

Behold[1] thou callest thyself a Jew, and restest in the Law, and boastest of God's favour, and knowest the will of God, and givest[2] judgment upon good or evil, being instructed by the teaching of the Law. Thou deemest thyself a guide of the blind, a light to those who are in darkness, an instructor of the simple, a teacher of babes, possessing in the Law the perfect pattern of knowledge and of truth. Thou therefore that teachest thy neighbour, dost thou not teach thyself? thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal? thou that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery? thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou rob[3] temples? thou that makest thy boast in the Law, by breaking the Law dost thou dishonour God? Yea, as it is written, "Through[4] you is the name of God blasphemed among the Gentiles."

For circumcision avails if thou keep the Law; but if thou be a breaker of the Law, thy circumcision is turned into uncircumcision. If then the uncircumcised Gentile keep the commandments of the Law, shall not his uncircumcision be counted for circumcision? And shall not he, though naturally uncircumcised, by[5] fulfilling the law, condemn thee, who with scripture and circumcision dost break the law. For he is not a Jew, who is one outwardly; nor is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew who is one inwardly, and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit not in the letter; whose praise comes not from man[6] but from God.

[1] If we read εἰ δὲ (with some of the best MSS.) the translation must run thus: "But what, if thou callest thyself," &c.; the apodosis beginning with verse 21.

[2] Δοκιμάζειν, *to test* (*as a metal by fire*). See 1 Pet. i. 7. Hence *to give judgment upon* (here). Τὰ διαφέροντα means (as explained by Theophylact), τὶ δεῖ πρᾶξαι καὶ τὶ δεῖ μὴ πρᾶξαι. The same phrase occurs Phil. i. 10.

[3] Compare ἱεροσύλους, Acts xix. 37.

[4] Isaiah lii. 5. (LXX.)

[5] See Winer, Gram., § 19. p. 126.

[6] The Pharisees and Pharisaic Judaizers sought to gain the praise of men by their outward show of sanctity; which is here contrasted with the inward holiness which seeks no praise but that of God. The same contrast occurs in the Sermon on the Mount.

III. 1 "But[1] if this be so, what advantage has the Jew,
2 and what has been the profit of circumcision?" Much
every way. First, because to their keeping were entrusted
3 the oracles of God. For what, though some of them were
faithless[2] to the trust? shall we say[3] that their faithlessness
4 destroys the faithfulness[4] of God? That be far from us.
Yea, be sure that God is true, though all mankind be liars,
as it is written: **That[5] thou mightest be justified in thy sayings, and mightest overcome when thou art judged.**
5 "But if the righteousness of God is established by our
unrighteousness, [His faithfulness being more clearly seen
by our faithlessness,] must we not say that God is unjust"
6 (I speak as men do)[6], "in sending the punishment?" That
be far from us; for [if this punishment be unjust], how
7 shall God judge the world? since[7] [of that judgment also it
might be said]: "If God's truth has by the occasion of my
falsehood more fully shown itself, to the greater manifestation of His glory, why am I still condemned as a sinner?
8 and why[8] should we not say" (as I myself am slanderously
charged with saying) "let us do evil that good may come?"
Of such men[9] the doom is just.

The advantage of the Jews consisted in their being entrusted with the outward revelation of God's will. Their faithlessness to this trust only established God's faithfulness, by furnishing the occasion for its display. Yet though this good resulted from their sin, its guilt is not thereby removed; since no consequences (however good) can make a wrong action right.

9 What shall we say then? [having gifts above the

The privileges

[1] Οὖν, *if this be so.*

[2] Ἠπίστησαν refers to the preceding ἐπιστεύθησαν.

[3] See note on μὴ γένοιτο, Gal. iii. 21.

[4] That is, shall we imagine that God will break his covenant with the true Israel, because of the unfaithfulness of the false Israel? Compare Rom. xi. 1—5.

[5] Ps. li. 4. (LXX.) The whole context is as follows: "*I acknowledge my transgression, and my sin is ever before me; against Thee only have I sinned, and done this evil in Thy sight; that Thou mightest be justified in Thy sayings, and mightest overcome when Thou art judged.*"

[6] Κατ' ἄνθρωπον λέγω. See note on Gal. iii. 15. And compare also 1 Cor. xv. 32., and Rom. vi. 19.

[7] In this most difficult passage we must bear in mind that St. Paul is constantly referring to the arguments of his opponents, which were familiar to his readers at Rome, but are not so to ourselves. Hence the apparently abrupt and elliptical character of the argument, and the necessity of supplying something to make the connection intelligible.

[8] The ellipsis is supplied by understanding τί from the preceding clause, and λέγωμεν from the following; the complete expression would have been καὶ τί μὴ λέγωμεν. The succeding ὅτι is (as usual) equivalent to a mark of quotation.

[9] Viz., men who deduce immoral consequences from sophistical arguments.

of the Jews gave them no moral pre-eminence over the heathen; their Law only convicted them of sin.

Gentiles] have we the pre-eminence over them? No, in no wise; for we have already charged all, both Jews and Gentiles, with the guilt of sin. And so it is written, III. 10
"There[1] is none righteous, no not one; there is none that 11
understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God, they 12
are all gone out of the way, they are altogether become unprofitable, there is none that doeth good, no not one. Their throat is an open sepulchre, with their tongue they 13
have used deceit, the poison of asps is under their lips. Their mouth is full of cursing and bitterness. Their feet 14, 15
are swift to shed blood. Destruction and misery are in 16
their paths, and the way of peace have they not known. 17
There is no fear of God before their eyes." Now we know 18, 19
that all the sayings of the Law are spoken to those under the Law; [these things therefore are spoken to the Jews] that every mouth might be stopped, and the whole world might be subjected to the judgment of God. For[2] through 20
the works of the Law "shall no flesh be justified in His sight,"[3] because by the Law is wrought [not the doing of righteousness, but] the acknowledgment of sin.

Hence all men, being condemned by the standard of moral law which they possessed, must be made righteous in God's sight in a way different from that of the Law; *i. e* not by obeying precepts and so escaping penalties,

But now, not by the Law, but by another way[4], God's 21
righteousness is brought to light, whereto the Law and the prophets bear witness; God's righteousness (I say) which 22
comes by faith in Jesus Christ, for all, and upon all, who have faith in Him; for herein there is no difference [between Jew and Gentile], since all have sinned, and none have 23
attained the glorious likeness of God. But by His free gift 24
they are justified without payment [of their debt], through

[1] This whole passage is quoted (and all but verses 10. and 11. verbatim) from Ps. xiv. 1, 2, 3. (LXX.) Portions of it also occur in Ps. liii. 3., Ps. v. 9., Ps. cxl. 3., Ps. x. 7., Isaiah lix. 7., Ps. xxxvi. 1.

[2] Ἔργων νόμου here is equivalent to τῶν ἔργων τοῦ νόμου (in spite of the attempts made by Middleton and others to maintain a perpetual distinction between them), as is now acknowledged by the best interpreters: the clearest proof of this is in verses 28. and 29., χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου· ἢ Ἰουδαίων ὁ Θεὸς μόνον. At the same time, it must be observed that the law is spoken of as a moral, not as a ceremonial law.

[3] Ps. cxliii. 2. almost verbatim from LXX.

[4] Χωρίς (τινος) means *not by* (τι), *but by something else.* See iii. 28. and iv. 6.

III. 25 the ransom which is paid in Christ Jesus. For Him hath God set forth, in His blood, to be a propitiatory sacrifice by means of Faith, thereby to manifest the righteousness of God; because in His forbearance God had passed over the 26 former sins of men [1] in the times that are gone by. [Him (I say) hath God set forth] in this present time to manifest His righteousness, that He might be just, and [yet] might justify [2] 27 the children [3] of Faith. Where then is the [4] boasting [of the Jew]? It is [5] shut out. By what law? by the law of works? 28 no, but by the law of Faith. Therefore we conclude that by Faith a man is justified, and not by [6] the works of the Law; 29 else God must be the God of the Jews alone; but is He not likewise the God of the Gentiles? Yea, He is the God of the 30 Gentiles also. For God is one [for all men], and He will justify through Faith the circumcision of the Jews, and by their Faith will He justify also the uncircumcision of the Gentiles.

but by faith in Jesus Christ, and by receiving a gratuitous pardon for past offences. The sacrifice of Christ showed that this pardon proceeded not from God's indifference to sin.

31 Do we then by Faith bring to nought the Law? That be far from us! Yea, we establish the Law.

IV. 1 What then [7] can we say that our father Abraham gained 2 by [8] the fleshly ordinance? For, if Abraham was justified by works he has a ground of boasting. But he has no ground of

Jewish objections met by appeal to the Old Testament and the example

[1] The A.V. here is a mistranslation. Cf. Acts xvii. 30. And the note Vol. I. p. 208. n. 1.

[2] The first wish of a translator of St. Paul's Epistles would be to retain the same English root in all the words employed as translations of the various derivatives of δίκαιος, viz. δικαιοσύνη, δικαιοῦν, δικαίωμα, δικαίωσις, δικαίως, and δικαιοκρισία. But this is impossible, because no English root of the same meaning has these derivatives; for example, taking *righteous* to represent δίκαιος, we have *righteousness* for δικαιοσύνη, but no verb from the same root equivalent to δικαιοῦν. Again, taking *just* for δίκαιος, we have *justify* for δικαιοῦν, but no term for δικαιοσύνη, which is by no means equivalent to *justice*, nor even to *justness*, in many passages where it occurs. The only course which can be adopted, therefore, is to take that root in each case which seems best to suit the context, and bring out the connection of the argument.

[3] Τὸν ἐκ πίστεως is not fully represented by the A.V. It means "him whose essential characteristic is faith," "the child of faith." Compare Gal. iii. 7. and Gal. iii. 9. The word Ἰησοῦ is omitted by the best MSS.

[4] Observe the article before καύχησις.

[5] The aorist ἐξεκλείσθη seems used here (as often) in a perfect sense.

[6] Χωρίς. See note on verse 21.

[7] The οὖν here is very perplexing, as the argument seems to require γάρ. It is probably repeated from the preceding οὖν, just as γάρ is repeated in v. 7.

[8] Εὑρηκέναι κατὰ σάρκα, literally, *gained in the way of the flesh*. The order of the Greek forbids us to join κατὰ σάρκα with πάτερα, as in A.V.

of Abraham. Abraham's belief in God's promises foreshadows Christian faith, Christians being by virtue of their faith the spiritual children of Abraham, and heirs of the promises.

boasting with God; for what says the Scripture: "Abraham[1] had faith in God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness." Now if a man earn his pay by his work, it is not "reckoned to him" as a favour, but it is paid him as a debt; but if he earns nothing by his work, but rests his faith in Him who justifies[2] the ungodly, then his faith is "reckoned to him for righteousness." In like manner David also tells the blessedness of the man, to whom God reckoneth righteousness, not by works but by another way[3], saying, "Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man against whom the Lord shall not reckon sin."[4] Is this blessing then for the circumcised alone? or does it not belong also to the uncircumcised? for we say, "his[5] faith was reckoned to Abraham for righteousness." How then was it reckoned to him? when he was circumcised, or uncircumcised? Not in circumcision but in uncircumcision. And he received circumcision as an outward sign of[6] inward things, a seal to attest the righteousness which belonged to his Faith while he was yet uncircumcised. That so he might be the father of all the uncircumcised who have Faith, whereby the righteousness of Faith might be reckoned to them no less[7] than to him;—and the father of circumcision to those [of the house of Israel] who are not circumcised only in the flesh, but who also tread in the steps of that Faith which our father Abraham had while yet uncircumcised.

IV. 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

For the promise[8] to Abraham and his seed that he should inheritthe land, came not by the Law, but by the righteousness of Faith. For, if this inheritance belong to the children of the Law, Faith is made of no account, and the promise is

13 14

[1] Gen. xv. 6. (LXX.)
[2] See note on iii. 26.
[3] Χωρίς. See note on iii. 21.
[4] Ps. xxxii. 1, 2. (LXX.)
[5] Gen. xv. 6. (LXX.) repeated.
[6] This is the full meaning of σημεῖον.
[7] Καὶ.
[8] "*The land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever.*" Gen. xiii. 15.

brought to nought; because the Law brings [not blessings but] punishment, (for where there is no law, there can be no law-breaking). Therefore the inheritance belongs to Faith, that it might be a free gift; that so the promise[1] [not being capable of forfeiture] might stand firm to all the seed of Abraham, not to his children of the Law alone, but to the children of his Faith; for he is the Father of us all [both Jews and Gentiles], (as it is written, "I[2] have made thee the father of many nations of the Gentiles,") in the sight of God, on whom he fixed his faith, even God who makes the dead to live, and calls the things which are not as though they were. For Abraham had faith in hope beyond hope, that he might become the father of many nations[3]; as it was said unto him, "Look toward heaven and tell the stars if thou be able to number them; even so shall thy seed be."[4] And having no feebleness in his faith, he regarded not his own body which was already dead (being about a hundred years old), nor the deadness of Sarah's womb; at the promise of God (I say) he doubted not faithlessly, but his spirit[5] was strengthened with the might of Faith, and he gave praise to God; being fully persuaded that what He has promised, He is able also to perform. Therefore "his faith was reckoned to him for righteousness." But these words were not written for his sake only, but for our sakes likewise; for to us also it will be "reckoned for righteousness," because we have faith in Him that raised from the dead our Lord Jesus; who was given up to death for our transgressions, and raised again to life for our justification.[6]

[1] This passage throws light on Gal. iii. 18. and 20.

[2] Gen. xvii. 5. (LXX.) It is impossible to represent in the English the full force of the Greek, where the same word means *nations* and *gentiles*.

[3] Gen. xvii. 5. See the previous note.

[4] Gen. xv. 5. (LXX.) In such quotations, a few words were sufficient to recall the whole passage to Jewish readers; therefore, to make them intelligible to modern readers, it is sometimes necessary to give the context.

[5] Literally, *he was strengthened inwardly.*

[6] *i. e.* That we might have an ever-living Saviour as the object of our faith, and might through that faith be united with Him, and partake of His life, and thus be justified, or accounted righteous, and (for St. Paul does not, like later theologians, separate these ideas) have the seed of all true moral life implanted in us. Compare v. 10.

Through faith in Christ then Christians are justified; and they rejoice in the midst of their present sufferings, being filled with the consciousness of God's love in the sacrifice of Christ for them. For by partaking in the death of Christ, they are reconciled to God, and by partaking in the life of Christ they are saved.

Therefore, being justified by Faith, we have peace with v. 1.
God, through our Lord Jesus Christ; through whom also 2
we have received entrance into this grace[1] wherein we stand,
and through whom we exult in hope [of the future manifes-
tation] of God's glory. And not only so, but we exult also 3
in our [present] sufferings; for we know that suffering gives
the stedfastness of endurance, and stedfast endurance gives 4
the proof of soundness, and the proof of soundness gives
strength to hope, and our hope cannot shame us in the 5
day of trial; because the love of God is shed forth in
our hearts by the Holy Spirit, who has been given unto
us. For while we were yet helpless [in our sins], Christ 6
at the appointed time died for sinners. Now hardly for 7
a righteous man will any be found to die, (although some
perchance would even endure death for him whose goodness[2]
they have felt,) but God gives proof of His own love to us, 8
because while we were yet sinners Christ died for us. Much 9
more, now that we have been justified in His blood[3], shall
we be saved through Him from the wrath[4] to come. For, 10
if, when we were His enemies, we were reconciled to God by
the death of His son, much more, being already reconciled,
shall we be saved, by sharing in His life. Nor is this our 11
hope only for the time to come; but even [in the midst of our
sufferings] we exult in God, through Jesus Christ our Lord,
by whom we have now received reconciliation with God.

For Christ in His own person was the representative of all mankind for salvation, as

This, therefore, is like the case[5] when, through one 12
man [Adam], sin entered into the world, and by sin
death; and so death spread to all mankind, because all

[1] Τῇ *πίστει* is omitted in the best MSS.

[2] Δίκαιος here is *a man who righteously fulfils the duties of life*, and ὁ ἀγαθός is *the good and benevolent man with whom we ourselves have been brought into contact.*

[3] *Justified in His blood*, i. e. *by participation in* (ἐν) *His blood*; that is, *being made partakers of His death.* Compare Rom. vi. 3—8.; also Gal. ii. 20.

[4] Observe the *τῆς* before *ὀργῆς*.

[5] Much difficulty has been caused to interpreters here by the *ὥσπερ* (which introduces the first member of the parallel) having no answering *οὕτως* (nor anything equivalent to it) to introduce the second. The best view of the passage is to consider *ὥσπερ* as used elliptically for [*the case is*] *as what follows*, in which sense it is used Matt. xxv. 14.: *ὥσπερ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος*, &c., where it neither has, nor requires, any answering *οὕτως*.

committed sin. For before the Law was given [by Moses] there was sin in the world; but sin is not reckoned against the sinner, when there is no law [forbidding it]; 14 nevertheless, death reigned from Adam till Moses, even over those whose sin [not being the breach of law] did not resemble the sin of Adam. Now Adam is an image 15 of Him that was to come. But far greater is the gift than was the transgression; for if by the sin of the one man [Adam], death passed upon the many[1], much more in the grace of the one man Jesus Christ has the free- 16 ness of God's[2] bounty overflowed unto the many. Moreover the boon [of God] exceeds the fruit[3] of Adam's sin; for the doom came, out of one offence, a sentence of condemnation; but the gift comes, out of many offences, a sentence 17 of acquittal. For if the reign of death was established by the one man [Adam], through the sin of him alone; far more shall the reign of life be established, in those who receive the overflowing fulness of the free gift of righteousness, by 18 the one man Jesus Christ. Therefore, as the fruit of one offence reached to all men, and brought upon them condemnation [the source of death]; so likewise the fruit of one acquittal shall reach[4] to all, and shall bring justi- 19 fication, the source[5] of life. For as, by the disobedience of the one [Adam], the many were made sinners; so by the obedience of the one [Christ], the many shall be made 20 righteous. And the law was added, that sin might abound[6]; but where sin had abounded, the gift of grace has over-

v. 13. Adam was for condemnation. The Mosaic Law was added to the law of conscience, in order that sin might be felt to be a transgression of acknowledged duty, and that thus the gift of spiritual life in Christ might be given to men prepared to feel their need of it, so that man's sin might be the occasion of God's mercy.

[1] Οἱ πολλοί, not "*many*" (A. V.), but *the many*, nearly equivalent to *all*.

[2] We take ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ together. Compare the same expression below, in verse 17; literally, *the free gift and the boon of God*, an hendiadys for *the freeness of God's bounty*.

[3] Literally, *the boon is not as* [*that which was*] *wrought by one man who sinned*.

[4] We take δικαιῶμα here in the same sense as in verse 16, because, first, it is difficult to suppose the same word used in the very same passage in two such different meanings as *Recte factum*, and *decretum absolutorium* (which Wahl and most of the commentators suppose it to be). And, secondly, because otherwise it is necessary to take ἑνός differently in the two parallel phrases δι' ἑνὸς δικαιώματος and δι' ἑνὸς παραπτώματος (masculine in the one, and neuter in the other) which is unnatural.

[5] Ζωῆς, literally, *appertaining to life*.

[6] A light is thrown on this very difficult expression by vii. 13.; see note on that verse.

flowed beyond [the outbreak of sin]; that as sin has reigned v. 21.
in death, so grace might reign through righteousness unto
life eternal, by the work of Jesus Christ our Lord.

It is a self-contradictory perversion of this truth to conclude from it that we should persist in sin in order to call forth a greater exhibition of God's grace; for spiritual life (which is the grace) can not coexist with spiritual death.

What shall we say then? shall we[1] persist in sin that vi. 1.
the gift of grace may be more abundant? God forbid.
We who died[2] to sin [when we became followers of 2
Christ], how can we any longer live in sin? or have
you forgotten that all of us, when we were baptized into 3
fellowship with Christ Jesus, were baptized into fellow-
ship with His death? With Him therefore we were buried 4
by the baptism wherein we shared His death, [when we
sank beneath the waters; and were raised[3] from under
them], that even as Christ was raised up from the dead
by the glory of the Father, so we likewise might walk in
newness of life. For if we have been grafted[4] into the 5
likeness of His death, so shall we also share His resurrection.
For we know that our old man was [then] crucified[5] with 6
Christ, that the sinful body [of the old man][6] might be de-
stroyed, that we might no longer be the slaves of sin; (for 7
he that is dead is justified[7] from sin). Now if we have 8
shared the death of Christ, we believe that we shall also share
His life; knowing that Christ being raised from the dead,
can die no more; death has no more dominion over Him.

[1] This was probably an objection made by Judaizing disputants (as it has been made by their successors in other ages of the Church) against St. Paul's doctrine. They argued that if (as he said) the sin of man called forth so glorious an exhibition of the pardoning grace of God, the necessary conclusion must be, that the more men sinned the more God was glorified. Compare iii. 7 8. and verse 15 below. We know also, that this inference was actually deduced by the Antinomian party at Corinth (see Vol. I. p. 479.), and therefore it was the more necessary for St. Paul to refute it.

[2] The A. V. "*are dead*" is a mistranslation.

[3] This clause, which is here left elliptical, is fully expressed, Col. ii. 12.: *συνταφέντες αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι ἐν ᾧ καὶ συνηγέρθητε.* This passage cannot be understood unless it be borne in mind that the primitive baptism was by immersion. See Vol. I. p. 471.

[4] *Σύμφυτοι γεγόναμεν*, &c., literally, *have become partakers by a vital union* [as that of a graft with the tree into which it is grafted] *of the representation of his death* [in baptism]. The meaning appears to be, *if we have shared the reality of his death, whereof we have undergone the likeness.*

[5] Observe the mistranslation in the A.V., "*is crucified.*"

[6] On *τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας*, see Winer, Gram. p. 173., and De Wette *in loco;* and compare *τὸ σῶμα τῆς σάρκος* (Col. ii. 11.).

[7] *Δεδικαίωται*, meaning that if a criminal charge is brought against a man who died before the per-

VI. 10. For He died once, and once only, unto sin; but He
11 lives [for ever] unto God. Likewise reckon ye also your-
selves to be dead indeed unto sin, but living unto God in
12 Christ Jesus.[1] Let not sin therefore reign in your dying
body, causing you to obey its lusts; nor give up your
13 members to sin, as instruments of unrighteousness; but give
yourselves to God, as being restored to life from the dead,
and your members to His service as instruments of righteous-
14 ness; for sin shall not have the mastery over you, since you
are not under the Law[2], but under grace.

15 What then? shall we sin[3] because we are not under the
16 Law, but under grace? God forbid. Know ye not that He
to whose service you give yourselves, is your real master,
whether sin, whose fruit is death, or obedience, whose
17 fruit is righteousness. But God be thanked that you, who
were once the slaves of sin, have obeyed from your hearts
18 the teaching whereby you were moulded anew[4]; and when
you were freed from the slavery of sin, you became the
19 bondsmen of righteousness. (I speak the language of
common life, to show the weakness of your fleshly nature[5],
[which must be in bondage either to the one, or to the
other].) Therefore, as you once gave up the members of
your body for slaves of uncleanness and licentiousness, to
work the deeds of licence; so now give them up for slaves
20 of righteousness, to work the deeds of holiness. For when
you were the slaves of sin, you were free from the service of
21 righteousness. What fruit then had you in those times, from
the deeds whereof you are now ashamed? yea, the end of

The Christian's freedom from the Law consists in living in the morality of the Law, not from fear of its penalties, but as necessary fruits of the spiritual life whereof Christians partake. Hence the slaves of sin can have no part in this freedom from the Law; since they are still subject to the penalties of the Law, which are the necessary results of sin.

petration of the crime, he must be acquitted, since he could not have committed the act charged against him.

[1] The best MSS. omit τῷ κ. ἡ.

[2] To be "under the law," in St. Paul's language, means to avoid sin from fear of penalties attached to sin by the law. This principle of fear is not strong enough to keep men in the path of duty. Union with Christ can alone give man the mastery over sin.

[3] See note on first verse of this chapter.

[4] Literally, *the mould of teaching into which you were transmitted.* The metaphor is from the casting of metals.

[5] There is a striking resemblance between this passage and the words of Socrates recorded by Xenophon (Mem. I. 5.): ἐμοὶ μέν δοκεῖ . . . . δουλεύοντα ταῖς τοιαύταις ἡδοναῖς ἱκετεύειν τοὺς θεοὺς δεσποτῶν ἀγαθῶν τυχεῖν· οὕτως γάρ ἂν μόνως ὁ τοιοῦτος σωθείη.

them is death. But now, being freed from the bondage of sin, and enslaved to the service of God, your fruit is growth in holiness[1], and its end is life eternal. For the wage of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord and master. VI. 22. 23

As above said, Christians are not under the Law; for the Law belongs to that sinful earthly nature to which they have died by partaking in Christ's death, having been admitted to a better spiritual service by their union with Christ's life; so that the sins of which the Law was formerly the occasion overcome them no more.

You must acknowledge[2] what I say [that we are not under the Law]; knowing, brethren, (for I speak to men who know the Law) that the dominion of the Law over its subjects lasts only during their life; thus the married woman is bound by the Law to her husband while he lives, but if her husband is dead, the law which bound her to him has lost its hold upon her; so that while her husband is living, she will be counted an adulteress if she be joined to another man; but if her husband be dead, she is free from the Law, and although joined to another man she is no adulteress. Wherefore you also, my brethren, were made dead to the Law, by [union with] the body of Christ; that you might be married to another, even to Him who was raised from the dead that we might bring forth fruit unto God. For when we were in the flesh, the sinful passions occasioned by the Law wrought in our members, leading us to bring forth fruit unto death. But now the Law wherein we were formerly held fast, lost its hold upon us when we died[3] [with Christ]: so that we VII. 1 2 3 4 5 6

[1] Literally, *the fruit which you gain tends to produce* (εἰς) *holiness.* In other words, *the reward of serving God, is growth in holiness.*

[2] Ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε. Literally, *or are you ignorant;* the *or* (which is omitted in A.V.) referring to what has gone before, and implying, *if you deny what I have said, you must be ignorant of,* &c., or, in other words, *you must acknowledge what I say, or be ignorant of,* &c. The reference here is to the assertion in verses 14 and 15 of the preceding chapter, that Christians "*are not under the law.*" For the argument of the present passage, see the marginal summary. St. Paul's view of the Christian life, throughout the sixth, seventh, and eighth chapters, is that it consists of a death and a resurrection; the new-made Christian dies to sin, to the world, to the flesh, and to the Law; this death he undergoes at his first entrance into communion with Christ, and it is both typified and realised when he is buried beneath the baptismal waters. But no sooner is he thus dead with Christ, than he rises with Him; he is made partaker of Christ's resurrection; he is united to Christ's body; he lives in Christ, and to Christ; he is no longer "in the flesh," but "in the spirit."

[3] Ἀποθανόντες is the reading of the best MSS. It is opposed to ὅτε ἦμεν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ of the preceding verse. To make it clear, this verse should be stopped thus, κατ. ἀπὸ τ. νόμου, ἀπο-

are no longer in the old bondage of the letter, but in the new service of the spirit.

VII. 7. What shall we say then? that the Law is sinful? That be far from us! But yet I should not have known what sin was, except through the Law; thus I should not have known the sin of coveting, unless the Law had said **Thou shalt not** 8 **covet.**[1] But when my sin had gained by the commandment a vantage ground [against me], it wrought in me all manner of 9 coveting; (for where there is no law, sin is dead). And I felt[2] that I was alive before, when I knew no law; but when the commandment came, sin rose to life, and I sank into death; 10 and the very commandment whose end is life, was found to 11 me the cause of death; for my sin, when it had gained a vantage ground by the commandment, deceived me to my fall, and slew me by[3] the [sentence of the] Law.

The Law has been above said to be the occasion of sin. For when its precepts awaken the conscience to a sense of duty, the sins which before were done in ignorance, are now done in spite of the resistance of conscience. For the carnal nature of the natural man fulfils the evil, which his spiritual nature condemns. Thus a struggle is produced in which the worse part in man triumphs over the better, the law of his flesh over the law of his mind. And man in himself (*αὐτὸς ἐγὼ*), without the help of Christ's Spirit, must continue the slave of his sinful earthly nature.

12 Wherefore the Law indeed is holy, and its command-13 ments are holy, and just, and good. Do I say then that Good became to me Death[4]? Far be that from me. But I say that sin wrought this; that so it might be made manifest as sin, in working Death to me through [the knowledge of] Good; that sin might become beyond measure[5] sinful, by the commandment.

14 For we know that the Law is spiritual[6]; but for me, 15 I am carnal[7], a slave sold into the captivity of sin. What I

θανόντες, ἐν ᾧ κατειχόμεθα. It should also be observed that *κατηργήθημεν* is the *aorist*, and not (as in A.V.) the *present*. As to the sense in which Christians are "*dead*," see the preceding note.

[1] Exod. xx. 17. (LXX.)

[2] For this meaning of *ζῶ*, see 1 Thess. iii. 8.

[3] See note on 1 Cor. xv. 56.

[4] *Γέγονε.* Literally, *is it become;* equivalent to *do I say that it became?* We must supply *γέγονε θάνατος* again after *ἡ ἁμαρτία.*

[5] This explains Rom. v. 20. In both passages, St. Paul states the object of the law to be to lay down, as it were, a boundary line which should mark the limits of right and wrong; so that sin, by transgressing this line, might manifest its real nature, and be distinctly recognised for what it is.

[6] It may be asked, how is this consistent with many passages where St. Paul speaks of the Law as a carnal ordinance, and opposes it (as *γράμμα*) to *πνεῦμα*? The answer is, that here he speaks of the law under its moral aspect, as is plain from the whole context.

[7] Scarcely anything in this Epistle has caused more controversy than the question whether St. Paul, in the following description of the struggle between the flesh and the spirit, wherein the flesh gains the victory, meant to describe his own actual state. The best answer to this question is a comparison between vi. 17. and 20.

do, I acknowledge not; for I do not what I would, but what I hate. But if my will is against my deeds, I thereby acknow- VII.16
ledge the goodness of the Law. And now it is no more 17
I myself who do the evil, but it is the sin which dwells in me. For I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, good abides 18
not; for to will is present with me, but to do the right is absent; the good that I would, I do not; but the evil which 19
I would not, that I do. Now if my own [1] will is against my 20
deeds, it is no more I myself who do them, but the sin which dwells in me. I find then this law, that though my will 21
is to do good, yet evil is present with me; for I consent 22
gladly to the law of God in my inner man; but I behold 23
another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and making me captive to the law of sin which dwells in my members. O wretched man that I am! who 24
shall deliver me from this body of death!

I thank God [that He has now delivered me] through 25
Jesus Christ our Lord.

So then, in myself[2], though I am subject in my mind to the law of God, yet in my flesh I am subject to the law of sin.

(where he tells the Roman Christians that they *are no longer the slaves of sin*), vii. 14. (where he says *I am* CARNAL, *σαρκικός, a slave sold into the captivity of sin*), and viii. 4. (where he includes himself among those *who live not the life of the flesh, σάρξ, but the life of the spirit,* i. e. who are NOT CARNAL). It is surely clear that these descriptions cannot be meant to belong to the same person at the same time. The best commentary on the whole passage (vii. 7. to viii. 13.) is to be found in the condensed expression of the same truths contained in Gal. v. 16—18.: *Walk in the spirit and* YE SHALL NOT FULFIL THE DESIRE OF THE FLESH; *for the desire of the flesh fights against the spirit, and the desire of the spirit fights against the flesh; and this variance between the flesh and the spirit would hinder you from doing that which your will prefers; but if you be led by the spirit, you are not under the Law.*

[1] The *ἐγώ* is emphatic.

[2] *Αὐτὸς ἐγὼ, I in myself,* i. e. without the help of God. This expression is the key to the whole passage. St. Paul, from verse 14 to verse 24, has been speaking of himself as he was *in himself,* i. e. in his natural state of helplessness, with a conscience enlightened, but a will enslaved; the better self struggling vainly against the worse. Every man must continue in this state, unless he be redeemed from it by the Spirit of God. Christians are (so far as God is concerned) redeemed already from this state; but *in themselves,* and so far as they live to themselves, they are still in bondage. The redemption which they (*potentially,* if not *actually*) possess, is the subject of the 8th chapter. Leighton most beautifully expresses the contrast between these two states (of bondage and deliverance) in his sermon on Romans viii. 35.: "Is this he that so lately cried out, *O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me?*

III. 1 Now, therefore, there is no condemnation to those who
2 are in Christ Jesus[1]; for the law of the Spirit of life in
Christ Jesus[2] has freed me from the law of sin and death.
3 For God (which was impossible to the Law, because through
the weakness of our flesh it had no power), by sending His
own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and on behalf of sin,
4 overcame[3] sin in the flesh[4]; to the end, that the righteous
statutes of the Law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not
5 after the Flesh, but after the Spirit.[5] For they who live after
the flesh, mind fleshly things; but they who live after the
6 Spirit mind spiritual things; and[6] the fleshly mind is death;
7 but the spiritual mind is life and peace. Because the fleshly
mind is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of

But with that help this sinful earthly nature is vanquished in the Christian, and he is enabled to live, not according to the carnal part of his nature (σὰρξ), but according to the spiritual part (πνεῦμα). God's true children are those only who are thus enabled by the indwelling spirit of Christ (ἐροικοῦν πν.) to conquer their earthly nature.

that now triumphs, O happy man! *who shall separate us from the love of Christ?* Yes, it is the same. Pained then with the thoughts of that miserable conjunction with a body of death, and so crying out, who will deliver? Now he hath found a deliverer to do that for him, to whom he is for ever united. So vast a difference is there betwixt a Christian taken *in himself* and *in Christ.*"

[1] The clause which follows, from μὴ to πνεῦμα, is omitted in the best MSS., having (it would seem) been introduced by a clerical error from verse 4.

[2] Winer wishes to join ἐν (Χρ. Ἰησ.) with ἠλευθέρωσε, because there is no τοῦ before the ἐν; but there are so many examples of a similar construction in St. Paul's style, that we think his reasons insufficient to justify a departure from the more obvious view.

[3] Literally, *condemned*, i. e. *put it to rebuke, worsted it.* Compare κατέκρινε, Heb. xi. 7.

[4] "*In the flesh*," that is to say, *in the very seat of its power.*

[5] The contrast between the victory thus obtained by the spirit, with the previous subjection of the soul to the flesh, is thus beautifully described by Tertullian:—"When the Soul is wedded to the Spirit, the Flesh follows—like the handmaid who follows her wedded mistress to the husband's home—being thenceforward no longer the servant of the Soul, but of the Spirit." The whole passage forms an excellent commentary on this part of the Epistle, especially the following:—"Omnis anima eousque in Adam censetur, donec in Christo recenseatur; tamdiu immunda quamdiu [=donec] recenseatur... Nam Naturæ corruptio alia natura est;.... ut tamen insit et bonum animæ, illud principale, illud divinum et germanum, et proprie naturale. Quod enim a Deo est, non tam extinguitur, quam obumbratur. Potest enim obumbrari, quia non est Deus; extingui non potest, quia a Deo est..... Sic et in pessimis aliquid boni, et in optimis nonnihil pessimi..... Propterea nulla anima sine crimine, quia nulla sine boni semine. Proinde cum ad fidem pervenit.... totam lucem suam conspicit. Excipitur a Spiritu Sancto, sicut in pristinâ nativitate a Spiritu profano. Sequitur animam, Spiritui nubentem, caro, ut dotale mancipium, et jam non animæ famula, sed Spiritûs. O beatum connubium, si non admiserit adulterium." Tertull. de Animâ, c. 40, 41.

[6] Winer sneers at Tholuck's remark, that γάρ is a mere *transition particle* here; but yet what else is it, when it does not introduce a reason for a preceding proposition? In these cases of successive clauses each connected with the preceding by a γάρ, they all appear to refer back to the first preceding clause, and therefore all but the first γάρ might be represented by *and.* Just in the same way as δέ and *sed* are used sometimes, and *but* in English; as, for example, "But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified."

God, nor by its very nature can be; and they whose life is VIII. 8
in the Flesh cannot please God. But your life is not in the 9
Flesh, but in the Spirit, if indeed the Spirit of God be dwelling in you; and if any man has not the Spirit of Christ within him, he is not Christ's. But if Christ be in you, though your 10
body be dead, because of sin [to which its nature tends], yet your spirit is life[1], because of righteousness [which dwells within it]; yea, if the Spirit of Him who raised Jesus 11
from the dead be dwelling in you, He who raised Christ from the dead shall endow with life also your dying bodies, by His[2] Spirit which dwells within you. Therefore, brethren, 12
we are debtors, bound not to the Flesh, that we should live after the Flesh, [but to the Spirit]; for if you live after the 13
Flesh, you are doomed to die; but if by the Spirit you destroy the deeds of the body, in their death[3] you will attain to life.

Such persons have an inward consciousness of child-like love to God (ἀββα), and they anticipate a future and more perfect state when this relation to God will have its full development (ἀποκάλυψις). And their longing for a future perfection is shared by all created beings, whose discontent at present imperfection points to another state freed from evil. And this feeling is (26, 27.) implanted in

For all who are led by God's Spirit, and they alone[4], 14
are the sons of God. For you have not received a Spirit 15
of bondage, that you should go back again to the state of slavish fear, but you have received a Spirit of adoption wherein we cry unto God and say, "Our Father."[5] The 16
Spirit itself joins its testimony with the witness of our own spirit, to prove that we are the children of God. And if 17
children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ; that if now we share His sufferings, we should hereafter share His glory. For I reckon that the sufferings of 18
this present time are nothing worth, when set against the glory which shall soon[6] be revealed unto us. For the 19
earnest longing of the whole creation looks eagerly for the time when [the glory of] the sons of God shall openly be

[1] Ζωὴ in St. Paul's writings is scarcely represented adequately by *life;* it generally means more than this, viz. *life triumphant over death.*

[2] The MSS. of highest authority read διὰ τοῦ here, although the greater number read διὰ τὸ, which Tischendorf prefers on the principle that it is the most difficult reading.

[3] This translation is necessary to represent the reference to θανατοῦτε.

[4] Οὗτοι, *they and they alone, they and not the carnal seed of Abraham.*

[5] See note on Gal. iv. 6.

[6] Μέλλουσαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι, *which is about to be revealed, which shall soon be revealed.*

Christians by the Spirit of God, who suggests their prayers and longings.

VIII. 20 brought to light. For the creation was made subject to corruption and decay[1], not by its own will, but through
21 Him who subjected it thereto; with hope that the creation itself also shall be delivered from its slavery to death, and shall gain the freedom of the sons of God when they are
22 glorified.[2] For we know that the whole creation is groaning together, and suffering the pangs of labour, which[3] have not
23 yet brought forth the birth. And not only they, but ourselves also, who have received the Spirit for the first fruits [of our inheritance], even we ourselves are groaning inwardly, longing for the adoption[4] which shall ransom our
24 body from its bondage. For our salvation[5] lies in hope; but hope possessed is not hope, since a man cannot hope for
25 what he sees in his possession; but if we hope for things not seen, we stedfastly[6] endure the present, and long ear-
26 nestly for the future. And, even as[7] we long for our redemption, so the Spirit gives help to our weakness; for we know not what we should pray for as we ought; but the Spirit itself makes intercession for us, with groans [for deliver-
27 ance] which words cannot utter. But He who searches our

[1] Ματαιότης means *the transitory nature* which causes all the animated creation so rapidly to pass away. We join ἐπ' ἐλπίδι with the following ὅτι.

[2] Literally, *the freedom which belongs to the glorification of the sons of God.*

[3] Literally, *continuing to suffer the pangs of labour even until now.* St. Paul here suggests an argument as original as it is profound. The very struggles which all animated beings make against pain and death, show (he says) that pain and death are not a part of the proper laws of their nature, but rather a bondage imposed upon them from without. Thus every groan and tear is an unconscious prophecy of liberation from the power of evil.

[4] Υἱοθεσίαν, *adoption;* by which a slave was emancipated and made "no longer a slave but a son." (Gal. iv. 7.) In one sense St. Paul taught that Christians had already received this *adoption* (compare Rom. viii. 15., Gal. iv. 5., Eph. i. 5.); they were already made the sons of God in Christ. (Rom. viii. 16., Gal. iii. 26.) But in this passage he teaches us that this adoption is not perfect during the present life; there is still a higher sense, in which it is future and the object of earnest longing to those who are already in the lower sense the sons of God.

[5] Literally, *we were saved, i. e.* at our conversion. The A. V. "*are saved*" is incorrect. The exact translation would be, "*the salvation whereto we were called lies in hope.*"

[6] Ἀπεκδεχόμεθα, *we long earnestly for the future;* δι' ὑπομονῆς, *with stedfast endurance of the present.*

[7] After ὡσαύτως, *in like manner*, we must supply ὥσπερ ἀπεκδεχόμεθα from the preceding clause; and the object of ἀπεκδεχόμεθα is τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν (by verse 23.).

hearts knows [though it be unspoken] what is the desire of the Spirit[1], because He intercedes for Christ's people according to the will of God.

Hence in the midst of their persecutions Christians are more than conquerors; for they feel that all works together for their good. God has called them to share in His glory, and no human accusers or judges, no earthly sufferings, no power in the whole Creation, can separate them from His love.

Moreover, we know that all things [whether sad or joyful[2]] work together for good to those who love God, who have been called according to His purpose. For those whom He foreknew, He also predestined to be made like[3] to the pattern of His Son, that many brethren might be joined to Him, the first born. And those whom He predestined to this end, them He also called; and whom He called, them He also justified; and whom He justified, them He also glorified. What shall we say then to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us? He that spared not His own Son, but gave Him up to death for us all, how shall He not with Him also freely give us all things? What accuser can harm God's chosen? it is God who justifies them. What judge can doom us? It is Christ who died, nay, rather, who is risen from the dead; yea, who is at the right hand of God, who also makes intercession for us. Who can separate us from the love of Christ? Can suffering, or straitness of distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or the peril of our lives, or the swords of our enemies? [though we may say,] as it is written, "**For[4] thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter.**" Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us. For I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor all

VIII. 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38

[1] This passage is well explained by Archbishop Leighton, in the following beautiful words: "The work of the Spirit is in exciting the heart at times of prayer, to break forth in ardent desires to God, whatsoever the words be, whether new or old, yea possibly without words; and then most powerful when it *words it* least, but vents in sighs and groans that cannot be expressed. Our Lord understands the language of these perfectly, and likes it best; He knows and approves the meaning of His own Spirit; He looks not to the outward appearance, the shell of words, as men do." Leighton's *Exposition of Lord's Prayer.*

[2] We must remember that this was written in the midst of persecution, and in the expectation of bonds and imprisonment. See verses 17, 18. and 35., and Acts xx. 23.

[3] Συμμόρφους. *Like in suffering* seems meant. Compare Phil. iii. 10. Τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν παθημάτων αὐτοῦ, συμμορφούμενος τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ.

[4] Ps. xliv. 23. (LXX.)

the[1] Principalities and Powers of Angels, nor things present
VIII. 39. nor things to come, nor things above nor things below, nor any power in the whole creation, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

IX. 1 I speak the truth in Christ — (and my conscience bears me witness, with the Holy Spirit's testimony, that I lie not) —
2 I have great heaviness, and unceasing sorrow in my heart;
3 yea, I could wish that I myself were cast out from Christ as an accursed thing, for the sake of my brethren, my kinsmen
4 according to the flesh; who are the seed of Israel, whom God adopted for His children, whose were the glory of the Shekinah, and the Covenants, and the Lawgiving, and the
5 service of the temple, and the promises of blessing. Whose fathers were the Patriarchs, and of whom (as to His flesh) was born the Christ who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen.

The fact that God has adopted Christians as His peculiar people, and rejected the Jews from their exclusive privileges, is in accordance with His former dealings. For not all the descendants of Abraham, but only a selected portion of them, were chosen by God.

6 Yet I speak not as if the promise of God had fallen to the ground; for not all are Israel who are of Israel,
7 nor because all are the seed of Abraham, are they all the children of Abraham; but **In[2] Isaac shall thy seed be called.**
8 That is, not the children of the flesh of Abraham are the sons of God, but his children of the promise are counted
9 for his true seed. For thus spake the word of promise, saying, **At this time will I come, and SARAH shall have a son[3]**, [so that Ishmael, although the son of Abraham, had
10 no part in the promise]. And not only so, but [Esau likewise was shut out; for] when Rebekah had conceived two
11 sons by the same husband, our forefather Isaac, yea, while they were not yet born, and had done nothing either good

[1] The expressions ἀρχαί and δυνάμεις were terms applied in the Jewish theology to divisions of the hierachy of angels, and, as such, were familiar to St. Paul's Jewish readers. Compare Eph. i. 21. and Col. i. 16.

[2] Gen. xxi. 12. (LXX.) Compare Gal. iv. 22. The context is, "*Let it not be grievous in thy sight, because of the lad* [*Ishmael*] *and because of thy bondwoman* [*Hagar*], *for in Isaac shall thy seed be called.*"

[3] Gen. xviii. 10., from LXX. not verbatim, but apparently from memory.

or bad (that God's purpose according to election might abide, coming not from the works of the[1] called, but from the will of The Caller,) it was declared unto her, **The elder shall** IX. 12
serve the younger[2]; according to that which is written, **Jacob** 13
have I loved, but Esau have I hated.[3]

The Jews cannot deny God's right to reject some and select others according to His will, since it is asserted in their own Scriptures in the case of Pharaoh. It may be objected that such a view represents God's will as the arbitrary cause of man's actions; the answer is, that the created being cannot investigate the causes which may have deter-

What shall we say then? Shall we call God unjust 14
[because He has cast off the seed of Abraham]? That be far from us. For to Moses He saith, "**I**[4] **will have mercy on** 15
whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion." So then, the choice comes 16
not from man's will, nor from man's speed, but from God's mercy. And thus the Scripture says to Pharaoh, "**Even**[5] 17
for this end have I raised thee up, that I might show my power in thee, and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth." According to His will, therefore, 18
He has mercy on one, and hardens another. Thou wilt 19
say to me, then[6], "Why does God still blame us? for who

[1] Literally, *coming not from works, but from the caller.*

[2] Gen. xxv. 23. (LXX.) The context is, "*Two nations are in thy womb, and the elder shall serve the younger.*"

[3] Mal. i. 2, 3. (LXX.)

[4] Exod. xxxiii. 19. (LXX.)

[5] Exod. ix. 16., verbally according to LXX., except substitution of ἐξήγειρά σε for διετηρήθης, and ἰσχύν for δύναμιν.

[6] Ἐρεῖς οὖν .... Here comes the great question —no longer made from the standing-point of the Jew, but proceeding from the universal feeling of justice. St. Paul answers the question by treating the subject as one above the comprehension of the human intellect, when considered in itself objectively. If it be once acknowledged that there is any difference between the character and ultimate fate of a good and a bad man, the intellect is logically led, step by step, to contemplate the will of the Creator as the cause of this difference. The question τί με ἐποίησας οὕτως will equally occur and be equally perplexing in any system of religion, either natural or revealed. It is in fact a difficulty springing at once from the permitted existence of evil. Scripture considers men under two points of view; first as created by God, and secondly, as free moral agents themselves. These two points of view are, to the intellect of man, irreconcileable; yet both must be true, since the reason convinces us of the one, and the conscience of the other. St. Paul here is considering men under the first of these aspects, as the creatures of God, entirely dependent on God's will. It is to be observed that he does not say that God's will is arbitrary, but only that men are entirely dependent on God's will. The reasons by which God's will itself is determined are left in the inscrutable mystery which conceals God's nature from man.

The objection and the answer given to it, partly here and partly chap. iii. v. 6., may be stated as follows:—

Objector.—If men are so entirely dependent on God's will, how can He with justice blame their actions?

Answer.—By the very constitution of thy nature thou art compelled to acknowledge the blame-worthiness of certain actions and the

IX. 20 can resist His will?" Nay, rather, oh man, who art thou that disputest against God? "Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus?"[1] 21 "Hath not the potter power over the clay,"[2] to make out of the same lump one vessel for honour and one for dis- 22 honour? But what if God (though willing to show forth His wrath, and to make known His power) endured with much long-suffering vessels of wrath, fitted for destruction, [and 23 cast them not at once away]. And what if thus He purposed to make known the riches of His glory bestowed upon vessels of mercy, which He had before prepared 24 for glory. And such are we, whom He has called, not only from among the Jews, but from among the Gen- 25 tiles, as it is written[3] also in Hosea, "I will call them

mined the will of his Creator.

Also the Jewish Scriptures speak

justice of their punishment (iii. 6.); therefore it is self-contradictory to say that a certain intellectual view of man's dependence on God would make these actions innocent; thou art forced to feel them guilty whether thou wilt or no, and (ix. 20.) it is vain to argue against the constitution of thy nature, or its author.

The metaphysical questions relating to this subject which have divided the Christian world are left unsolved by Scripture, which does not attempt to reconcile the apparent inconsistency between the objective and subjective views of man and his actions. Hence many have been led to neglect one side of the truth for the sake of making a consistent theory: thus the Pelagians have denied the dependence of man's will on God, and the Fatalists have denied the freedom of man's moral agency.

We may further observe that St. Paul does not here explicitly refer to eternal happiness or to its opposite. His main subject is the national rejection of the Jews, and the above more general topics are only incidentally introduced.

[1] Isaiah xlv. 9. Not literally from either LXX. or Hebrew; but apparently from memory out of LXX.

[2] Jeremiah xviii. 6., not quoted literally, but according to the sense. In this and in other similar quotations from the Old Testament, a few words were sufficient to recall the whole passage to St. Paul's Jewish readers (compare Rom. iv. 18.); therefore, to comprehend his argument, it is often necessary to refer to the context of the passage from which he quotes. The passage in Jeremiah referred to is as follows:—*Then I went down to the potter's house, and behold he wrought a work on the wheels. And the vessel that he made of clay was marred in the hands of the potter; so he made it again another vessel, as seemed good to the potter to make it. O house of Israel, cannot I do with you as this potter, saith the Lord. Behold, as the clay is in the potter's hand, so are ye in my hand, O house of Israel. At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up and to pull down and to destroy it; if that nation against whom I have pronounced turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them. And at what instant I shall speak concerning a nation and concerning a kingdom, to build and to plant it; if it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then I will repent of the good wherewith I said I would benefit them.*

[3] Λέγει, scilicet ἡ γραφή, not ὁ Θεός (literally, *it says*).

of the calling of the Gentiles and the rejection of the disobedient Jews.

my people which were not my people, and her beloved which was not beloved[1]; and it shall come to pass that IX. 26
in the place where it was said unto them, Ye are not
my people, there shall they be called the children of the
living God."[2] But Esaias cries concerning Israel, saying, 27
"Though[3] the number of the children of Israel be as the
sand of the sea, only the remnant shall be saved; for He 28
doth complete His reckoning, and cutteth it short in righte-
ousness; yea, a short reckoning will the Lord make upon
the earth." And, as Esaias had said before, "Except[4] the 29
Lord of Sabaoth had left us a seed remaining, we had been
as Sodom, and had been made like unto Gomorrha."

The cause of this rejection of the Jews was that they persisted in a false idea of righteousness, as consisting in outward works and rites, and refused the true righteousness manifested to them in Christ, who was the end of the law (x. 4.). The Jew considers righteousness as the outward obedience to certain enactments (x. 5.). The Christian considers righteousness as proceeding from the inward faith of

What shall we say, then? We say that the Gentiles, 30
though they sought not after righteousness, have attained to
righteousness, even the righteousness of Faith; but that the 31
house of Israel, though they sought a law of righteousness,
have not attained thereto. And why? Because[5] they sought it 32
not by Faith, but thought to gain it by the works of the Law;
for they stumbled against the stone of stumbling, as it is 33
written, "Behold[6] I lay in Zion a stone of stumbling, and a
rock of offence; and whoso hath faith in Him shall be saved
from confusion."

Brethren, my heart's desire and my prayer to God for X. 1
Israel is, that they may be saved; for I bear them witness 2
that they have a zeal for God, yet not guided by knowledge
of God[7]; for because they knew not the righteousness of God, 3

[1] Hosea ii. 23. (LXX. almost verbatim.)
[2] Hosea i. 10. (LXX.)
[3] Isaiah x. 22, 23. (LXX. almost verbatim.)
[4] Isaiah i. 9. (LXX.)
[5] Observe that in the preceding part of the chapter God is spoken of as rejecting the Jews according to His own will; whereas here a moral reason is given for their rejection. This illustrates what was said in a previous note of the difference between the objective and subjective points of view.
[6] Isaiah xxviii. 16., apparently from LXX., but not verbatim, λίθον προσκόμματος καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλου being interpolated, and not found exactly anywhere in Isaiah, though in viii. 14. there is λίθου προσκόμματι and πέτρας πτώματι. Compare also Matt. xxi. 44.
[7] For the meaning of ἐπίγνωσις (which is not equivalent to γνῶσις), compare 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

and sought to establish their own righteousness, therefore they have not submitted themselves to the righteousness of God.
x. 4 For the end of the Law is Christ, that all may attain righteous-
5 ness who have faith in Him. For Moses writes concerning the righteousness of the Law, saying, "The[1] man which
6 doeth these things shall live therein;" but the righteousness of Faith speaks in this wise. Say not in thine heart, "Who shall ascend into heaven?"[2] that is, "Who can bring down
7 Christ from heaven?" nor say, "Who shall descend into the abyss?" that is, "Who can raise up Christ from the dead?"
8 But how speaks it? "The Word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart;"—that is, the Word of Faith which
9 we proclaim, saying, "If with thy mouth thou shalt confess Jesus for thy Lord, and shalt have faith in thy heart that
10 God raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." For faith unto righteousness is in the heart, and confession unto
11 salvation is from the mouth. And so says the Scripture, "Whosoever hath faith in Him shall be saved from
12 confusion;"[3] for there is no distinction between Jew and Gentile, because the same [Jesus] is Lord over all, and He
13 gives richly to all who call upon Him; for "Every man who shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved."[4]

the heart. Whoever has this faith, whether Jew or Gentile, shall be admitted into God's favour.

[1] Levit. xviii. 5. (LXX.)

[2] Deut. xxx. 12. St. Paul here, though he quotes from the LXX. (verse 8 is verbatim), yet slightly alters it, so as to adapt it better to illustrate his meaning. His main statement is, "the Glad-tidings of salvation is offered, and needs only to be accepted;" to this he transfers the description which Moses has given of the Law, viz. "the Word is nigh thee," &c.; and the rest of the passage of Deuteronomy he applies in a higher sense than that in which Moses had written it (according to the true Christian mode of using the Old Testament) not to the Mosaic Law, but to the Gospel of Christ. The passage in Deuteronomy is as follows:—"*This commandment which I command thee this day is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven and bring it unto us, that we may hear it and do it? Neither is it beyond the sea that thou shouldest say, Who shall go over the sea for us and bring it unto us, that we may hear it and do it? But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it.*"

[3] Isaiah xxviii. 16. (LXX.) See ix. 33.

[4] Joel ii. 32. (LXX.)

In order, therefore, that all may be so admitted, the invitation to believe must be universally proclaimed; and it has already been enough so to deprive the Jews of the excuse of ignorance, especially as they had received warnings of rejection before in their own Scriptures.

How then shall they call on Him in whom they have put no x. 14
faith? And how shall they put faith in Him of whom they never
heard? And how shall they hear of Him if no man bear the 15
tidings? And who shall bear the tidings if no messengers be
sent forth?[1] As it is written, "How[2] beautiful are the feet
of them that bear Glad-tidings of peace, that bear Glad-
tidings of good things." Yet some have not hearkened to the 16
Glad-tidings, as saith Esaias, "Lord who hath given faith to
our teaching?"[3] So, then, faith comes by teaching[4]; and our 17
teaching comes by the Word of God. But I say, have they 18
not heard the voice of the teachers? Yea, "Their sound
went forth into all the earth, and their words unto the ends
of the world."[5] Again I say, did not Israel know [the 19
purpose of God]? yea, it is said first by Moses, 'I
will make you jealous against them which are no people,
against a Gentile nation without understanding will I make
you wrath." But Esaias speaks boldly, saying, "I[7] was 20
found of them that sought me not; I was made manifest
unto them that asked not after me." But unto Israel he 21
says, "All day long have I spread forth my arms[8] unto a
disobedient and gainsaying people."[9]

The Jews, however, are not all rejected; those who believe in Christ have been selected by God (ἐκλόγη) as His people, and only the unbelieving portion rejected.

I say, then,—must we[10] think that God has cast off His xi. 1
people?[11] That be far from us; for I am myself also an
Israelite, of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin.
God has not cast off His people whom He foreknew. Yea, 2
know ye not what is said in the Scriptures of Elias, how

[1] This is a justification of the mission of the Apostles to *the Gentiles*, which was an offence to the Jews. See Acts xxii. 22.

[2] Isaiah lii. 7., apparently from the Hebrew, and not LXX.

[3] Isaiah liii. 1. (LXX.)

[4] There is no English word which precisely represents ἀκοή in its subjective as well as objective meaning.

[5] Ps. xix. 4. (LXX.)

[6] Deut. xxxii. 21. (LXX.)

[7] Is. lxv. 1. (LXX. with transposition).

[8] The metaphor is of a mother opening her arms to call back her child to her embrace.

[9] Is. lxv. 2. (LXX.)

[10] Μή, like *num*, asks a question expecting a negative answer = *is it true that? must we think that?* Also see note on μὴ γένοιτο, Gal. iii. 21.

[11] Alluding to Psalm xciv. 14.: "*Jehovah shall not utterly cast out his people.*" (LXX.) No doubt St. Paul's antagonists accused him of contradicting this prophecy.

xi. 3 he intercedes with God against Israel, saying, "Lord[1], they
have killed Thy prophets, and digged down Thine altars,
4 and I am left alone, and they seek my life also." But what
says the answer of God to him? "I[2] have yet left to myself
a remnant[3], even seven thousand men, who have not bowed the
5 knee to Baal." So likewise at this present time there is a
6 remnant [of the house of Israel] chosen by gift of grace. But
if their choice be the gift of grace, it can no more be deemed
the wage of works; for the gift that is earned is no gift: or
if it be gained by works, it is no longer the gift of grace;
7 for work claims[4] wages and not gifts. What follows then?
That which Israel seeks, Israel has not won; but the chosen
8 have won it, and the rest were hardened, as it is written,
"God[5] hath given them a spirit of slumber, eyes that they
should not see, and ears that they should not hear, unto this
9 day." And David says, "Let[6] their table be made a snare
and a trap, and a stumbling-block and a recompense unto
10 them. Let their eyes be darkened that they may not see,
and bow down their back alway."

11 Shall we say[7], then, "they have stumbled to the end
that they might fall?" That be far from us; but rather,
their stumbling has brought salvation to the Gentiles, "to[8]
12 provoke the house of Israel to jealousy." Now, if their
stumbling enriches the world, and if the lessening of their
gain gives wealth to the Gentiles, how much more would
their fulness do!

Nor is the rejection of the unbelieving Jews final, so as to exclude them and their descendants for ever from readmission into God's church. As the Gentile unbelievers had on their belief

[1] 1 Kings xix. 10. (LXX. but not verbatim).

[2] 1 Kings xix. 18., more nearly according to the Hebrew than LXX.

[3] Κατέλιπον corresponding to the subsequent λεῖμμα, and the preceding καταλεῖμμα (chap. ix. 27.).

[4] By ἔργον is here meant *work which earns wages*. Compare iv. 4—5. The latter clause of this verse however, is, omitted by the best MSS.

[5] This quotation seems to be compounded of Deut. xxix. 4. and Isaiah xxix. 10. (LXX.), though it does not correspond verbatim with either.

[6] Ps. lxix. 23, 24. (LXX. nearly verbatim).

[7] Literally, *I say then, shall we conclude that*, &c. See note on verse 1.

[8] Deut. xxxii. 21. (LXX.), quoted above ch. x. 20.

been grafted into the Christian church, which is the same original stock as the Jewish church, much more would Jewish unbelievers on their belief be grafted anew into that stock from which they had been broken off.

For to you who are Gentiles I say that, as Apostle of the Gentiles, I glorify my ministration for this end, if perchance I might "provoke to jealousy" my kinsmen, and save some among them. For if the casting of them out is the reconciliation of the world [to God], what would the gathering of them in be, but life from the dead?

Now, if the first of the dough be hallowed[1], the whole mass is thereby hallowed; and if the root be hallowed, so are also the branches. But if some of the branches were broken off, and thou being of the wild olive stock wast grafted in amongst them, and made to share the richness which flows from the root of the fruitful olive, yet boast not over the branches; but,—if thou art boastful,—thou bearest not the root, but the root thee. Thou wilt say then, "The branches were broken off that I might be grafted in." It is true,—for lack of faith they were broken off, and by faith thou standest in their place: be not high-minded, but fear; for if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest He also spare not thee. Behold, therefore, the goodness and the severity of God; towards them who fell, severity, but towards thee, goodness, if thou continue stedfast to His goodness; for otherwise thou too shalt be cut off. And they also, if they persist not in their faithlessness, shall be grafted in; for God is able to graft them in where they were before. For if thou wast cut out from that which by nature was the stock of the wild olive, and wast grafted against nature into the fruitful olive, how much more shall these, the natural branches, be grafted into the fruitful stock from whence they sprang.

Thus God's object has been not to reject any, but to show mercy upon all mankind. His purpose has

For I would not have you ignorant, brethren, of this mystery, lest you should be wise in your own conceits; that hardness of heart has fallen upon a part of Israel until the full body of the Gentiles shall have come in. And so all Israel

XI. 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26

[1] St. Paul alludes to the *Heave-offering* prescribed Numbers xv. 20.: "*Ye shall offer up a cake of the first of your dough for an heave-offering.*"

shall be saved, as it is written, "Out of Zion shall come the deliverer, and He shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob,
XI. 27 And this is my covenant with them.[1] When I shall take away
28 their sins."[2] In respect of the Glad-tidings [that it might be borne to the Gentiles], they are God's enemies for your sakes; but in respect of God's choice, they are His beloved for their
29 fathers' sakes: for no change of purpose can annul God's
30 gifts and call. And as in times past you were yourselves[3] disobedient to God, but have now received mercy upon their
31 disobedience; so in this present time they have been disobedient[4], that upon your obtaining mercy they likewise might
32 obtain mercy. For God has shut up[5] together both[6] Jews and Gentiles under [the doom of] disobedience, that He might
33 have mercy upon them all. O depth of the bounty, and the wisdom, and the knowledge of God; how unfathomable are
34 His judgments, and how unsearchable His paths! Yea, "Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been
35 His counsellor?[7] Or "Who hath first given unto God, that
36 he should deserve a recompense?"[8] For from Him is the beginning, and by Him the life, and in Him the end, of all things.

been to make use of the Jewish unbelief to call the Gentiles into His Church, and by the admission of the Gentiles to rouse the Jews to accept His message, that all might at length receive His mercy.

Unto Him be glory for ever. Amen.

XII. 1 I EXHORT you, therefore, brethren, as you would acknowledge the mercies of God, to offer your bodies a living sacrifice, holy and well-pleasing unto God, which is your reasonable[9]

Exhortations to the contented and earnest performance of the duties belonging

[1] Isaiah lix. 20. (LXX. almost verbatim).

[2] Isaiah xxvii. 9. (LXX. nearly verbatim).

[3] Throughout this passage in the A.V., ἀπειθεία is translated as if it were equivalent to ἀπιστία, which it is not. Compare i. 30.: γονεῦσιν ἀπειθεῖς.

[4] The stopping we adopt is ἠπείθησαν, τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἐλέει ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθῶσι.

[5] Συνέκλεισεν. Compare Gal. iii. 22.

[6] This translation is justified by the article before πάντας.

[7] Isaiah xl. 13. (LXX. nearly verbatim).

[8] Job xli. 11. (according to the sense of the Hebrew, but not LXX.).

[9] *Reasonable worship*, as contrasted with the unreasonable worship of those whose faith rested only on outward forms. See note on i. 9.

to their several gifts and callings, and to forgiveness of injuries. Also (xiii. 1—7.) to obedience to the civil magistrates as ordained by God. And generally (xiii. 8—10.) to love, as comprehending all duties to our neighbour. All these duties should be performed (xiii. 11—14.) as in the expectation of Christ's speedy coming.

worship. And be not conformed to the fashion of this xii. 2
passing[1] world, but be transformed by the renewing of your
mind, that by an unerring test[2] you may discern the will of
God, even that which is good, and acceptable, and perfect.
For through the gift of grace bestowed upon me [as Christ's 3
Apostle], I warn every man among you not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think, but let each of you
strive to gain a sober mind, according to the measure of
faith[3] which God has given him. For as we have many 4
limbs, which all are members of the same body, though they
have not all the same office; so we ourselves are all[4] one 5
body in Christ, and fellow-members one of another; but we 6
have gifts differing according to the grace which God has
given us.[5] He that has the gift of prophecy, let him exercise
it[6] according to the proportion of his faith. He that has 7
the gift of ministration, let him minister; he that has the
gift to teach, let him use it in teaching; he that can exhort, 8
let him labour in exhortation. He who gives, let him give
in singleness of mind. He who rules, let him rule diligently.
He who shows pity, let him show it gladly. Let your love 9
be without feigning. Abhor that which is evil; cleave to
that which is good. Be kindly affectioned one to another in 10

[1] See note on 1 Cor. i. 20.

[2] See note on ii. 18.

[3] Μέτρον πίστεως here seems (from the context of the following verses) equivalent to χάρισμα, as Chrysostom takes it. The particular talent given by God may be called a *measure of faith*, as being that by the use of which each man's faith will be tried. (Compare, as to the verbal expressions, 2 Cor. x. 13.) This explanation is, perhaps, not very satisfactory; but to understand μέτρον as meaning *amount* is still less so, for a double *gift* of prophecy did not imply a double faith. The expression is so perplexing that one is almost tempted to conjecture that the words crept into the text here by mistake, having been originally a marginal explanation of τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως, just below.

[4] Οἱ πολλοὶ.

[5] The construction and the parallel both seem to require a comma after μέλη, and a fullstop after διάφορα.

[6] We think it better to take these elliptical clauses as all imperative (with the A. V.) rather than to consider them (with De Wette and others) as "descriptive of the sphere of the gift's operation" up to a certain point, and then passing into the imperative. The participles in verses 9. 16. and 17. seem to refute De Wette's arguments.

brotherly love; in honour let each set his neighbour above
XII. 11 himself. Let your diligence be free from sloth, let your
12 spirit glow with zeal; be true bondsmen of your Lord. In
your hope be joyful; in your sufferings be stedfast; in your
13 prayers be unwearied. Be liberal to the needs of Christ's
14 people, and show hospitality to the stranger. Bless your per-
15 secutors; yea bless, and curse not. Rejoice with them that
16 rejoice, and weep with them that weep. Be of one mind
amongst yourselves. Set not your heart on high things, but
suffer yourselves to be borne along[1] with the lowly. Be not
17 wise in your own conceits. Repay no man evil for evil. See
18 that your life be blameless in the sight of all. If it be pos-
19 sible, as far as lies in yourselves, keep peace with all men. Re-
venge not yourselves, beloved, but give place to the wrath [of
God][2]; for it is written, "Vengeance is mine; I will repay,
20 saith the Lord."[3] Therefore, "If thine enemy hunger, feed
him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing, thou shalt
21 heap coals of fire upon his head."[4] Be not overcome by evil,
but overcome evil with good.

XIII. 1 Let every man submit himself to the authorities of
government; for all authority comes from God, and the
authorities which now are, have been set in their place by
2 God: therefore, he who sets himself against the authority,
resists the ordinance of God; and they who resist will bring
3 judgment upon themselves. For the magistrate is not terrible
to good works[5], but to evil. Wilt thou be fearless of his
authority? do what is good, and thou shalt have its praise.
4 For the magistrate is God's minister to thee for good. But
if thou art an evil doer, be afraid; for not by chance does he

[1] This is the literal translation of Συναπαγόμενοι.

[2] This is the interpretation of Chrysostom, and is supported by the ablest modern interpreters.

[3] Deut. xxxii. 35. (LXX. but not verbatim).

[4] Prov. xxv. 21. (LXX.) There can be little doubt that the metaphor is taken from the melting of metals.

[5] We must remember that this was written before the Imperial government had begun to persecute Christianity. It is a testimony in favour of the general administration of the Roman criminal law.

bear the sword [of justice], being a minister of God, appointed to do vengeance upon the guilty. Wherefore you must needs submit, not only for fear, but also for conscience sake; for this also is the cause why you pay tribute, because the authorities of government are officers of God's will, and His service is the very end of their daily work. Pay, therefore, to all their dues; tribute to whom tribute is due; customs to whom customs; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour. Owe no debt to any man, save the debt of love alone; for he who loves his neighbour has fulfilled the law. For the law which says, "Thou[1] shalt not commit adultery; Thou shalt do no murder; Thou shalt not steal; Thou shalt not bear false witness; Thou shalt not covet," and whatsoever other commandment there be, is all contained in this one saying, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."[2] Love works no ill to his neighbour; therefore Love is the fulfilment of the Law.

XIII. 5 6 7 8 9 10

This do, knowing the season wherein we stand, and that for us it is high time to awake out of sleep, for our salvation is already nearer than when we first believed. The night is far spent, the day is at hand; let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light. Let us walk (as in the light of day) in seemly guise; not in rioting and drunkenness, not in dalliance and wantonness, not in strife and envying. But clothe yourselves with Jesus Christ your Lord, and take no thought to please your fleshly lusts.

11 12 13 14

Those Christians who still clung to superstitious distinctions between

Him who is weak in his faith receive into your fellowship, and make no distinctions for[3] opinion's sake. Some have faith that they may eat all things; others, who are weak[4],

XIV. 1 2

[1] Exod. xx. 13—17. (LXX.)

[2] Levit. xix. 18. (LXX.)

[3] Literally, *not acting so as to make distinctions which belong to disputatious reasonings.*

[4] These were probably Christians of Jewish birth, who so feared lest they should (without knowing it) eat meat which had been offered to idols (which might easily happen in such a place as Rome), that they abstained from meat altogether.

meats and days should be treated with indulgence by the more enlightened, and all should treat each other with charity, and forbear from condemning one another, whether Jews or Gentiles, since Christ had received both into His favour as their common Lord.

XIV. 3 eat herbs alone. Let not him who eats despise him who
abstains; nor let him who abstains judge him who eats,
4 for God has received him among[1] His people. Who art
thou, that judgest another's servant? To his own master he
must stand or fall; but he shall be made to stand, for God is
5 able to set him up. There are some who esteem one
day above another; and again there are some who esteem
all days alike; let each be fully persuaded in his own mind.
6 He who regards the day, regards it unto the Lord; and he
who regards it not, disregards it unto the Lord. He who
eats, eats unto the Lord, for he gives God thanks; and
he who abstains, abstains unto the Lord, and gives thanks
7 to God likewise. For not unto himself does any one
8 of us either live or die; but whether we live, we live unto
our Lord, or whether we die, we die unto our Lord; there-
9 fore, living or dying, we are the Lord's. For to this end
Christ died, and lived again, that He might be Lord both
10 of the dead and of the living. But thou, why judgest thou
thy brother? Or thou, why despisest thou thy brother? for
11 we shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ. And
so it is written, "As[3] I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall
12 bow to me, and every tongue shall acknowledge God." So,
then, every one of us shall give account to God [not of his
13 brethren, but] of himself. Let us then judge each other no
more, but let this rather be your judgment, to put no
stumbling-block or cause of falling in your brother's way.
14 I know and am persuaded in the Lord Jesus, that nothing is
in itself unclean; but whatever a man thinks unclean, is
15 unclean to him. And if for meat thou grievest thy brother,
thou hast ceased to walk by the rule of love. Destroy not
him with thy meat for whom Christ died.

[1] Προσελάβετο, *received him unto Himself.*

[2] Καὶ ἀνέστη is omitted by the best MSS.

[3] Isaiah xlv. 23. (LXX. not accurately, but apparently from memory).

I say then, let not your good be evil spoken of.[1] For XIV. 16, 17.
the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness,
and peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit; and he who lives in 18
these things as Christ's bondman is well-pleasing to God, and
cannot be condemned[2] by men. Let us therefore follow the 19
things which make for peace, such as may build us up together
into one. Destroy not thou the work of God for a meal of
meat. All things indeed [in themselves] are pure; but evil 20
is that which causes stumbling to the eater. It is good neither 21
to eat flesh, nor to drink[3] wine, nor to do any[4] other thing,
whereby thy brother is made to stumble.[5] Hast thou faith [that 22
nothing is unclean]? keep it for thine own comfort before
God. Happy is he who condemns not himself by the very
judgment which he pronounces.[6] But he who doubts, is 23
thereby condemned if he eats, because he has not faith[7] that
he may eat; and every faithless deed[8] is sin. And we, who XV. 1.
are strong[9], ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not
to please ourselves. Let each of us therefore please his 2
neighbour for good ends, to build him up. For we know 3
that[10] Christ pleased not Himself, but in Him was fulfilled
that which is written, "The[11] reproaches of them that re-
proached thee fell upon me." For our instruction is the 4

[1] Compare 1 Cor. x. 29.

[2] Δόκιμος, literally, *is capable of standing any test to which he may be put.*

[3] This does not necessarily imply that any of the weaker brethren actually did scruple to drink wine; it may be put only hypothetically. But it is possible that they may have feared to taste wine, part of which had been poured in libation to idols.

[4] It is strange that no critic has hitherto proposed the simple emendation of reading ἕν instead of ἐν, which avoids the extreme awkwardness of the ellipse necessitated by the received text. Compare οὐδὲ ἕν, Joh. i. 3. The ᾧ is governed by προσκόπτει, just as in ix. 32.: προσέκοψαν τῷ λίθῳ.

[5] We adopt the reading sanctioned by Tischendorf, which omits ἢ σκανδαλίζεται ἢ ἀσθενεῖ.

[6] See note on ii. 18.

[7] Literally, *he eats not from faith.*

[8] Literally, *every deed which springs not from faith [that it is a right deed] is sin.*

[9] Ἡμεῖς οἱ δυνατοί, literally, "We the strong." St. Paul here addresses the same party whom he so often exhorts to patience and forbearance; those who called themselves οἱ πνευματικοὶ (Gal. vi. 1., 1 Cor. iii. 1.), and boasted of their "knowledge" (1 Cor. viii. 1.). See Vol. I. p. 477.

[10] Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστός. The "*even*" of A.V. is not in the original.

[11] Ps. lxix. 9. (LXX.)

end of all which was written of old; that by stedfast endurance [in suffering], and by the counsel of the Scrip-
xv. 5 tures, we may hold fast our hope. Now may God, from whom both counsel and endurance come, grant you to be
6 of one mind together, according to the will of Christ, that you may all [both strong and weak], with one heart and voice, give praise to Him, who is our God, and the Father of
7 our Lord Jesus Christ. Wherefore, receive ye one another into fellowship, to the praise of God, even as Christ also received you.[1]

8 For[2] I say that Jesus Christ came to be a minister of the covenant of circumcision, to maintain the truthfulness of God, and confirm the promises which were made
9 to our fathers; and [he came to minister to the Gentiles also], that the Gentiles might praise God for His mercy, as it is written, "For[3] this cause I will acknowledge thee
10 among the Gentiles, and will sing unto thy name." And
11 again it is said, "Rejoice[4], ye Gentiles, with His people;" and again, "Praise[5] the Lord, all ye Gentiles, and laud Him, all
12 ye peoples;" and again Esaias saith, "There[6] shall come the root of Jesse, and he that shall rise to reign over the
13 Gentiles; in him shall the Gentiles hope." Now may the God of hope[7] fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that you may abound in hope, through the mighty working of the Holy Spirit.

St. Paul gives these exhortations boldly to the Roman Christians, as being the Apostle of the Gen-

14 But I am persuaded, my brethren, both by the reports of others[8], and by my own judgment also, that you are already full of goodness, filled with all knowledge, and able,
15 without my counsel, to admonish one another. Yet I have

[1] Ὑμᾶς (not ἡμᾶς) is the reading of the best MSS.

[2] Λέγω γάρ (not δέ) is the reading of the MSS.

[3] Ps. xviii. 49. (LXX.)

[4] Deut. xxxii. 43. (LXX.) See note on ix. 25.

[5] Ps. cxvii. 1. (LXX.)

[6] Isaiah xi. 10. (LXX.)

[7] The reference of this to the preceding quotation is lost in A. V. through the translation of ἐλπίδος and ἐλπιοῦσιν by "*hope*" and "*trust*" respectively.

[8] Observe the force of the καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγώ.

tiles. He intends soon to visit them on his way to Spain; for he had already executed his Apostolic commission in the eastern parts of the empire, so far as the field was not occupied by other labourers. First, however, he must go to Jerusalem to convey the Greek contributions thither, in spite of the dangers which he expects to meet there.

written to you somewhat boldly in parts[1] [of this letter], to remind you [rather than to teach you], because of that gift of grace which God has given me, whereby He sent me to xv. 16
minister for Jesus Christ, bearing His Glad-tidings to the Gentiles, that I might present them to God, as a priest presents the offering[2], a sacrifice well pleasing unto Him, hallowed by the working of the Holy Spirit. I have there- 17
fore somewhat whereof to boast in Christ Jesus, concerning the things of God; for I will not dare [as some do] to glorify 18
myself for the labours of others[3], but I will speak only of the works which Christ has wrought by me, to bring the Gentiles to obedience, by word and deed, with the might of signs and 19
wonders, the might of the Spirit of God; so that going forth from Jerusalem, and round about as far as[4] Illyricum, I have fulfilled my task in bearing the Glad-tidings of Christ. And 20
my ambition was to bear it according to this rule, [that I should go], not where the name of Christ was known (lest I should be building on another man's foundation), but [where 21
it was unheard]; as it is written, "**To[5] whom He was not spoken of, they shall see; and the people who have not heard shall understand.**"

This is the cause why I have often been hindered from 22
coming to you. But now that I have no longer room 23
enough [for my labours] in these regions, and have had a great desire to visit you these many years, so soon as I take my 24
journey into Spain I will come to you; for I hope to see you on my way, and to be set forward on my journey thither by you, after I have in some measure satisfied my desire of your company. But now I am going to Jerusalem, being em- 25

[1] For the meaning of ἀπὸ μέρους, see 2 Cor. i. 14., 2 Cor. ii. 5. It might here be translated *in some measure* (as Neander proposes, compare v. 24.), but that this is already expressed in τολμηρότερον. The word ἀδελφοὶ is omitted in best MSS.

[2] Literally, "*to minister for Jesus Christ unto the Gentiles, a priest presenting an offering in respect of the Glad-tidings of God, that the Gentiles might be offered up as an offering well-pleasing unto Him.*" The same thing is said under a somewhat different metaphor, 2 Cor. xi. 2.

[3] Compare 2 Cor. x. 15.

[4] See the remarks on this in the last chapter, p. 126.

[5] Isaiah lii. 15. (LXX.)

xv. 26 ployed[1] in a ministration for Christ's people. For the provinces of Macedonia and Achaia have willingly undertaken to make a certain contribution for the poor among Christ's
27 people in Jerusalem. Willingly, I say, they have done this; and indeed they are debtors to the Church in Jerusalem; for since the Gentiles have shared in the spiritual goods of the brethren in Judæa, they owe it in return to minister to them
28 of their own earthly goods. When, therefore, I have finished this task, and have given to them in safety the fruit of this collection, I will come from thence, by you, into Spain.
29 And I am sure that when I come to you, our meeting will
30 receive the fulness of Christ's[3] blessing. But I beseech you, brethren, by our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the love which the Spirit gives, to help me in my conflict with your prayers
31 to God on my behalf, that I may be delivered from the disobedient in Judæa, and that the service which I have undertaken for Jerusalem may be favourably received by Christ's
32 people; that so I may come to you in joy, by God's will, and
33 may be refreshed in your companionship. May the God of peace be with you all. Amen.

Commendation of Phœbe, and salutations to numerous Roman Christians.

xvi. 1 I commend to you Phœbe our sister, who is[4] a minister-
2 ing servant of the Church at Cenchreæ; that you may receive her in the Lord, as Christ's people should receive their brethren, and aid her in any business[5] wherein she needs your help; for she has herself aided many, and me also among the rest.

3 Greet Priscilla and Aquila[6], my fellow-labourers in the

[1] Διακονῶν, the present participle, not (as in A. V.) the future.

[2] Literally, *I shall come in the fulness*, &c.

[3] Τοῦ εὐαγγελίου is not in any of the best MSS.

[4] Διάκονον. See Vol. I. p. 466. note 7.

[5] From the use of the legal terms παραστῆτε and προστάτις, it would seem that the business on which Phœbe was visiting Rome was connected with some trial at law.

[6] Concerning these distinguished Christians, see Vol. I. p. 415. When and where they risked their lives for St. Paul we know not, but

work of Christ Jesus, who, to save my life, laid down their own necks; who are thanked, not by me alone, but by all the Churches of the Gentiles. Greet likewise the Church which assembles at their house. XVI.

Salute Epænetus my dearly-beloved, who is the first fruits of Asia[1] unto Christ. 5

Salute Mary, who laboured much for me. 6

Salute Andronicus and Junias, my kinsmen and fellow-prisoners[2], who are well known among the Apostles, and who were also in Christ before me. 7

Salute Amplias, my dearly-beloved in the Lord. 8

Salute Urbanus, my fellow-workman in Christ's service, and Stachys my dearly-beloved. 9

Salute Apelles, who has been tried and found trustworthy in Christ's work. 10

Salute those who are of the household of Aristobulus.[3]

Salute Herodion, my kinsman. 11

may conjecture at Ephesus. We see here that they had returned to Rome (whence they had been driven by the edict of Claudius) from Ephesus, where we left them last. It is curious to observe the wife mentioned first, contrary to ancient usage. Throughout this chapter we observe instances of courtesy towards women sufficient to refute the calumnies of a recent infidel writer, who accuses St. Paul of speaking and feeling coarsely in reference to women; we cannot but add our astonishment that the same writer should complain that the standard of St. Paul's ethics, in reference to the sexual relations, is not sufficiently elevated, while at the same time he considers the instincts of the German race to have first introduced into the world the true morality of these relations. One is inclined to ask whether the present facility of divorce in Germany is a legitimate developement of the Teutonic instinct; and if so, whether the law of Germany, or the law of our Saviour (Mark x. 12.) enforced by St. Paul (1 Cor. vii. 10.), expresses the higher tone of morality, and tends the more to elevate the female sex.

[1] *Asia*, not *Achaia*, is the reading of the best MSS. See Tischendorf; and compare Vol. I. 429, note 2.

[2] When were they St. Paul's fellow-prisoners? Probably in some of those imprisonments not recorded in the Acts, to which he alludes 2 Cor. xi. 23. It is doubtful whether in calling them his "kinsmen" St. Paul means that they were really related to him, or only that they were Jews. (Compare Rom. ix. 3.) The latter supposition seems improbable, because Aquila and Priscilla, and others in this chapter, mentioned without the epithet of kinsmen, were certainly Jews; yet, on the other hand, it seems unlikely that so many of St. Paul's relations as are here called "kinsmen" (verses 7. 11. 21.) should be mentioned in a single chapter. Perhaps we may take a middle course, and suppose the epithet to denote that the persons mentioned were of the tribe of Benjamin.

[3] This Aristobulus was probably the great-grandson of Herod the Great, mentioned by Josephus and Tacitus, to whom Nero in A.D. 55 gave the government of Lesser Armenia. He

Salute those of the household of Narcissus[1] who are in the Lord's fellowship.

XVI.12. Salute Tryphena and Tryphosa, the faithful labourers in the Lord's service.

Salute Persis the dearly-beloved, who has laboured much in the Lord.

13 Salute Rufus[2], the chosen in the Lord, and his mother, who is also mine.

14 Salute Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermas, Patrobas, Hermes, and the brethren who are with them.

15 Salute Philologus, and Julia, Nereus and his sister, and Olympas, and all Christ's people who are with them.

16 Salute one another with the kiss of holiness.[3]

The Churches of Christ [in Achaia] salute you.

Warning against self-interested partizans.

17 I exhort you, brethren, to keep your eyes upon those who cause divisions, and cast stumbling-blocks in the way of others, contrary to the teaching which you have learned.

18 Shun them that are such; for the master whom they serve is not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly; and by their fair speaking and flattery they deceive the hearts of the

19 guileless. I say this, because the tidings of your obedience have been told throughout the world. On your own behalf, therefore, I rejoice: but I wish you not only to be

had very likely lived previously at Rome, and may still have kept up an establishment there, or perhaps had not yet gone to his government. See Tac. Ann. xiii. 7. and Joseph. Ant. xx. 5.

[1] There were two eminent persons of the name of Narcissus at Rome about this time; one the well-known favourite of Claudius (Suet. Claud. 28., Tac. Ann. xii. 57. 65., xiii. 1.), who was put to death by Nero, A.D. 54, soon after the death of Claudius, and therefore before this Epistle was written: the other was a favourite of Nero's, and is probably the person here named. Some of his slaves or freedmen had become Christians. This Narcissus was put to death by Galba (Dio. lxiv. 3.).

[2] St. Mark (xv. 21.) mentions Simon of Cyrene as "the father of Alexander and Rufus;" the latter therefore was a Christian well known to those for whom St. Mark wrote, and probably is the same here mentioned. It is gratifying to think that she whom St. Paul mentions here with such respectful affection, was the wife of that Simon who bore our Saviour's cross.

[3] See note on 1 Thess. v. 25.

simple in respect of evil, but to be wise for good. And the God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet speedily. XVI.20

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you.

Salutations from Christians at Corinth to those at Rome.

Timotheus, my fellow-labourer, and Lucius, and Jason[1], and Sosipater[2], my kinsmen, salute you. 21

I, Tertius, who have written this letter, salute you in the Lord. 22

Gaius[3], who is the host, not of me alone, but also of the whole Church, salutes you. 23

Erastus[4], the treasurer of the city, and the brother Quartus, salute you.

Autograph conclusion.

The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. 24

Now I commend you[5] unto Him who is able to keep you stedfast, according to my Glad-tidings, and the preaching[6] of Jesus Christ ——— whereby is unveiled the mystery which was hidden in silence through the ages[7] of old, but has now been brought to light, and made known to all the Gentiles by the Scriptures of the Prophets, by command of 25 26

[1] Jason is mentioned as a Thessalonian, Acts xvii. 5.; he had probably accompanied St. Paul from Thessalonica to Corinth.

[2] Sosipater is mentioned as leaving Corinth with St. Paul, soon after this Epistle was written (Acts xx. 4.).

[3] This Gaius (or Caius) is no doubt the same mentioned (1 Cor. i. 14.) as baptized at Corinth by St. Paul with his own hands. In Acts xx. 4. we find "Gaius of Derbe" leaving Corinth with St. Paul, soon after the writing of this Epistle, but this may perhaps have been a different person; although this is not certain, considering how the Jews migrated from one place to another, of which Aquila and Priscilla are an obvious example.

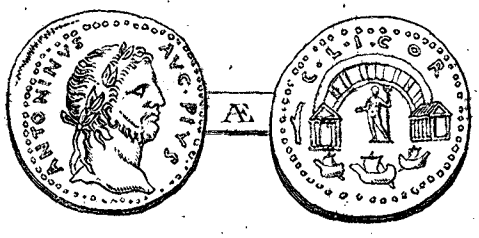
[4] Erastus is again mentioned (as stopping at Corinth) in 2 Tim. iv. 20. Probably the same Erastus who went with Timotheus from Ephesus to Macedonia, on the way towards Corinth. (Acts xix. 22.)

[5] If we retain the ᾧ in verse 27 (with the great majority of MSS.) we must supply *συνίστημι*, or something equivalent, here, or else leave the whole passage anacoluthical. Examples of a similar commendation to God at the conclusion of a letter or speech are frequent in St. Paul. Compare 1 Thess. v. 23., 2 Thess. ii. 16., and especially the conclusion of the speech at Miletus Acts xx. 32.

[6] Κήρυγμα, literally, *proclamation*.

[7] Meaning *the times of the Mosaic Dispensation*, as is proved by the use of the same expression, Tit. i. 2.

the everlasting God; that the Gentiles might be led to the
XVI.27 obedience of faith ——— unto Him, the only wise God[1], I commend you through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.[2]



CORINTHIAN COIN REPRESENTING CENCHREÆ.[3]

[1] If we were (on the authority of the Codex Vaticanus) to omit the $\tilde{\varphi}$ in this passage, the last three verses would become a continuous doxology. The translators of the A. V. have tacitly omitted this $\tilde{\varphi}$, although professing to follow the Textus Receptus.

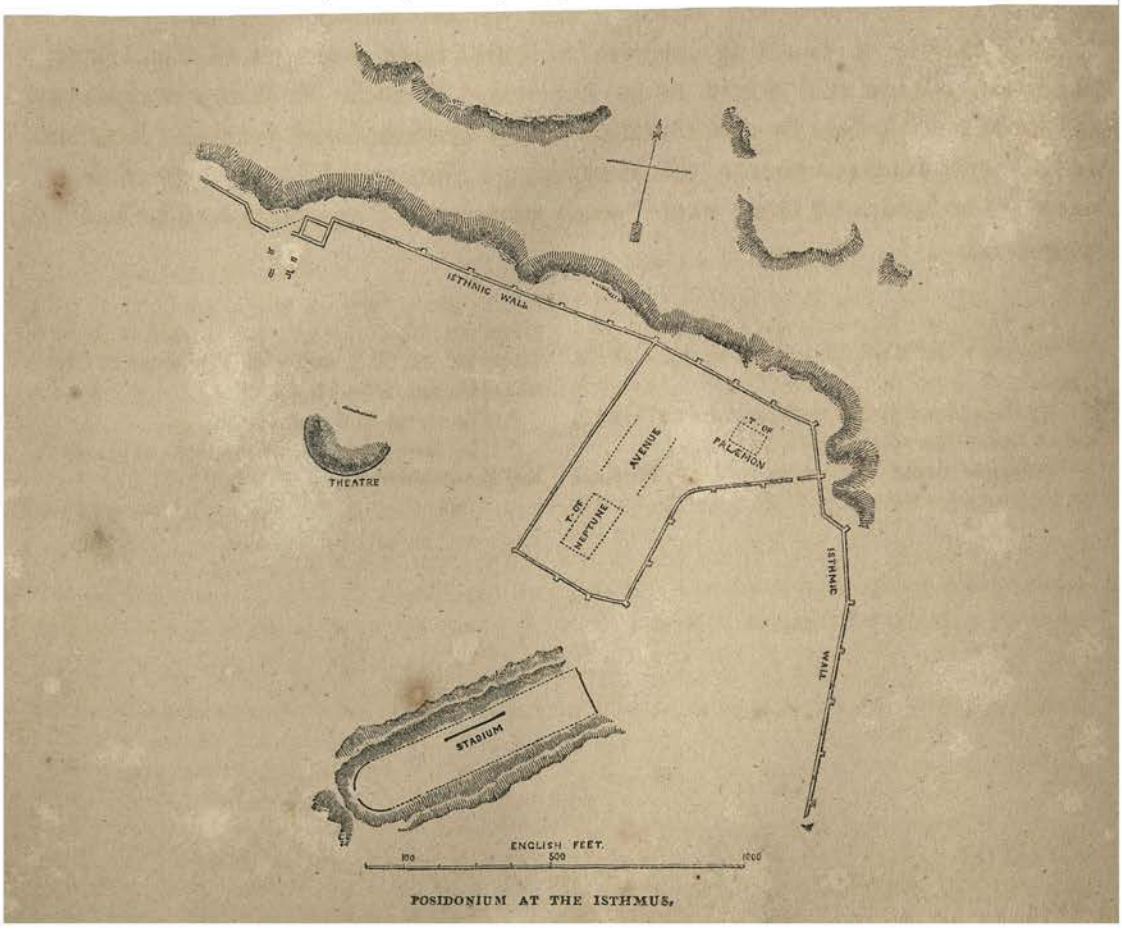
[2] Some MSS. insert the verses 25, 26, 27. after xiv. 23., instead of in this place; but the greater weight of MS. authority is in favour of their present position. A good refutation of the objections which have been made against the authenticity of the last two chapters, is given by De Wette (*in loco*) and by Neander (P. und L. 451—453.); but, above all, by Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, inasmuch as these very chapters furnish four or five of the most striking undesigned coincidences there mentioned.

[3] Little has been said as yet concerning Cenchreæ, and some interest is given to the place both by the mention of its Church in the preceding Epistle (Rom. xvi. 1.), and by the departure of St. Paul from that port on his first visit to Achaia (Acts xviii. 18.). We have seen (Vol. I. p. 444.) that it was seventy stadia, or nearly nine miles distant from Corinth, and (p. 453.) that its position is still pointed out by the modern Kikries, where some remains of the ancient town are visible. The road is described by Pausanias as leading from Corinth through an avenue of pine-trees, and past many tombs, among which, two of the most conspicuous were those of the cynic Diogenes and the profligate Thais (ad cujus jacuit Græcia tota fores. Prop. ii. 2.). For the coast-line, see the chart illustrating Thucyd. iv. 42. 44. at the end of Dr. Arnold's second volume, and compare Poppo's Prolegomena. The coin here engraved is from Millingen (Recueil de quelques Médailles grecques inédites: Rome, 1812), and is that to which allusion was made Vol. I. p. 453., n. 4. It is a colonial coin of Antoninus Pius, and represents the harbour of Cenchreæ exactly as it is described by Pausanias. See Leake's Morea, iii. 233—235.

Note on the Isthmian Stadium.

In our account of Corinth (Chap. xi. xii.), we have entered into no enquiry concerning the topography of the scene of the Isthmian games. (See p. 446.) Since St. Paul makes many allusions to the athletic contests of the Greeks, and since we are now come to the point in his life when he leaves Corinth for the last time, it seems right that we should state what is known on the subject. No good topographical delineation of the Isthmus exists.

This district was omitted in the French *Expédition de la Morée;* and the second volume of the work of Curtius on the Peloponnesus has not yet appeared. We have given here the plan from Col. Leake's third volume, which is the most complete yet published, and which accurately represents the relative positions of the stadium, the theatre, and the temple. The Posidonium or Sanctuary of Neptune, is at the narrowest part of the Isthmus, close by Schœnus, the modern Kalamaki (see p. 444. n. 6.); and modern travellers may visit the ruins on their way between Kalamaki and Lutraki, from one steamboat to the other. St. Paul would also pass by this spot if he went by land from Athens (p. 437. n. 5.). The distance from Corinth is about eight miles; and at Hexamili, near Corinth, the road falls into that which leads to Cenchreæ. (See the preceding page, and Leake, iii. 286.) The military wall, which crossed the Isthmus to Lechæum, abutted on the sanctuary (p. 442. n. 1.), and was for some space identical with the sacred enclosure. At no great distance are the traces of the canal which Nero left unfinished about the time of St. Paul's death (pp. 444, 445.); and in many places along the shore may be seen those pine-trees, whose leaves wove the "fading garlands" which the Apostle contrasts with the "unfading crown," the prize for which he fought. (Introd. p. vi.)



POSIDONIUM AT THE ISTHMUS.

CHAPTER XX.

"Igitur oram Achaiæ et Asiæ, ac læva maris prætervectus, Rhodum et Cyprum insulas, inde Syriam audentioribus spatiis petebat."—Tac. Hist. ii. 2.

CORINTH. — ISTHMIAN GAMES. — VOYAGE FROM PHILIPPI. — SUNDAY AT TROAS. — ASSOS. — VOYAGE BY MITYLENE AND TROGYLLIUM TO MILETUS. — *SPEECH TO THE EPHESIAN PRESBYTERS.* — VOYAGE BY COS AND RHODES TO PATARA. — THENCE TO PHŒNICIA. — CHRISTIANS AT TYRE. — PTOLEMAIS. — EVENTS AT CÆSAREA. — ARRIVAL AT JERUSALEM.

In the Epistles which have been already set before the reader in the course of this biography, and again in some of those which are to succeed, St. Paul makes frequent allusion to a topic which engrossed the interest, and called forth the utmost energies, of the Greeks. The periodical games were to them rather a passion than an amusement; and the Apostle often uses language drawn from these celebrations, when he wishes to enforce the zeal and the patience, with which a Christian ought to strain after his heavenly reward. The imagery he employs is sometimes varied. In one instance, when he describes the struggle of the spirit with the flesh, he seeks his illustration in the violent contest of the boxers (1 Cor. ix. 26.). In another, when he would give a strong representation of the perils he had encountered at Ephesus, he speaks as one who had contended in that ferocious sport which the Romans had introduced among the Greeks, the fighting of gladiators with wild beasts (ib. xv. 32.). But, usually, his reference is to the *foot-race* in the *stadium*, which, as it was the most ancient, continued to be the most esteemed among the purely Greek athletic contests.[1] If we compare the various passages where this language is used, we find the whole scene in the stadium brought vividly before us,—the

[1] See Krause's Gymnastik and Agonistik der Hellenen (Leips. 1841), pp. 337—343. The victory in the stadium at Olympia was used in the formula for reckoning Olympiads. The stadium was the Greek unit for the measurement of distance. With St. Paul's frequent reference to it in the epistles, 1 Cor. ix. 24., Rom. ix. 16., Gal. ii. 2., v. 7., Phil. ii. 16., 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8., should be compared two passages in the Acts, xx. 24. where he speaks of himself, and xiii. 25. where he speaks of John the Baptist.

"herald"[1] who summons the contending runners,—the course, which rapidly diminishes in front of them, as their footsteps advance to the goal[2],—the *judge*[3] who holds out the prize at the end of the course,—the *prize* itself, a chaplet of fading leaves, which is compared with the strongest emphasis of contrast to the unfading glory with which the faithful Christian will be crowned[4],—the *joy and exultation of the victor*, which the Apostle applies to his own case, when he speaks of his converts as his "joy and crown," the token of his victory and the subject of his boasting.[5] And under the same image he sets forth the heavenly prize, after which his converts themselves should struggle with strenuous and unswerving zeal,—with no hesitating step (1 Cor. ix. 26.),—pressing forward and never looking back (Phil. iii. 13, 14.),—even to the disregard of life itself (Acts xx. 24.). And the metaphor extends itself beyond the mere struggle in the arena, to the preparations which were necessary to success,—to that severe and continued *training*[6], which, being so great for so small a reward, was a fit image of that "training unto godliness," which has the promise not only of this life, but of that which is to come,—to the strict *regulations*[7] which presided over all the details, both of the contest and the preliminary discipline, and are used

[1] Κηρύξας. 1 Cor. ix. 27. For the office of the Heralds, see Hermann's Gott. Alt. § 50. 22. Plato says (Legg. viii. 833.) that the herald summoned the candidates for the foot-race first into the stadium.

[2] Τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος, τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος. Phil. iii. 14.

[3] 2 Tim. iv. 8.

[4] Βραβεῖον. 1 Cor. ix. 24., Phil. iii. 14. It was a chaplet of green leaves; φθαρτὸς στέφανος. 1 Cor. ix. 25. (Cf. 2 Tim. ii. 5., iv. 8.; also 1 Pet. v. 4.) The leaves varied with the locality where the games were celebrated. At the Isthmus they were those of the indigenous pine. For a time parsley was substituted for them; but in the Apostle's day the pine-leaves were used again. Plut. qu. symp. v. 3. See Böeckh's Pindar. p. 193.

[5] Ἀδελφοί μου, χαρὰ καὶ στέφανός μου. Phil. iv. 1. Τίς ἡμῶν χαρὰ ἢ στέφανος καυχήσεως, ἢ οὐχὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς. 1 Thess. ii. 19. This subject illustrates the frequent use of the word καύχησις by St. Paul.

[6] Γυμνάζω and γυμνασία. 1 Tim. iv. 7, 8. The γυμνάσιον was an important feature of every Greek city. The word is not found in the New Testament, but we find it in 1 Mac. i. 14. and 2 Mac. iv. 9., when allusion is made to places of Greek amusement built at Jerusalem. For the practices of the gymnasium and the palæstra, see Krause, vol. i. 2., vol. ii. 1. Faber's Agonisticon, a work of the sixteenth century (in the 8th vol. of Gronovius), contains a mass of information, but there is great confusion in the arrangement.

[7] Ἐὰν μὴ νομίμως ἀθλήσῃ. 2 Tim. ii. 5. For the special νόμιμα of the foot-race, see Krause, vol. i. pp. 362., &c. As regards the more general νόμιμα of the athletic contests, the following may be enumerated from the Eliaca of Pausanias. Every candidate was required to be of pure Hellenic descent. He was disqualified by certain moral and political offences. He was obliged to take an oath that he had been ten months in training, and that he would violate none of the regulations. Bribery was punished by a fine. The candidate was obliged to practise again in the gymnasium immediately before the games, under the direction of judges or umpires, who were themselves required to be instructed for ten months in the details of the games. Krause and Hermann.

to warn the careless Christian of the peril of an undisciplined life,—to the careful *diet*[1], which admonishes us that, if we would so run that we may obtain, we must be "temperate in all things."[2]

This imagery would be naturally and familiarly suggested to St. Paul by the scenes which he witnessed in every part of his travels. At his own native place on the banks of the Cydnus[3], in every city throughout Asia Minor[4], and more especially at Ephesus[5], the stadium, and the training for the stadium[6], were among the chief subjects of interest to the whole population. Even in Palestine, and at Jerusalem itself, these busy amusements were well known.[7] But Greece was the very home, from which these institutions drew their origin; and the Isthmus of Corinth was one of four sanctuaries, where the most celebrated games were periodically held. Now that we have reached the point where St. Paul is about to leave this city for the last time, we are naturally led to make this allusion: and an interesting question suggests itself here, viz., whether the Apostle was ever himself present during the Isthmian games. It might be argued *à priori* that this is highly probable; for great numbers came at these seasons from all parts of the Mediterranean to witness or take part in the contests; and the very fact that amusement and ambition brought some, makes it certain that

[1] Ἀνακγοφαγία is the term used by Aristotle for this prescribed diet, of which we find an account in Galen. See Krause, p. 358., and especially pp. 642. &c. Compare Horace, A. P. 414. (Multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit; Abstinuit Venere et vino, &c.). Tertullian describes the self-restraint of the Athletes: "Athletæ seliguntur ad strictiorem disciplinam; ut robori ædificando vacent, continentur a luxuria, a cibis lautioribus, a potu jucundiore: coguntur, cruciantur, fatigantur: quanto plus in exercitationibus laboraverint, tanto plus de victoria sperant." For all this training in its *educational* aspect, see Herm. Privatalt. § 35—37.

[2] The following energetic passage from St. Chrysostom (who was very familiar with all that related to public amusements, both at Antioch and Constantinople) is well worth quoting in illustration of St. Paul's language:—"Ὁ τρέχων οὐ πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς ὁρᾷ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ βραβεῖον. κἂν πλούσιοι, κἂν πένητες ὦσι, κἂν σκώπτῃ τις, κἂν ἐπαινῇ, κἂν ὑβρίζῃ, κἂν λίθοις βάλλῃ, κἂν τὴν οἰκίαν διαρπάζῃ, κἂν παῖδας ἴδῃ, κἂν γυναῖκα, κἂν ὁτιοῦν, οὐδαμῶς ἐπιστρέφεται, ἀλλ' ἑνὸς γίνεται μόνον τοῦ τρέχειν, τοῦ λαβεῖν τὸ βραβεῖον. ὁ τρέχων οὐδαμοῦ ἵσταται· ἐπεὶ κἂν μικρὸν ῥαθυμήσῃ, τὸ πᾶν ἀπώλεσεν. ὁ τρέχων οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν ὑφαιρεῖ πρὸ τοῦ τέλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε μάλιστα ἐπιτείνει τὸν δρόμον. Homil. vii. in Epist. ad Heb. p. 763.

[3] It is worth observing, that the only inscription from Tarsus published by Boeckh (No. 4437.) relates to the restoration of the stadium.

[4] Nothing is more remarkable than the number and magnitude of the theatres and stadia in the ruins of the great cities of Asia Minor. A vast number, too, of the inscriptions relate to the public amusements. It is evident that these amusements must have been one of the chief employments of the population. See the Travels of Spratt and Forbes.

[5] For the games celebrated at Ephesus, see Guhl's Ephesiaca.

[6] See above, note on γυμνάσιον.

[7] See the reference to Herod's theatre and amphitheatre, Vol. I. p. 2. Hence the significance of such a passage as Heb. xii. 1, 2. to the Hebrew Christians of Palestine.

gain attracted many others; thus it is likely that the Apostle, just as he desired to be at Jerusalem during the Hebrew festivals, so would gladly preach the Gospel at a time when so vast a concourse met at the Isthmus,—whence, as from a centre, it might be carried to every shore with the dispersion of the strangers. But, further, it will be remembered, that on his first visit, St. Paul spent two years at Corinth; and though there is some difficulty in determining the times at which the games were celebrated, yet it seems almost certain that they recurred every second year, at the end of spring or the beginning of summer.[1] Thus it may be confidently concluded that he was there at one of the festivals. As regards the voyage undertaken from Ephesus (Vol. II. p. 18.), the time devoted to it was short; yet that time may have coincided with the festive season; and it is far from inconceivable that he may have sailed across the Ægean in the spring, with some company of Greeks who were proceeding to the Isthmian meeting. On the present occasion he spent only three of the winter months in Achaia, and it is hardly possible that he could have been present during the games. It is most likely that there were no crowds among the pine-trees[2] at the Isthmus, and that the stadium at the Sanctuary of Neptune was silent and unoccupied, when St. Paul passed by it along the northern road, on his way to Macedonia.[3]

His intention had been to go by sea to Syria[4], as soon as the season of safe navigation should be come; and in that case he would have embarked at Cenchreæ, whence he had sailed during his second missionary journey, and whence the Christian Phœbe had recently gone with the letter to the Romans.[5] He himself

[1] They were, in the Greek way of reckoning, a *τριέτηρις*. Of the four great national festivals, the Olympian and Pythian games took place every fourth year, the Nemean and Isthmian every third; the latter in the fourth and first year of each Olympiad. See Hermann, § 49. 14, 15. The festival was held in the year 53 A.D., which is the first of an Olympiad; and (as we have seen) there is good reason for believing that the Apostle came to Corinth in the autumn of 52, and left it in the spring of 54. Wilckens, in his Specimen Antiquitatum Corinthiacarum (§ vi.—viii.), enters into the same inquiry, and comes to the same conclusion, though his dates are different.

[2] These pine-trees supplied the wreath of the victors. See p. 204., n. 4. They are still abundant in the neighbourhood, as any traveller may see on his way from Kalamaki to Lutraki.

[3] For the locality of this sanctuary, see the note at the end of the preceding Chapter. A full account, both of the description, as given by Pausanias, and of present appearances, may be seen in Leake. The inscription (p. 294.) relating to P. Licinius Priscus Juventianus, who *κατεσκεύασεν τὰς καταλύσεις τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπὶ τὰ Ἴσθμια παραγενομένοις ἀθληταῖς*, is interesting, as illustrative of the celebrity of the games in Roman times.

[4] Acts xx. 3.

[5] For Cenchreæ, see the note at the end of the preceding Chapter. A good notion of its position is obtained from the view of the Isthmus, Vol. I. p. 441.

had prepared his mind for a journey to Rome[1]; but first he was purposed to visit Jerusalem, that he might convey the alms which had been collected for the poorer brethren, in Macedonia and Achaia. He looked forward to this expedition with some misgiving; for he knew what danger was to be apprehended from his Jewish and Judaizing enemies; and even in his letter to the Roman Christians, he requested their prayers for his safety. And he had good reason to fear the Jews; for ever since their discomfiture under Gallio they had been irritated by the progress of Christianity, and they organised a plot against the great preacher, when he was on the eve of departing for Syria.[2] We are not informed of the exact nature of this plot; but it was probably a conspiracy against his life, like that which was formed at Damascus soon after his conversion (Acts ix. 23., 2 Cor. xi. 32.), and at Jerusalem, both before and after the time of which we write (Acts ix. 29., xxiii. 12.), and necessitated a change of route, such as that which had once saved him on his departure from Berœa.[3]

On that occasion his flight had been from Macedonia to Achaia; now it was from Achaia to Macedonia. Nor would he regret the occasion which brought him once more among some of his dearest converts. Again he saw the Churches on the north of the Ægean and again he went through the towns along the line of the Via Egnatia.[4] He reappeared in the scene of his persecution among the Jews of Thessalonica, and passed on by Apollonia and Amphipolis to the place where he had first landed on the European shore. The companions of his journey were Sopater the son of Pyrrhus[5], a native of Berœa,—Aristarchus and Secundus, both of Thessalonica,—with Gaius of Derbe and Timotheus,—and two Christians from the province of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus, whom we have mentioned before (Vol. II. p. 88.), as his probable associates, when he last departed from Ephesus. From the order in which these disciples are mentioned, and the notice of the specific places to which they belonged, we should be inclined to conjecture that they had something to do with the collections which had been made at the various towns on the route. As

[1] See the end of Ch. XV.

[2] Μέλλοντι ἀνάγεσθαι.

[3] "The Jews generally settled in great numbers at seaports for the sake of commerce, and their occupation would give them peculiar influence over the captains and owners of merchant vessels, in which St. Paul must have sailed. They might, therefore, form the project of seizing him or murdering him at Cenchreæ with great probability of success." Comm. on the Acts, by Rev. F. C. Cook, 1850.

[4] For the Via Egnatia and the stages between Philippi and Berœa, see Vol. I. pp. 338—344. 363.

[5] Σώπατρος Πυρρου Βεροιαῖος. Such seems to be the correct reading. See Tischendorf. We might conjecture that the word Πυρρου was added to distinguish him from Sosipater. (Rom. xvi. 21.)

RUINS AT THESSALONICA.[1]

St. Luke does not mention the collection[2], we cannot expect to be able to ascertain all the facts. But since St. Paul left Corinth sooner than was intended, it seems likely that all the arrangements were not complete, and that Sopater was charged with the responsibility of gathering the funds from Berœa, while Aristarchus and Secundus took charge of those from Thessalonica.[3] St. Luke himself was at Philippi: and the remaining four of the party were connected with the interior or the coast of Asia Minor.[4]

The whole of this company did not cross together from Europe to Asia; but St. Paul and St. Luke lingered at Philippi, while the others preceded them to Troas.[5] The journey through Macedonia had been rapid, and the visits to

[1] From Cousinéry. This is the ruin referred to, Vol. I. p. 360., and commonly called *Las Incantadas* by the Spanish Jews. It was in one of the most public parts of the city, and in the line of the main street.

[2] Except in one casual allusion at a later period. Acts xxiv. 17.

[3] See Hemsen, pp. 467—475.

[4] Some would read Δερβαῖος δὲ Τιμόθεος, in order to identify Gaius with the disciple of the same name who is mentioned before along with Aristarchus (Γαΐον καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον Μακεδόνας, xix. 29.). But it is almost certain that Timotheus was a native of Lystra, and not Derbe (See Vol. I. p. 283. n. 6.), and Gaius [or Caius, see above, p. 27.] was so common a name, that this need cause us no difficulty.

[5] It is conceivable, but not at all probable, that these companions sailed direct from Corinth to Troas, while Paul went through Macedonia.

the other Churches had been short. But the Church at Philippi had peculiar claims on St. Paul's attention: and the time of his arrival induced him to pause longer than in the earlier part of his journey. It was the time of the Jewish passover. And here our thoughts turn to the passover of the preceding year, when the Apostle was at Ephesus (p. 34.). We remember the higher and Christian meaning which he gave to the Jewish festival. It was no longer an Israelitish ceremony, but it was the Easter of the New Dispensation. He was not now occupied with shadows; for the substance was already in possession. Christ the Passover had been sacrificed, and the feast was to be kept with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. Such was the higher standing-point to which he sought to raise the Jews whom he met, in Asia or in Europe, at their annual celebrations.

Thus, while his other Christian companions had preceded him to Troas, he remained with Luke some time longer at Philippi, and did not leave Macedonia till the passover moon was waning. Notwithstanding this delay, they were anxious, if possible, to reach Jerusalem before Pentecost.[1] And we shall presently trace the successive days through which they were prosperously brought to the fulfilment of their wish.[2] Some doubt has been thrown on the

Some would limit οὗτοι to Trophimus and Tychicus; but this is quite unnatural. The expression ἄχρι τῆς Ἀσίας seems to imply that St. Paul's companions left him at Miletus, except St. Luke (who continues the narrative from this point in the first person) and Trophimus (who was with him at Jerusalem, xxi. 29.), and whoever might be the other deputies who accompanied him with the alms. (2 Cor. viii. 19—21.)

[1] Acts xx. 16.

[2] It may be well to point out here the general distribution of the time spent on the voyage. *Forty-nine* days intervened between Passover and Pentecost. The days of unleavened bread [Mark xiv. 12., Luke xxii. 7., Acts xii. 3., 1 Cor. v. 8.] succeeded the Passover. Thus, St. Paul stayed at least *seven* days at Philippi after the Passover (v. 6.),—*five* days were spent on the passage to Troas (ib.),—*six* days (for so we may reckon them) were spent at Troas (ib.),—*four* were occupied on the voyage by Chios to Miletus (v. 13—15., see below),—*two* were spent at Miletus,—in *three* days St. Paul went by Cos and Rhodes to Patara (xxi. 1., see below),—*two* days would suffice for the voyage to Tyre (v. 2, 3.),—*six* days were spent at Tyre (v. 4.),—*two* were taken up in proceeding by Ptolemais to Cæsarea (v. 7, 8.) This calculation gives us *thirty-seven* days in all; thus leaving *thirteen* before the festival of Pentecost, after the arrival at Cæsarea, which is more than the conditions require. We may add, if necessary, two or three days more during the voyage in the cases where we have reckoned inclusively.

The mention of the *Sunday* spent at Troas fixes (though not quite absolutely) the day of the week on which the Apostle left Philippi. It was a Tuesday or a Wednesday. We might, with considerable probability, describe what was done *each day of the week* during the voyage; but we are not sure, in all cases, whether we are to reckon inclusively or exclusively, nor are we absolutely certain of the length of the stay at Miletus.

It will be observed, that all we have here said is independent of the particular year in which we suppose the voyage to have been made, and of the day of the week on which the 14th of Nisan occurred. Mr. Greswell (Dissertation 25. in vol. iv.) has made a careful calculation of the different parts of the voyage, on the hypo-

possibility of this plan being accomplished in the interval; for they did not leave Philippi till the seventh day after the fourteenth of Nisan was past. It will be our business to show that the plan was perfectly practicable, and that it was actually accomplished, with some days to spare.

The voyage seemed to begin unfavourably. The space between Neapolis and Troas could easily be sailed over in two days with a fair wind: and this was the time occupied when the Apostle made the passage on his first coming to Europe.[1] On this occasion the same voyage occupied five days. We have no means of deciding whether the ship's progress was retarded by calms, or by contrary winds.[2] Either of these causes of delay might equally be expected in the changeable weather of those seas. St. Luke seems to notice the time in both instances, in the manner of one who was familiar with the passages commonly made between Europe and Asia:[3] and something like an expression of disappointment is implied in the mention of the "five days" which elapsed before the arrival at Troas.

The history of Alexandria Troas, first as a city of the Macedonian princes, and then as a favourite colony of the Romans[4], has been given before; but little has

thesis, that the year was 56 A.D., when Passover fell on March 19. and Pentecost on May 8.; and he has shown that the accomplishment of St. Paul's wish, under the circumstances described, was quite practicable. He has even allowed, as we shall see, more time than was necessary, by supposing that the time from Patara to Tyre lasted from Monday to Thursday (p. 523.). The same may be said of Wieseler's estimate (pp. 99—115.), according to which the year was 58 A.D., when the 14th of Nisan fell on March 27. He allows five days (p. 101.) for the voyage between Patara and Tyre, adducing the opinion of Chrysostom as one well acquainted with those seas. Hug allows six days. (Introd. to New Testament, Eng. Transl., Vol. II. pp. 325—327.)

We may observe here, that many commentators write on the nautical passages of the Acts as if the weather were always the same and the rate of sailing uniform, or as if the Apostle travelled in steam-boats. His motions were dependent on the wind. He might be detained in harbour by contrary weather. Nothing is more natural than that he should be five days on one occasion, and two on another, in passing between Philippi and Troas; just as Cicero was once fifteen, and once thirteen, in passing between Athens and Ephesus. So St. Paul might sail in two days from Patara to Tyre, though, under less favourable circumstances, it might have required four or five, or even more. It is seldom that the same passage is twice made in exactly the same time by any vessel not a steamer.

Another remark may be added, that commentators often write as though St. Paul had chartered his own vessel, and had the full command of her movements. This would be highly unlikely for a person under the circumstances of St. Paul; and we shall see that it was not the case in the present voyage, during which, as at other times, he availed himself of the opportunities offered by merchant vessels or coasters.

[1] Acts xvi. 11.

[2] The course is marked in our map with a zigzag line. If the wind was contrary, the vessel would have to beat. The delay might equally have been caused by calms.

[3] It has been remarked above (Vol. I. p. 334.), that St. Luke's vocation as a physician may have caused him to reside at Philippi and Troas, and made him familiar with these coasts. The *autoptical* style (see p. 305.) is immediately resumed with the change of the pronoun.

[4] For the history of the foundation of the

been said as yet of its appearance. From the extent and magnitude of its present ruins (though for ages it has been a quarry both for Christian and Mahomedan edifices) we may infer what it was in its flourishing period. Among the oak-trees, which fill the vast enclosure of its walls, are fragments of colossal masonry. Huge columns of granite are seen lying in the harbour, and in the quarries on the neighbouring hills.[1] A theatre, commanding a view of Tenedos and the sea, shows where the Greeks once assembled in crowds to witness their favourite spectacles. Open arches of immense size, towering from the midst of other great masses of ruin, betray the hand of Roman builders. These last remains,—once doubtless belonging to a gymnasium or to baths, and in more ignorant ages, when the poetry of Homer was better remembered than the facts of history, popularly called "The Palace of Priam,"[2]—are conspicuous from the sea. We cannot assert that these buildings existed in the day of St. Paul, but we may be certain that the city, both on the approach from the water, and to those who wandered through its streets, must have presented an appearance of grandeur and prosperity. Like Corinth, Ephesus, or Thessalonica, it was a place where the Apostle must have wished to lay firmly and strongly the

city under the successors of Alexander, and of the feelings of Romans towards it, see the concluding part of Ch. VIII. The travellers who have described it are Dr. Chandler, Dr. Hunt (in Walpole's Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey), Dr. Clarke, and Sir C. Fellows (Asia Minor). A rude plan is given by Pococke, II. ii. 108.

[1] Alexandria Troas must have been, like Aberdeen, a city of granite. The hills which supplied this material were to the N. E. and S. E. Dr. Clarke (vol. ii. p. 149.) mentions a stupendous column, which is concealed among some trees in the neighbourhood, and which he compares to the famous column of the Egyptian Alexandria. Fellows (p. 58.) speaks of hundreds of columns, and says that many are bristling among the waves to a considerable distance out at sea. He saw seven columns lying with their chips in a quarry, which is connected by a paved road with the city. Thus granite seems to have been to Alexandria Troas what marble was to Athens; and we are reminded of the quarries of Pentelicus. (See the account of them in Wordsworth's Greece). The granite columns of Troas have been used for making cannon-balls for the defence of the Dardanelles. Hunt, p. 135.

[2] See the description of these ruins in Dr. Clarke's Travels, and the view, p. 152. He regards them as the remains of baths, the termination of the aqueduct of Herodes Atticus. Hunt (p. 135.) and Chandler (p. 30.) think they belonged to a gymnasium, perhaps of the time of the Antonines. There are also two views in vol. ii. of the Transactions of the Dilettanti Society. Dr. Clarke, in a subsequent passage (p. 178.), alludes again to the appearance of these ruins *from the sea*:—"Continuing our course [from the Dardanelles] towards the south, after passing the town of Tenedos, we were struck by the very grand appearance of the ancient *Balneæ*, already described, among the remains of Alexandria Troas. The three arches of the building make a conspicuous figure from a considerable distance at sea, like the front of a magnificent palace; and this circumstance, connected with the mistake so long prevalent concerning the city itself [viz. that it was the ancient Troy], gave rise to the appellation of '*The Palace of Priam*,' bestowed by mariners upon these ruins." See Vol. I. p. 301. n. 9.

foundations of the Gospel. On his first visit, as we have seen (Vol. I. pp. 301—305.), he was withheld by a supernatural revelation from remaining; and on his second visit (Vol. II. pp. 87—89.), though a door was opened to him, and he did gather together a community of Christian disciples, yet his impatience to see Titus compelled him to bid them a hasty farewell.[1] Now, therefore, he would be the more anxious to add new converts to the Church, and to impress deeply, on those who were converted, the truths and the duties of Christianity: and he had valuable aid both in Luke, who accompanied him, and the other disciples who had preceded him.

The labours of the early days of the week that was spent at Troas are not related to us; but concerning the last day we have a narrative which enters into details with all the minuteness of one of the Gospel histories. It was the evening which succeeded the Jewish Sabbath.[2] On the Sunday morning the vessel was about to sail.[3] The Christians of Troas were gathered together at this solemn time to celebrate that feast of love which the last commandment of Christ has enjoined on all His followers. The place was an upper room, with a recess or balcony[4] projecting over the street or the court. The night was dark: three weeks had not elapsed since the Passover[5], and the moon only appeared as a faint crescent in the early part of the night. Many lamps were burning in the room where the congregation was assembled.[6] The place was hot and crowded. St. Paul, with the feeling strongly impressed on his mind that the next day was the day of his departure, and that souls might be lost by delay, was continuing

[1] 2 Cor. ii. 13.

[2] Ἐν τῇ μίᾳ τῶν σαββάτων, v. 7. This is a passage of the utmost importance, as showing that the observance of *Sunday* was customary. Cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 2. See Vol. I. p. 472.

[3] Μέλλων ἐξιέναι τῇ ἐπαύριον, ib. See v. 13. By putting all these circumstances together, we can almost certainly infer the day of the week on which St. Paul left Troas. See above.

[4] Ἐν τῷ ὑπερῴῳ, v. 8. Ἐπὶ τῆς θυρίδος, v. 9. Ἀπὸ τοῦ τριστέγου, ib. For a good illustration of θυρίς, see the note on the Legend of Thecla, Vol. I. p. 197. It denotes an aperture closed by a wooden door, doubtless open in this case because of the heat. See the note and the woodcut in the Pictorial Bible. These upper rooms (cœnacula) of the ancients were usually connected with the street by outside stairs (ἀναβαθμοί), such as those of which we see traces at Pompeii (Cf. Liv. xxxix. 14.). An ancient representation of a Greek θυρίς, with a lady looking out, may be seen in "Manners and Customs of the Greeks from Panofka," plate xviii. (London, 1849). See again, Vol. I. p. 110., for modern θυρίδες at Damascus.

[5] See above, p. 200.

[6] Ἦσαν δὲ λαμπάδες ἱκαναί, v. 8. Various reasons have been suggested why this circumstance should be mentioned. Meyer thinks it is given as the reason why the fate of the young man was perceived at once. But it has much more the appearance of having simply "proceeded from an eye-witness, who mentions the incident, not for the purpose of obviating a difficulty which might occur to the reader, but because the entire scene to which he refers stood now with such minuteness and vividness before his mind." Hackett on the Acts, Boston, U. S., 1852. [See a similar instance in the case of the proseucha at Philippi, Acts xvi. 13., Vol. I. p. 316.]

in earnest discourse, and prolonging it even till midnight[1]; when an occurrence suddenly took place, which filled the assembly with alarm, though it was afterwards converted into an occasion of joy and thanksgiving. A young listener, whose name was Eutychus, was overcome by exhaustion, heat, and weariness, and sank into a deep slumber.[2] He was seated or leaning in the balcony; and, falling down in his sleep, was dashed upon the pavement below, and was taken up dead.[3] Confusion and terror followed, with loud lamentation.[4] But Paul was enabled to imitate the power of that Master whose doctrine he was proclaiming. As Jesus had once said[5] of the young maiden, who was taken by death from the society of her friends, "She is not dead, but sleepeth," so the Apostle of Jesus received power to restore the dead to life. He went down and fell upon the body, like Elisha of old[6], and, embracing Eutychus, said to the bystanders; "Do not lament; for his life is in him."

With minds solemnized and filled with thankfulness by this wonderful token of God's power and love, they celebrated the Eucharistic feast.[7] The act of Holy Communion was combined, as was usual in the Apostolic age, with a common meal[8]: and St. Paul now took some refreshment after the protracted labour of the evening[9], and then continued his conversation till the dawning of the day.[10] It was now time for the congregation to separate. The ship was about to sail, and the companions of Paul's journey took their departure to go on board.[11] It was arranged, however, that the Apostle himself should join the vessel at Assos, which was only about twenty miles[12] distant by the direct road,

[1] Παρέτεινεν τὸν λόγον μέχρι μεσονυκτίου, v. 7. Διαλεγομένου τοῦ Παύλου ἐπὶ πλεῖον, v. 9.

[2] Καταφερόμενος ὕπνῳ βαθεῖ, v. 9. The present participle seems to denote the gradual sinking into sleep, as opposed to the sudden fall implied by the past participle in the next phrase.

[3] Κατενεχθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου ἔπεσεν, ib. It is quite arbitrary to qualify the words ἤρθη νεκρός by supposing that he was only apparently dead.

[4] This is implied in Μὴ θορυβεῖσθε below. The word denotes a loud and violent expression of grief, as in Matt. ix. 23., Mark v. 39.

[5] Matt. ix. 24.; Mark v. 39.

[6] 2 Kings iv. 34. In each case, as Prof. Hackett remarks, the act appears to have been the sign of a miracle.

[7] Ἀναβὰς καὶ κλάσας τὸν ἄρτον, v. 11. The article appears to be used because of κλάσαι ἄρτον above, v. 7.

[8] See Vol. I. p. 471.

[9] Γευσάμενος (v. 11.), which is to be distinguished from κλάσας τὸν ἄρτον.

[10] Ἐφ' ἱκανόν τε ὁμιλήσας ἄχρι αὐγῆς (ib.), where ὁμιλήσας denotes conversation rather than continued discourse, and should be distinguished from διελέγετο and διαλεγομένου above.

[11] We might illustrate what took place at this meeting by the sailing of the Bishop of Calcutta from Plymouth in 1829. "He and his chaplain made impressive and profitable addresses to us, the first part of the meeting, as they had received orders to embark the same morning. I began then to speak, and in the middle of my speech the captain of the frigate sent for them, and they left the meeting."—Memoir of Rev. E. Bickersteth, vol. i. p. 445.

[12] See Vol. I. p. 300. The stages in the Antonine Itinerary from Dardanus to Adramyttium are, ILIO M. P. XII., TROAS M. P. XVI., ANTANDRO M.P. XXXV., ADRAMYTTIO

while the voyage round Cape Lectum was nearly twice as far. He thus secured a few more precious hours with his converts at Troas: and eagerly would they profit by his discourse, under the feeling that he was so soon to leave them: and we might suppose that the impression made under such circumstances, and with the recollection of what they had witnessed in the night, would never be effaced from the minds of any of them, did we not know, on the highest authority, that if men believe not the prophets of God, neither will they believe "though one rose from the dead."

But the time came when St. Paul too must depart. The vessel might arrive at Assos before him; and, whatever influence he might have with the seamen, he could not count on any long delay. He hastened, therefore, through the southern gate, past the hot springs[1], and through the oak woods[2],—then in full foliage[3],—which cover all that shore with greenness and shade, and across the wild water-courses on the western side of Ida.[4] Such is the scenery which now surrounds the traveller on his way from Troas to Assos. The great difference then was, that there was a good Roman road[5], which made St. Paul's solitary journey both more safe and more rapid than it could have been now. We have seldom had occasion to think of the Apostle in the hours of his solitude. But such hours must have been sought and cherished by one whose whole strength

M. P. XXXI. Wesseling, pp. 334, 335. Assos lay between Troas and Antandrus, considerably to the west of the latter.

The impression derived from modern travellers through this neglected region is, that the distance between Assos and Troas is rather greater. Sir C. Fellows (Asia Minor, p. 56.) reckons it at 30 miles, and he was in the saddle from half past eight to five. Dr. Hunt, in Walpole's Memoirs (131—134), was part of two days on the road, leaving Assos in the afternoon, but he deviated to see the hot springs and salt works. Mr. Weston (MS. journal) left Assos at three in the afternoon and reached Troas at ten the next morning; but he adds, that it was almost impossible to find the road without a guide.

In a paper on "Recent Works on Asia Minor," in the Bibliotheca Sacra for Oct. 1851, it is said (p. 867.) that Assos is nine miles from Troas. This must be an oversight. It is, however, quite possible that Mitylene might have been reached, as we have assumed below, on the Sunday evening. If the vessel sailed from Troas at seven in the morning, she would easily be round Cape Lectum before noon. If St. Paul left Troas at ten, he might arrive at Assos at four in the afternoon; and the vessel might be at anchor in the roads of Mitylene at seven. Greswell supposes that they sailed from Assos on the Monday (p. 521.). This would derange the days of the week, as we have given them below, but would not affect the general conclusion.

[1] See Fellows and Hunt. There are now salt-works in the neighbourhood of the boiling springs.

[2] All travellers make mention of the woods of Vallonea oaks in the neighbourhood of Troas. The acorns are used for dyeing, and form an important branch of trade. The collecting of the acorns, and shells, and gall nuts employs the people during a great part of the year. Fellows, p. 57. One traveller mentions an English vessel which he saw taking in a load of these acorns. Walpole MS. in Clarke, p. 157.

[3] The woods were in full foliage on the 18th of March. Hunt, p. 134.

[4] For the streams of this mountain, see Vol. I. p. 299. n. 6.

[5] See note on the preceding page.

GATEWAY OF ASSOS.[1]

was drawn from communion with God, and especially at a time when, as on this present journey, he was deeply conscious of his weakness, and filled with foreboding fears.[2] There may have been other reasons why he lingered at Troas after his companions: but the desire for solitude was doubtless one reason among others. The discomfort of a crowded ship is unfavourable for devotion: and prayer and meditation are necessary for maintaining the religious life even of an Apostle. That Saviour to whose service he was devoted had often prayed in solitude on the mountain, and crossed the brook Kedron to kneel under the olives of Gethsemane. And strength and peace were surely sought and obtained by the Apostle from the Redeemer, as he pursued his lonely road that Sunday afternoon in spring, among the oak woods and the streams of Ida.

No delay seems to have occurred at Assos. He entered by the Sacred Way

[1] From a drawing by the Rev. G. F. Weston, who visited Assos in 1845. In his MS. journal he speaks of it as follows: "Proceeding 300 or 400 yards [from the theatre] in a N.W. direction you come to the great gate of the city, a very interesting specimen of Greek architecture. An arch is formed by one stone overlapping that beneath it. There are remains also of two flanking towers with splayed loopholes, and the wall running up to the precipices of the Acropolis is almost perfect. Higher up, towards the Acropolis, are two more curious arches. Running N. W. from the great gate is the Via Sacra." See the next note.

[2] Compare Rom. xv. 30, 31., Acts xx. 3., with Acts xx. 22—25., xxi. 4. 13.

among the famous tombs[1], and through the ancient gateway, and proceeded immediately to the shore. We may suppose that the vessel was already hove to and waiting when he arrived; or that he saw her approaching from the west, through the channel between Lesbos and the main. He went on board without delay, and the Greek sailors and the Apostolic missionaries continued their voyage. As to the city of Assos itself, we must conclude, if we compare the description of the ancients with present appearances, that its aspect as seen from the sea was sumptuous and magnificent. A terrace with a long portico was raised by a wall of rock above the water-line. Above this was a magnificent gate, approached by a flight of steps. Higher still was the theatre, which commanded a glorious view of Lesbos and the sea, and those various buildings which are now a wilderness of broken columns, triglyphs, and friezes. The whole was crowned by a citadel of Greek masonry on a cliff of granite. Such was the view which gradually faded into indistinctness as the vessel retired from the shore, and the summits of Ida rose in the evening sky.[2]

The course of the voyagers was southwards, along the eastern shore of Lesbos. When Assos was lost, Mitylene, the chief city of Lesbos, came gradually into view. The beauty of the capital of Sappho's island was celebrated by the architects, poets, and philosophers of Rome.[3] Like other Greek

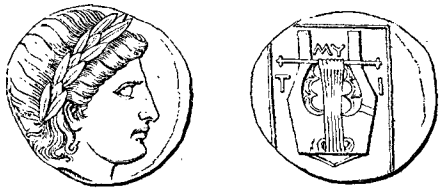
[1] This Street of Tombs (*Via Sacra*) is one of the most remarkable features of Assos. It is described by Fellows in his excellent account of Assos (Asia Minor, p. 52.). See also the earlier notices of the city by Leake in Walpole's Travels, p. 254, and by Dr. Hunt in Walpole's Memoirs, p. 130. The Street of Tombs extends to a great distance across the level ground to N. W. of the city. Some of the tombs are of vast dimensions, and formed each of one block of granite. See the engraving in Fellows, p. 48. These remains are the more worthy of notice because the word *sarcophagus* was first applied in Roman times to this stone of Assos (*lapis Assius*), from the peculiar power it was supposed to possess of aiding the natural decay of corpses. Plin. H.N. ii. 95., xxxvi. 17. Cf. Aug. de Civ. Dei, xviii. 5.

[2] The travellers above mentioned speak in strong terms of the view from the Acropolis towards Lesbos and the sea. Towards Ida and the land side the eye ranges over the windings of a river through a fruitful plain. Strabo (xv.) says that the Persian kings sent for their best grain to Assos. The coins (see Eckhel, p. 450.) exhibit a diota, with the head of a bull, the emblem of agriculture.

Besides the illustrations referred to above, see the view in Texier's Asie Mineure, and a bas-relief in Clarac's Musée de Sculpture. Part of a frieze and of a Cyclopean wall, with three of the gateways, are given by Fellows. He conceives that these remains have been preserved from the depredations committed on other towns near the coast, in consequence of the material being the "same grey stone as the neighbouring rock, and not having intrinsic value as marble." He observed "no trace of the Romans." Leake says that the "hard granite of Mount Ida" has furnished the materials for many of the buildings and even the sculptures; and he adds that "the whole gives perhaps the most perfect idea of a Greek city that any where exists."

[3] "Mitylene pulchra." Hor. Ep. xi. 17. See Od. i. vii. 1.: "Et natura et descriptione ædificiorum et pulchritudine imprimis nobilis." Cic. c. Rull. See Senec. ad Helv. c. 9. Vitruvius says (i. 6.) "Magnificenter est ædificatum:" but he adds "positum non prudenter," and proceeds

MITYLENE.



COIN OF MITYLENE.[2]

cities, which were ennobled by old recollections, it was honoured by the Romans with the privilege of freedom.[1] Situated on the south-eastern coast of the island, it would afford a good shelter from the north-westerly winds, whether the vessel entered the harbour or lay at anchor in the open roadstead.[3] It seems likely that the reason why they lay here for the night was, because it was the time of dark moon[4], and they would wish for daylight to accomplish safely the intricate navigation between the southern part of Lesbos and the mainland of Asia Minor.

In the course of Monday they were abreast of Chios (v. 15.). The weather in these seas is very variable: and from the mode of expression employed by St. Luke it is probable that they were becalmed. An English traveller under similar circumstances has described himself as "engrossed from daylight till noon" by the beauty of the prospects with which he was surrounded, as his vessel floated idly on this channel between Scio and the Continent.[5] On one side were the gigantic masses of the mainland: on the other were the richness and fertility of the island, with its gardens of oranges[6], citrons, almonds, and

to describe the prevalent winds as unfavourable to health.

[1] "Libera Mitylene, annis MD. potens." Plin. v. 39. For a sketch of the history of Mitylene, see Cramer's Asia Minor, vol. i. pp. 157. &c. For the appearance of this side of the island, we may refer to our own engraved view. A rude picture of the town, as it was in 1700, is given by Tournefort, Voyage du Levant, vol. i. pp. 148, 149. From his description it would appear that there were then many remains of the ancient city.

[2] From the British Museum. This city appears on coins as ΠΡΩΤΗ ΛΕCΒΟΥ ΜΥΤΙΛΗΝΗ. The words ΕΠΙ CΤΡ on imperial coins seem to show that it was governed by a supreme magistrate called *prætor*. Sometimes we find Apollo and the lyre (as here), sometimes Sappho and the lyre. The phrase "Concordia cum Adramytenis" illustrates the connection of Mitylene with Adramyttium, in the recess of the opposite gulf. See Vol. I. p. 299.

[3] "The chief town of Mitylene is on the S.E coast, and on a peninsula (once an island) forming two small harbours: of these the northern one is sheltered by a pier to the north, and admits small coasters. . . . . The roadstead, which is about seven miles N. from the S. E. end of the island, is a good summer roadstead, but the contrary in winter, being much exposed to the S. E. and N. E. winds, which blow with great violence." Purdy's Sailing Directory, p. 154. See the Admiralty Chart, No. 1665., also 1654., compared with Strabo, xiii. and Pausan. viii. It should be particularly observed that St. Paul's ship would be sheltered here from the N. W. We shall see, as we proceed, increasing reason for believing that the wind blew from this quarter.

[4] The moon would be about six days old (see above), and would set soon after midnight. We are indebted for this suggestion to Mr. Smith (author of the "Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul"), and we take this opportunity of acknowledging our obligations to his MS. notes, in various parts of this chapter.

[5] Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. p. 188. See the whole description. This applies to a period some years before the massacre of 1822. For notices of Scio, and a description of the scenery in its nautical aspect, see the Sailing Directory, pp. 124—128.

[6] It must be remembered that the vegetation,

pomegranates, and its white scattered houses overshadowed by evergreens. Until the time of its recent disasters, Scio was the paradise of the modern Greek: and a familiar proverb censured the levity of its inhabitants[1], like that which in the Apostle's day described the coarser faults of the natives of Crete (Tit. i. 12.).

The same English traveller passed the island of Samos after leaving that of Chios. So likewise did St. Paul (v. 15.) But the former sailed along the western side of Samos, and he describes how its towering cloud-capped heights are contrasted with the next low island to the west.[2] The Apostle's course lay along the eastern shore, when a much narrower "marine pass" intervenes between it and a long mountainous ridge of the mainland, from which it appears to have been separated by some violent convulsion of nature.[3] This high promontory is the ridge of Mycale, well known in the annals of Greek victory over the Persians. At its termination, not more than a mile from Samos, is the anchorage of Trogyllium. Here the night of Tuesday was spent; apparently for the same reason as that which caused the delay at Mitylene. The moon set early: and it was desirable to wait for the day before running into the harbour of Miletus.[4]

and with the vegetation the scenery, of the shores of the Mediterranean has varied with the progress of civilization. It seems that the Arabians introduced the orange in the early part of the middle ages. Other changes are subsequent to the discovery of America. See Vol. I. p. 23. n. 3. The wines of Chios were always celebrated. Its coins display an amphora and a bunch of grapes.

[1] The proverb says that it is easier to find a green horse (ἄλογο πράσινο) than a sober-minded Sciot (Χιῶτα φρόνιμον).

[2] See the view which Dr. Clarke gives of this remarkable "*marine pass*," Vol. II. p. 192. The summit of Samos was concealed by a thick covering of clouds, and he was told that its heights were rarely unveiled. See again Vol. III. pp. 364—367. Compare Norie's Sailing Directory, p. 150. "Samos, being mountainous, becomes visible twenty leagues off; and the summit of Mount Kerki retains its snow throughout the year." The strait through which Dr. Clarke sailed is called the *Great Boghaz* and is ten miles broad. (Purdy, p. 118.) The island to the west is Icaria, which, with this portion of the Ægean, bore the name of Icarus. See Strabo, xiv. 1. παράκειται τῇ Σάμῳ νῆσος ἡ Ἰκαρία, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ Ἰκαρίον πέλαγος· αὕτη δ' ἐπωνυμός ἐστιν Ἰκάρου, παιδὸς τοῦ Δαιδάλου.

[3] See Fellows as quoted below. This strait is the *Little Boghaz* (Purdy, p. 120.), which is reckoned at about a mile in breadth both by Strabo and Chandler. Ἡ Μυκάλη ἐπίκειται τῇ ζαμίᾳ, καὶ ποιεῖ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπέκεινα τῆς Τρωγιλίου καλουμένης ἄκρας, ὅσον ἑπταστάδιον πορθμόν, xiv. 1. "We overlooked a beautiful cultivated plain lying low beneath us, bounded by the sea and Mycale, a mountain now, as anciently, woody and abounding in wild beasts. The promontory, once called Trogilium, runs out toward the N. end of Samos, which was in view, and, meeting a promontory of the island, named Posidium, makes a strait only seven stadia or near a mile wide." Chandler, pp. 165, 166. We shall return presently to this ridge of Mycale in its relation to the interior, when we refer to the journey of the Ephesian elders to Miletus. In another sentence Strabo speaks of Trogyllium as πρόπους τις τῆς Μυκάλης. It was evidently a place well known to sailors, from his reckoning the distance from hence to Sunium in Attica.

[4] We should observe here again that Trogyl-

The short voyage from Chios to Trogyllium had carried St. Paul through familiar scenery. The bay across which the vessel had been passing, was that into which the Cayster[1] flowed. The mountains on the eastern main were the western branches of Messogis and Tmolus[2], the ranges that enclose the primeval plain of "Asia." The city, towards which it is likely that some of the vessels in sight were directing their course, was Ephesus, where the apostolic labours of three years had gathered a company of Christians in the midst of unbelievers. One whose solicitude was so great for his recent converts could not willingly pass by and leave them unvisited: and had he had the command of the movements of the vessel, we can hardly believe that he would have done so. He would surely have landed at Ephesus, rather than at Miletus. The same wind which carried him to the latter harbour, would have been equally advantageous for a quick passage to the former. And, even had the weather been unfavourable at the time for landing at Ephesus, he might easily have detained the vessel at Trogyllium; and a short journey by land northward would have taken him to the scene of his former labours.[3]

Yet every delay, whether voluntary or involuntary, might have been fatal to the plan he was desirous to accomplish. St. Luke informs us here (and the occurrence of the remark shews us how much regret was felt by the Apostle on passing by Ephesus), that his intention was, *if possible*, to be in Jerusalem at Pentecost (v. 16.). Even with a ship at his command, he could not calculate on favourable weather, if he lost his present opportunity: nor could he safely leave the ship which had conveyed him hitherto; for he was well aware that he could not be certain of meeting with another that would forward his progress. He determined therefore to proceed in the same vessel, on her southward course

lium, though on the shore of the mainland, is protected by Samos from the north-westerly winds. With another wind it might have been better to have anchored in a port to the N. E. of Samos, now called Port Vathy, which is said, in the Sailing Directory (p. 119.), to be "protected from every wind but the N. W." We may refer here to the clear description and map of Samos by Tournefort, Voyage du Levant, I. pp. 156, 157. But the Admiralty Charts (1530. and 1555.) should be consulted for the soundings, &c. An anchorage will be seen just to the east of the extreme point of Trogyllium, bearing the name of "*St. Paul's Port.*"

[1] See what is said of the Cayster, Vol. II. pp. 10. 66, 67.

[2] See again on these Ephesian mountains, pp. 66, 67.

[3] Trogyllium, as we have seen, is at the point where the coast projects and forms a narrow strait between Asia Minor and Samos. It recedes northwards towards Ephesus, and southwards towards Miletus, each of these places being about equidistant from Trogyllium. Up to this point from Chios St. Paul had been nearly following the line of the Ephesian merchant vessels up what is now called the gulf of Scala Nuova. By comparing the Admiralty Chart with Strabo and Chandler, a very good notion is obtained of the coast and country between Ephesus and Miletus.

from Trogyllium to Miletus. Yet the same watchful zeal which had urged him to employ the last precious moments of the stay at Troas in his Master's cause, suggested to his prompt mind a method of re-impressing the lessons of eternal truth on the minds of the Christians at Ephesus, though unable to revisit them in person. He found that the vessel would be detained at Miletus[1] a sufficient time to enable him to send for the presbyters of the Ephesian Church, with the hope of their meeting him there. The distance between the two cities was hardly thirty miles, and a good road connected them together.[2] Thus, though the stay at Miletus would be short, and it might be hazardous to attempt the journey himself, he could hope for one more interview,—if not with the whole Ephesian Church, at least with those members of it whose responsibility was the greatest.

The sail from Trogyllium, with a fair wind, would require but little time. If the vessel weighed anchor at daybreak on Wednesday, she would be in harbour long before noon.[3] The message was doubtless sent to Ephesus immediately on her arrival: and Paul remained at Miletus waiting for those whom the Holy Spirit, by his hands, had made "overseers" over the flock of Christ (v. 28.). The city where we find the Christian Apostle now waiting, while those who had the care of the

COIN OF MILETUS.[4]

[1] It is surely quite a mistake to suppose, with some commentators, that St. Paul had the command of the movements of the vessel. His influence with the captain and the seamen might induce them to do all in their power to oblige him; and perhaps we may trace some such feeling in the arrangements at Assos, just as afterwards at Sidon (Acts xxvii. 3.), when on his voyage to Rome. But he must necessarily have been content to take advantage of such opportunities as were consistent with the business on which the vessel sailed. She evidently put in for business to Troas, Miletus, and Patara. At the other places she seems to have touched merely for convenience, in consequence of the state of the weather or the darkness.

[2] Pliny says that Magnesia is fifteen miles from Ephesus ("Magnesia abest ab Epheso XV. M. P.," v. 31.), and Magnesia was about equidistant from Ephesus, Tralles, and Miletus. See Leake's map, with this road marked from the Peut. Table. It does not go beyond Magnesia in the direction of Miletus, but follows the great eastern road towards Iconium, which we have so often mentioned. There is, however, a shorter road from Ephesus to Miletus in the Peut. Table, passing through Panionium and Priene, and close behind the ridge of Mycale. This seems to have been the road which Sir C. Fellows took (pp. 266—274.). Some of the wanderings of Dr. Chandler (ch. xl, xli. xlvi, xlvii, xlviii, xlix. lii, liii.) were more in the direction of the longer route by Magnesia. See also for the part between Ephesus and Magnesia, Pococke's Travels, II. ii. 54.

[3] The distance is about seventeen nautical miles and a half. If the vessel sailed at six in the morning from Trogyllium, she would easily be in harbour at nine.

[4] From the British Museum. The common type of the coins of Miletus, a lion looking back on a star, is an astrological emblem, like the ram on those of Antioch.

vessel were occupied with the business that detained them, has already been referred to as more ancient than Ephesus[1], though in the age of St. Paul inferior to it in political and mercantile eminence. Even in Homer[2], the "Carian Miletus" appears as a place of renown. Eighty colonies went forth from the banks of the Mæander, and some of them were spread even to the eastern shores of the Black Sea, and beyond the pillars of Hercules to the west.[3] It received its first blow in the Persian war, when its inhabitants, like the Jews, had experience of a Babylonian captivity.[4] It suffered once more in Alexander's great campaign[5]; and after his time it gradually began to sink towards its present condition of ruin and decay, from the influence, as it would seem, of mere natural causes,—the increase of alluvial soil in the delta having the effect of removing the city gradually further and further from the sea. Even in the Apostle's time, there was between the city and the shore a considerable space of level ground, through which the ancient river *meandered* in new windings, like the Forth at Stirling.[6] Few events connect the history of Miletus with the transactions of the Roman empire. When St. Paul was there, it was simply one of the second-rate sea-ports on this populous coast, ranking, perhaps, with Adramyttium or Patara, but hardly with Ephesus or Smyrna.[7]

The excitement and joy must have been great among the Christians of Ephesus, when they heard that their honoured friend and teacher, to whom they had listened so often in the school of Tyrannus, was in the harbour[8] of Miletus,

[1] See above, in this volume, p. 10. Compare p. 67. Thus the imperial coins of Miletus are rare, and the autonomous coins begin very early.

[2] Hom. Il. ii. 868. Herodotus (i. 142.) speaks of it as the chief city in Ionia.

[3] Strabo. Plin. Senec. ad Helv. 6. In an inscription given by Chandler, Miletus boasts itself as "primam in Ionia fundatam et matrem multarum et magnarum urbium in Ponto et Ægypto et undique per orbem."

[4] Herod. v. 30., vi. 18.

[5] Arrian. Anab. i. 19, 20.

[6] This is the comparison of Sir C. Fellows. The Mæander was proverbial among the ancients, both for the sinuosities of its course, and the great quantity of alluvial soil brought down by the stream. Pliny tells us that islands near Miletus had been joined to the continent (ii. 91. See v. 31.), and Strabo relates that Priene, once a sea-port, was in his time forty stadia from the sea. Fellows (p. 264.) says that Miletus was once a headland in a bay, which is now a "dead flat" ten miles in breadth. Chandler (p. 202.) on, looking down from Priene on the "bare and marshy plain" says, "How different its aspect, when the mountains were boundaries of a gulf, and Miletus, Myus, and Priene maritime cities." —and again (p. 207.) he looks forward to the time when Samos and other islands will unite with the shore, and the present promontories will be seen inland. See Kieppert's Hellas, for a representation of the coast as it was in the early Greek times; and for a true delineation of its present state, see the Admiralty Chart, No. 1555.

[7] For Smyrna, see again pp. 10. 67.

[8] Strabo says that Miletus had four harbours, one of which was for vessels of war. No trace of them is to be seen now: and, indeed, there

within the distance of a few miles. The presbyters must have gathered together in all haste to obey the summons, and gone with eager steps out of the southern gate, which leads to Miletus. By those who travel on such an errand, a journey of twenty or thirty miles is not regarded long and tedious, nor is much regard paid to the difference between day and night.[1] The presbyters of Ephesus might easily reach Miletus on the day after that on which the summons was received.[2] And though they might be weary when they arrived, their fatigue would soon be forgotten at the sight of their friend and instructor; and God, also, "who comforts them that are cast down" (2 Cor. vii. 6.), comforted him by the sight of his disciples. They were gathered together—probably in some solitary spot upon the shore—to listen to his address. This little company formed a singular contrast with the crowds which used to assemble at the times of public amusement in the theatre of Miletus.[3] But that vast theatre is now a silent ruin,—while the words spoken by a careworn traveller to a few despised strangers are still living as they were that day, to teach lessons for all time, and to make known eternal truths to all who will hear them,—while they reveal to us, as though they were merely human words, all the tenderness and the affection of Paul, the individual speaker.[4]

seems to be some doubt whether the remains called *Palatsha*, and generally supposed to be those of Miletus, are not really those of Myus. See Forbiger, pp. 213, 214, and the notes.

[1] For a notion of the scenery of this journey of the presbyters over or round the ridge of Mycale, and by the windings of the Mæander (Μαιάνδρου τε ῥοάς, Μυκάλης τ' αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα. Hom. Il. ii. 869.), the reader may consult Chandler and Fellows. The latter says, "The ride of fifteen miles from Sansún [*Priene*] to Chánly, probably the ancient Neapolis [more probably *Panionium*], standing not far beyond the promontory of Trogyllium, is up the steepest track I ever rode over. From the summit of the main range, of which Trogyllium forms the termination (although Samos is geologically a continuation of it), is seen on either side a perfect and beautiful map, on one side extending to the mountains forming the Dorian Gulf, and on the other to those of Chios and Smyrna" (p. 272.). Dr. Chandler describes the ascent on the northern side (p. 180.). He was travelling, like these presbyters, in April; and "the weather was unsettled: the sky was blue and the sun shone, but a wet wintry north wind swept the clouds along the top of the range of Mycale" (p. 184.).

[2] We may remark here, in answer to those who think that the ἐπίσκοποι mentioned in this passage were the bishops of various places in the province of Asia, that there was evidently no time to summon them. On the convertibility of ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος, see below.

[3] See our engraved view of Miletus, which is taken from Laborde. The two conspicuous features are the great theatre and the windings of the Mæander towards the sea. Compare a view in the first volume of the Transactions of the Dilettanti Society, and a vignette in the second volume, which shows the great size of the theatre. There are three German monographs on Miletus, by Rambach (Hal. 1790), Schröder (Stralsund, 1827), Soldan (Darmstadt, 1829).

[4] For a very instructive practical commentary on this speech, see the concluding sections of Menken's Blicke in das Leben des Ap. P. For the points of resemblance between the expressions used by the Apostle here and in his

MILETUS.

He reminds them of his past labours among them.

Brethren[1], ye know yourselves[2], from the first day that I came into Asia after what manner I have been with you throughout all the time; serving the Lord Jesus[3] with all[4] lowliness of mind, and in many tears[5] and trials which befel me through the plotting[6] of the Jews. And how I kept[7] back none of those things which are profitable for you, but declared them to you, and taught you both publicly and from house[8] to house; testifying both to Jews and Gentiles their[9] need of repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. And now as for me[10], behold I go to Jerusalem[11], in spirit foredoomed to chains; yet I know not the things which shall befal me there, save that in every city[12] the Holy Spirit gives the same testimony, that bonds and afflictions abide me. But none of these things move me[13], neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy[14], and the ministry which I received from the Lord Jesus, to testify the Glad-tidings of the grace of God.

Epistles, we have used a valuable essay by Tholuck in the Studien u. Kritiken.

[1] Ἀδελφοὶ is found here in the Uncial Manuscript D and in some early versions; and we have adopted it, because it is nearly certain that St. Paul would not have begun his address abruptly without some such word. Compare all his other recorded speeches in the Acts.

[2] Ὑμεῖς, emphatic.

[3] Τῷ Κυρίῳ. With this self-commendation Tholuck compares 1 Thess. ii. 10., and 2 Cor. vi. 3, 4. See note on verse 33. below. "Felix," says Bengel, "qui sic exordiri potest conscientiam auditorum testando."

[4] "*All.*" Tholuck remarks on the characteristic use of πᾶς in St. Paul's Epistles.

[5] "*Tears.*" Compare 2 Cor. ii. 4., and Phil. iii. 18.

[6] "*Plotting of Jews.*" Compare 1 Cor. xv. 31.

[7] "*Kept back nothing.*" Compare 2 Cor. iv. 2., and 1 Thess. ii. 4.

[8] "*House to house.*" Compare 1 Thess. ii. 11.

[9] Observe the article τήν.

[10] Observe the ἐγώ.

[11] Δεδεμένος ἐγώ is the true reading. St. Paul was δεδεμένος, *i. e.* a prisoner in chains, but as yet only in the Spirit, τῷ πνεύματι, not in body. Τὸ πνεῦμα here is not the *Holy Spirit*, from which it is distinguished by the addition of ἅγιον in the verse below. This explanation of the passage (which agrees with that of Grotius and Chrysostom) seems the natural one, in spite of the objections of De Wette and others.

[12] We have two examples of this afterwards, namely at Tyre (Acts xxi. 4.) and at Cæsarea (Acts xxi. 10, 11.). And from the present passage we learn that such warnings had been given in many places during this journey. St. Paul's own anticipations of danger appear Rom. xv. 31.

[13] The reading adopted by Tischendorf here, though shorter, is the same in sense.

[14] Compare 2 Tim. iv. 7. and Phil. ii. 17. See the remarks which have been made in the early part of this Chapter on this favourite metaphor of St. Paul, especially p. 203. n. 1.

His farewell warning.

And now, behold I know that ye all[1], among whom I have gone from city to city, proclaiming the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more. Wherefore I take you to witness this day, that I am clear from the blood[2] of all. For I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God. Take heed, therefore, unto yourselves, and to all the flock in which the Holy Spirit has made you overseers[3], to feed the Church of God[4] which He has purchased with His own blood. For this I know, that after my departure grievous wolves shall enter in among you, who will not spare the flock. And from your ownselves will men arise speaking perverted words, that they may draw away the disciples after themselves.[5] Therefore, be watchful, and remember that for the space of three years[6] I ceased not to warn every one of you, night and day, with tears.[7]

Final commendation to God, and ex-

And[8] now, brethren, I commend you to God, and to the word of His grace; even to Him who is able to build you up

[1] This "all" includes not only the Milesian presbyters but also the brethren from Macedon (See Acts xx. 4.). Observe also the διελθών. With regard to the expectation expressed by St. Paul, it must be regarded as a human inference, from the danger which he knew to be before him. If (as we think) he was liberated after his first imprisonment at Rome, he did see some of his present audience again. Tholuck compares Phil. i. 20., i. 25., and ii. 24.

[2] See xviii. 6. "Your blood be upon your own heads: I am clean."

[3] Ἐπισκόπους. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that in the New Testament the words ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος are convertible. Compare verse 17. and Tit. i. 5. 7., and see Vol. I. p. 465. Tholuck remarks, that this reference to the Holy Spirit as the author of church government is in exact accordance with 1 Cor. xii. 8. 11. and 28.

[4] We have retained the T. R. here, since the MSS. and fathers are divided between the readings Θεοῦ and Κυρίου. At the same time, we must acknowledge that the balance of authority is rather in favour of Κυρίου. A very candid and able outline of the evidence on each side of the question is given by Mr. Humphry. The sentiment exactly agrees with 1 Cor. vi. 20.

[5] We read ἑαυτῶν with Lachmann on the authority of some of the best MSS.

[6] This *space of three years* may either be used (in the Jewish mode of reckoning) for the two years and upwards which St. Paul spent at Ephesus; or, if we suppose him to speak to the Macedonians and Corinthians also (who were present), it may refer to the whole time (about three years and a half), since he came to reside at Ephesus in the autumn of 54 A.D.

[7] See p. 223. n. 8. We have much satisfaction in referring here to the second of A. Monod's recently published sermons. (Saint Paul, Cinq. Discours. Paris, 1851.)

[8] This conclusion reminds us of that of the letter to the Romans so recently written. Compare Rom. xvi. 25.

and to give you an inheritance among all them that are sanctified. When I was with you[1], I coveted no man's silver or gold, or raiment. Yea, ye know yourselves[2], that these hands ministered to my necessities, and to those who were with me. And all this I did for your example; to teach you that so labouring ye ought to support the helpless[3], and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how He said "IT IS MORE BLESSED TO GIVE THAN TO RECEIVE." Exhortation to disinterested exertion.

The close of this speech was followed by a solemn act of united supplication (Acts xx. 36.). St. Paul knelt down on the shore with all[4] those who had listened to him, and offered up a prayer to that God who was founding His Church in the midst of difficulties apparently insuperable; and then followed an outbreak of natural grief, which even Christian faith and resignation were not able to restrain. They fell on the Apostle's neck and clung to him, and kissed him again and again[5], sorrowing most because of his own foreboding announcement, that they should never behold that countenance again, on which they had often gazed[6] with reverence and love (ib. 37, 38.). But no long time could be devoted to the grief of separation. The wind was fair[7], and the vessel must depart. They accompanied the Apostle to the edge of the water (ib. 38.). The Christian brethren were torn away from the embrace of their friends[8]; and the ship sailed out into the open sea, while the presbyters prepared for their weary and melancholy journey to Ephesus.

The narrative of the voyage is now resumed in detail. It is quite clear, from St. Luke's mode of expression, that the vessel sailed from Miletus on the day of the interview. With a fair wind she would easily run down to Cos i

[1] This is the force of the aorist, unless we prefer to suppose it used (as often by St. Paul) for a perfect.

[2] This way of appealing to the recollection of his converts in proof of his disinterestedness is highly characteristic of St. Paul. Compare 1 Thess. ii. 5—11., 2 Thess. iii. 7—9., 1 Cor. ix. 4—15., 2 Cor. xi. 7., 2 Cor. xii. 14., &c.

[3] Ἀσθενούντων, *i. e. the poor.* This interpretation is defended by Chrysostom, and confirmed by Aristophanes (Pax. 636.), quoted by Wetstein. The interpretation of Calvin (who takes it as *the weak in faith*), which is supported by Neander and others, seems hardly consistent with the context.

[4] Θεὶς τὰ γόνατα αὐτοῦ σὺν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς προσηύξατο, v. 36.

[5] Κατεφίλουν, v. 37. Observe the imperfect.

[6] Τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ θεωρεῖν, v. 38. Observe θεωρεῖν, and contrast it with the word ὄψεσθε, used by St. Paul himself above, v. 25. Meyer says justly of the whole scene: "Welche einfach schöne und ergreifende Schilderung."

[7] See below.

[8] Observe ἀποσπασθέντας, xxi. 1.

the course of the same afternoon. The distance is about forty nautical miles; the direction is due south. The phrase used implies a straight course and a fair wind[1]; and we conclude, from the well-known phenomena of the Levant, that the wind was north-westerly, which is the prevalent direction in those seas.[2] With this wind the vessel would make her passage from Miletus to Cos in six hours, passing the shores of Caria, with the high summits of Mount Latmus on the left, and with groups of small islands (among which Patmos (Rev. i. 9.) would be seen at times[3]) studding the sea on the right. Cos is an island about twenty-three miles in length, extending from south-west to north-east, and separated by a narrow channel from the mainland.[4] But we should rather conceive the town to be referred to, which lay at the eastern extremity of the island. It is described by the ancients as a beautiful and well-built city[5]; and it was surrounded with fortifications erected by Alcibiades towards the close of the Peloponnesian war.[6] Its symmetry had been injured by an earthquake, and the restoration had not yet been effected[7]; but the productiveness of the island to which it belonged, and its position in the Levant, made the city a place of no little consequence. The wine and the textile fabrics of Cos were well known among the imports of Italy.[8] Even now no harbour is more frequented by the merchant vessels of the Levant.[9] The roadstead is sheltered by nature from all winds except the north-east, and the inner harbour was not then, as it is now, an unhealthy lagoon.[10] Moreover, Claudius had recently bestowed peculiar privileges on the city.[11] Another circumstance made it the resort of many strangers, and gave it additional renown. It was the seat of the medical school traditionally connected with Æsculapius; and the temple of the god of heal-

[1] Εὐθυδρομήσαντες, xxi. 1. See what has been said before on this nautical phrase. Vol. I. p. 306.

[2] For what relates to this prevalent wind, see below.

[3] Dr. Clarke describes a magnificent evening, with the sun setting behind Patmos, which he saw on the voyage from Samos to Cos. Travels, ii. 194. See the view.

[4] This is to be distinguished from the channel mentioned below, between the *southern* side of Cos and Cape Crio.

[5] Strabo and Diodorus.

[6] Thuc. viii. 100.

[7] The city was restored after the earthquake by Antoninus Pius. Pausan. viii. 43.

[8] Amphoræ Coæ, Plin. xxv. 12. 46. Coæ Vestes, Hor. Od. iv. 13.

[9] "No place in the Archipelago is more frequented by merchant vessels than this port." Purdy, p. 115.

[10] See the description of the town and anchorage in Purdy:—"The town is sheltered from westerly winds by very high mountains," p. 114. "The road is good in all winds except the E. N. E.," p. 115. A view of the modern city of Cos from the anchorage, as well as the present soundings, and the traces of the ancient port, is given in the Admiralty Chart, No. 1550.

[11] Tac. Ann. xii. 61.

COIN OF COS.[2]

ing was crowded with votive models, so as to become in effect a museum of anatomy and pathology.[1] The Christian physician St. Luke, who knew these coasts so well, could hardly be ignorant of the scientific and religious celebrity of Cos. We can imagine the thankfulness with which he would reflect—as the vessel lay at anchor off the city of Hippocrates—that he had been emancipated from the bonds of superstition, without becoming a victim to that scepticism which often succeeds it, especially in minds familiar with the science of physical phenomena.[3]

On leaving the anchorage of Cos, the vessel would have to proceed through the channel which lies between the southern shore of the island and that tongue of the mainland which terminates in the Point of Cnidus. If the wind continued in the north-west, the vessel would be able to hold a straight course from Cos to Cape Crio (for such is the modern name of the promontory of Triopium, on which Cnidus was built), and after rounding the point she would run clear before the wind all the way to Rhodes.[4] Another of St. Paul's voyages will

[1] See Forbiger's Alte Geographie, p. 240. The medical clan of the Asclepiadæ belonged to this island. [See Vol. I. p. 335. n. 2.] Perhaps the fullest account of Cos is that given by Dr. Clarke, vol. ii. pp. 196—213., and again after his return from Egypt, vol. iii. 321—329. He describes the celebrated plane-tree, and from this island he brought the altar which is now in the Public Library at Cambridge. We may refer also to a paper on Cos by Col. Leake in the second vol. of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature. There is a monograph on the subject by Küster (de Co Insula. Hal. 1833.)

[2] From the British Museum. It is a coin of Augustus, exhibiting a club and a serpent, the emblems of Hercules and Æsculapius. The earliest type on the coins of Cos is a crab; after this, a crab with the bow of Hercules.

[3] If we attached any importance to the tradition which represents St. Luke as a painter, we might add that Cos was the birth-place of Apelles as well as of Hippocrates.

[4] We shall return again to the subject of the north-westerly winds which prevail during the fine season in the Archipelago, and especially in the neighbourhood of Rhodes. For the present the following authorities may suffice. Speaking of Rhodes, Dr. Clarke says (vol. ii. p. 223.), "The winds are liable to little variation; they are N. or N. W. during almost every month, but these winds blow with great violence:" and again, p. 230., "A N. wind has prevailed from the time of our leaving the Dardanelles." Again (vol. iii. p. 378.), in the same seas he speaks of a gale from the N.W.:—"It is surprising for what a length of time, and how often, the N. W. rages in the Archipelago. It prevails almost unceasingly through the greater part of the year," 380. And in a note he adds, "Mr. Spencer Smith, brother of Sir Sidney Smith, informed the author that he was *an entire month employed in endeavouring to effect a passage from Rhodes to Stanchio* [*Cos*]*: the N. W. wind prevailed all the time with such force, that the vessel in which he sailed could not double Cape Crio.*" We find the following in Norie's Sailing Directory, p. 127.:—"The Etesian winds, which blow from the N. E. and N. W. quarters, are the monsoons of the Levant, which blow constantly during the summer, and give to the climate of Greece so advantageous a temperature. At this season the greatest part of the Mediterranean, but particularly the eastern half, including the Adriatic and

lead us to make mention of Cnidus.[1] We shall, therefore, only say, that the extremity of the promontory descends with a perpendicular precipice to the sea, and that this high rock is separated by a level space from the main, so that, at a distance, it appears like one of the numerous islands on the coast.[2] Its history, as well as its appearance, was well impressed on the mind of the Greek navigator of old; for it was the scene of Conon's victory; and the memory of their great admiral made the south-western corner of the Asiatic peninsula to the Athenians what the south-western corner of Spain is to us, through the memories of St. Vincent and Trafalgar.

We have supposed St. Paul's vessel to have rounded Cape Crio, to have left the western shore of Asia Minor, and to be proceeding along the southern shore. The current between Rhodes and the main runs strongly to the westward[3]; but the north-westerly wind[4] would soon carry the vessel through the space of fifty miles to the northern extremity of the island, where its famous and beautiful city was built.

Until the building of its metropolis, the name of this island was comparatively unknown. But from the time when the inhabitants of the earlier towns were brought to one centre[5], and the new city, built by Hippodamus (the same architect who planned the streets of the Piræus), rose in the midst of its perfumed gardens and its amphitheatre of hills, with unity so symmetrical, that it appeared like one house[6],—Rhodes has held an illustrious place among the islands of the Mediterranean. From the very effect of its situation, lying

Archipelago, are subject to N. W. winds.... When the sun, on advancing from the north, has begun to rarefy the atmosphere of southern Europe, the Etesians of spring commence in the Mediterranean Sea. These blow in Italy during March and April." In Purdy's Sailing Directory, p. 122., Of the neighbourhood of Smyrna and Ephesus: "The northerly winds hereabout continue all the summer, and sometimes blow with unremitting violence for several weeks." See again what Admiral Beaufort says of the N. W. wind at *Patara*.

[1] See Acts xxvii. 7.

[2] In the Admiralty Chart of the gulf of Cos, &c. (No. 1604.), a very good view of Cape Crio is given. We shall speak of Cnidus more fully hereafter. Meantime we may refer to a view in Laborde, which gives an admirable representation of the passage between Cos and Cape Crio.

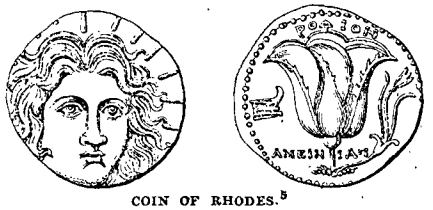
[3] Purdy.

[4] See above.

[5] Herodotus simply mentions Rhodes as forming part of the Dorian confederacy with Cos and Cnidus (i. 144., ii. 178.). It was about the time of the Peloponnesian war that the three earlier cities of Lindus, Ialysus, and Camirus were centralised in the new *city* of Rhodes. (Diod. xiii. 75., Strabo, xiv.) "We find the Rhodian navy rising in strength and consequence towards the time of Demosthenes;" and, after this period, it "makes nearly as great a figure in history as Venice does in the annals of Modern Europe."—Cramer's Asia Minor, ii. 229, 230.

[6] Diod. Sic. xiii. 75.

as it did on the verge of two of the basins of that sea, it became the intermediate point of the eastern and western trade.[1] Even now it is the harbour at which most vessels touch on their progress to and from the Archipelago.[2] It was the point from which the Greek geographers reckoned their meridians of latitude and longitude. And we may assert, that no place has been so long renowned for ship-building, if we may refer to the "benches, and masts, and ship-boards" of "Dodanim and Chittim," with the feeble constructions of the modern Turkish dockyard, as the earliest and latest efforts of that Rhodian skill, which was celebrated by Pliny in the time of St. Paul.[3] To the copious supplies of ship timber were added many other physical advantages. It was a proverb, that the sun shone every day in Rhodes[4]; and her inhabitants revelled in the luxuriance of the vegetation which surrounded them. We find this beauty and this brilliant atmosphere typified in her coins, on one side of which is the head of Apollo radiated like the sun, while the other exhibits the rose-flower, the conventional emblem which bore the name of the island. But the interest of what is merely outward fades before the moral interest associated with its history. If we rapidly run over its annals, we find something in every period, with which elevated thoughts are connected. The Greek period is the first,—famous not merely for the great Temple of the Sun[6], and the Colossus, which, like the statue of Borromeo at Arona, seemed



COIN OF RHODES.[5]

[1] An interesting illustration of the trade of Rhodes will be found in vol. iii. of the Trans. of the Royal Society of Literature, in a paper on some inscribed handles of wine-vessels found at Alexandria. We shall refer to this paper again when we come to speak of Cnidus.

[2] "Vessels bound to the ports of Karamania, as well as to those of Syria and Egypt, generally touch here for pilots or for intelligence." Beaufort. "The southern harbour is generally full of merchant-vessels." Purdy, p. 232. "The chief source of what little opulence it still enjoys is in the number of vessels which touch here on their passage from the Archipelago to the eastward." Ib.

[3] Plin.

[4] Plin. See Forbiger, p. 244.

[5] From the British Museum. There was a notion that the island had emerged from the sea under the influence of the sun. (See Pindar. Olymp. vii.) The flower on most of the Rhodian coins (as here) was like a tulip; and Spanheim thought that it was that of the *Malum punicum*, which was used for dyeing; but there is no doubt that it was the rose conventionally represented: and sometimes it appears in a form exactly similar to the heraldic roses in our own Tudor architecture. There are Rhodian coins of Nero's reign in which the emperor is himself represented as the sun, with the inscription ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΝΕΡΩΝ, and the device of a Victory on the rostrum of a ship, with a rose-flower in the field. See Eckhel, p. 605.

[6] Forbiger, 245.

to stand over the city to protect it[1],—but far more for the supremacy of the seas, which was employed to put down piracy, for the code of mercantile law, by which the commerce of later times was regulated, and for the legislative enactments, framed almost in the spirit of Christianity, for the protection of the poor.[2] This is followed by the Roman period, when the faithful ally, which had aided by her naval power in subduing the East, was honoured by the Senate and the Emperors with the name and privileges of freedom[3]: and this by the Byzantine, during which Christianity was established in the Levant, and the city of the Rhodians, as the metropolis of a province of islands, if no longer holding the Empire of the Mediterranean, was at least recognised as the Queen of the Ægean.[4] During the earlier portion of the middle ages, while mosques were gradually taking the place of Byzantine churches, Rhodes was the last Christian city to make a stand against the advancing Saracens; and again during their later portion, she reappears as a city ennobled by the deeds of Christian chivalry; so that, ever since the successful siege of Solyman the Magnificent[5], her fortifications and her stately harbour, and the houses in her streets, continue to be the memorials of the knights of St. John. Yet no point of Rhodian history ought to move our spirits with so much exultation as that day, when the vessel that conveyed St. Paul came round the low northern point[6] of the island to her moorings before the city. We do not know that he landed, like other great conquerors who have visited Rhodes. It would not be necessary even to enter

[1] The Colossus was in ruins even in Strabo's time (xiv.). It had been overthrown by an earthquake according to Polybius (v. 88. 1.) It seems to be a popular mistake that this immense statue stood across the entrance of one of the harbours. The only parallel in modern times is the statue of San Carlo Borromeo [which has been alluded to before in reference to Athens, Vol. I. p. 404.]; and in height they were nearly identical, the latter being 106 feet, the former 105 (70 cubits). See the paper referred to, p. 229. n. 1.

[2] Strabo xiv. See Polyb. v. Cic. de Rep. and Sallust. Compare Müller's Dorians.

[3] After the defeat of Antiochus, Rhodes received from the Roman senate some valuable possessions on the mainland, including part of Caria and the whole of Lycia. Liv. xxxviii. 39., Polyb. xxii. 7, 7. 27. 8. [See what has been said on the province of Asia, Vol. I. pp. 257, 258., comparing p. 261.] These continental possessions were afterwards withdrawn; but the Rhodians were still regarded as among the allies of Rome. Liv. xlv. xlvi. They rendered valuable aid in the war against Mithridates, and were not reduced to the form of a province till the reign of Vespasian. Sueton. Vesp. c. 8., Tac. Ann. xii. 58. In this interval, the island was plundered by Cassius (App. B. C. iv. 72.), and Tiberius resided here during part of the reign of Augustus (Tac. Ann. i. 4., iv. 15.).

[4] It appears as the metropolis of the *Provincia Insularum* in Hierocles, pp. 685, 686.

[5] For a curious account of this siege, see Fontani, Libri tres de Bello Rhodio. Rome, 1524.

[6] Compare Purdy's Sailing Directory with the Admiralty Chart (No. 1639.), attached to which is an excellent view of Rhodes.

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RHODES.

the harbour: for a safe anchorage would be found for the night in the open roadstead.[1] "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation;" and the vessel which was seen by the people of the city to weigh anchor in the morning, was probably undistinguished from the other coasting craft with which they were daily familiar.

No view in the Levant is more celebrated than that from Rhodes towards the opposite shore of Asia Minor. The last ranges of Mount Taurus[2] come down in magnificent forms to the sea; and a long line of snowy summits is seen along the Lycian coast, while the sea between is often an unruffled expanse of water under a blue and brilliant sky.[3] Across this expanse, and towards a harbour near the further edge of these Lycian mountains, the Apostle's course was now directed (Acts xxi. 1.). To the eastward of Mount Cragus,—the steep sea-front of which is known to the pilots of the Levant by the name of the "Seven Capes,"[4]—the river Xanthus winds through a rich and magnificent valley, and past the ruins of an ancient city, the monuments of which, after a long concealment, have lately been made familiar to the British public.[5] The harbour of the city of Xanthus was situated a short distance from the left bank of the river. Patara was to Xanthus what the Piræus was to Athens[6]; and, though this comparison might seem to convey the idea of an importance which never belonged to the Lycian sea-port, yet ruins still remain to show that it was once a place of some magnitude and splendour. The bay, into which the the river Xanthus flowed, is now a "desert of moving sand," which is blown by the westerly wind into ridges along the shore, and is gradually hiding the remains of the ancient city[7]; but a triple archway and a vast theatre have

[1] See Purdy, p. 231. Von Hammer gives plan of the harbour of Rhodes as it was in the siege of Solyman. Topogr. Ansichten, Vienna, 1811.

[2] Compare Vol. I. p. 22. For the appearance of this magnificent coast on a nearer approach, see Dr. Clarke. For a description of these south-western mountains of Asia Minor the travels of Spratt and Forbes may be consulted.

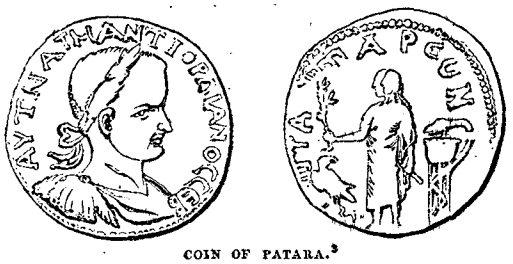
[3] See the description in Von Hammer.

[4] "These capes (called in Italian, the usual language of the pilots, *sette capi*) are the extremities of high and rugged mountains, occupying a space of ten miles." Purdy, p. 236.

[5] The allusion is of course to the Xanthian room in the British Museum.

[6] Thus Appian speaks of Patara as the port of Xanthus: Βροῦτος ἐς Πάταρα ἀπὸ Ξάνθου κατῆει, πόλιν ἐοικυῖαν ἐπινείῳ Ξανθίων. B.C. iv. 81. In the following chapter he says that Andriace had the same relation to Myra. (Acts xxvii. 5.)

[7] Admiral Beaufort was the first to describe Patara. Karamania, chap. i. It was also visited by the Dilettanti Society. (See two views in vol. ii. of the Ionian Antiquities.) It is described by Sir C. Fellows both in his "Lycia" and his "Asia Minor." See especially the former work, pp. 222—224. In the Travels of Spratt and Forbes the destruction of the harbour and the great increase of sand are attributed to the rising of the coast, I. 32., II. 189. 196. The following passage is transcribed at length from this work.



COIN OF PATARA.[3]

been described by travellers.[1] Some have even thought that they have discovered the seat of the oracle of Apollo, who was worshipped here as his sister Diana was worshipped at Ephesus or Perga[2]; and the city walls can be traced among the sand-hills, with the castle[4] that commanded the harbour. In the war against Antiochus, this harbour was protected by a sudden storm from the Roman fleet, when Livius sailed from Rhodes.[5] Now we find the Apostle Paul entering it with a fair wind, after a short sail from the same island.

It seems that the vessel in which St. Paul had been hitherto sailing either finished its voyage at Patara, or was proceeding further eastward along the

i. 30.:—"A day was devoted to an excursion to Patara, which lies on the coast at some distance from the left bank of the river, about ten miles from Xanthus. We rode along the river-side to the sand-hills, passing large straw-thatched villages of gipsies on the way, and then crossed the sand-hills to the sea-side. . . . At Patara is the triple arch which formed the gate of the city, the baths, and the theatre, admirably described long ago by Captain Beaufort. The latter is scooped out of the side of a hill, and is remarkable for the completeness of the proscenium and the steepness and narrowness of the marble seats. Above it is the singular pit excavated on the summit of the same hill, with its central square column, conjectured, with probability, by Captain Beaufort, to have been the seat of the oracle of Apollo Patareus. The stones of which the column is built are displaced from each other in a singular manner, as if by the revolving motion of an earthquake. A fine group of palm trees rises among the ruins, and the aspect of the city when it was flourishing must have been very beautiful. Now its port is an inland marsh, generating poisonous malaria; and the mariner sailing along the coast would never guess that the sand-hills before him blocked up the harbour into which St. Paul sailed of old."

[1] A drawing of the gateway is given by Beaufort, p. 1. Views of the theatre, &c. of Patara will be found in the first volume of the Ionian Antiquities, published by the Dilettanti Society.

[2] See Vol. I. pp. 172, 173., and Vol. II. p. 70. &c.

[3] From the British Museum. For the oracle of the Patarean Apollo, see Herod. i. 182. Cf. Hor. Od. iii. 4. 64. Sir C. Fellows says (Asia Minor, pp. 179—183.) that the coins of all the district show the ascendency of Apollo.

[4] Beaufort, p. 3.

[5] The Roman fleet had followed nearly the same course as the Apostle from the neighbourhood of *Ephesus*. "Civitates, quas prætervectus est, *Miletus*. . . . *Cnidus*, *Cous*. *Rhodum* ut est ventum . . . navigat *Patara*. Primo secundus ventus ad ipsam urbem ferebat eos: postquam, circumagente se vento, fluctibus dubiis volvi cœptum est mare, pervicerunt quidem remis, ut tenerent terram; sed neque circa urbem tuta statio erat, nec ante hostium portus in salo stare poterant, aspero mari, et nocte imminente." Liv. xxxvii. 16. We may add another illustration from Roman history, in Pompey's voyage, where the same places are mentioned in a similar order. After describing his departure from *Mitylene*, and his passing by *Asia* and *Chios*, Lucan proceeds:

Ephesonque relinquens
Radit saxa *Sami:* Spirat de littore *Coo*
Aura fluens: *Cnidon* inde fugit, claramque relinquit
Sole *Rhodon.*—Phars. viii.

southern coast of Asia Minor, and not to the ports of Phœnicia. St. Paul could not know in advance whether it would be "possible" for him to arrive in Palestine in time for Pentecost (xx. 16.); but an opportunity presented itself unexpectedly at Patara. Providential circumstances conspired with his own convictions to forward his journey, notwithstanding the discouragement which the fears of others had thrown across his path. In the harbour of Patara they found a vessel which was on the point of crossing the open sea to Phœnicia (xxi. 2.). They went on board without a moment's delay; and it seems evident, from the mode of expression, that they sailed the very day of their arrival.[1] Since the voyage lay across the open sea[2], with no shoals or rocks to be dreaded, and since the north-westerly winds often blow steadily for several days in the Levant during spring[3], there could be no reason why the vessel should not weigh anchor in the evening, and sail through the night.

We have now to think of St. Paul as no longer passing through narrow channels, or coasting along in the shadow of great mountains, but as sailing continuously through the midnight hours, with a prosperous breeze filling the canvass, and the waves curling and sounding round the bows of the vessel. There is a peculiar freshness and cheerfulness in the prosecution of a prosperous voyage with a fair wind by night. The sailors on the watch, and the passengers also, feel it, and the feeling is often expressed in songs or in long-continued conversation. Such cheerfulness might be felt by the Apostle and his companions, not without thankfulness to that God "who giveth songs in the night" (Job xxxv. 10.), and who hearkeneth to those who fear Him, and speak often to one another, and think upon His name (Mal. iii. 16.). If we remember, too, that a month had now elapsed since the moon was shining on the snows of Hæmus[4], and that the full moonlight would now be resting on the great sail[5] of the ship, we are not without an expressive imagery, which we may allowably throw round the Apostle's progress over the waters between Patara and Tyre.

The distance between these two points is three hundred and forty geographical miles; and if we bear in mind that the north-westerly winds in April often blow like monsoons in the Levant[6], and that the rigging of ancient sailing-vessels was peculiarly favorable to a quick run before the wind[7], we come at once to the conclusion that the voyage might easily be accomplished in forty-

[1] This is shown not only by the participle ἐπιβάντες, but by the omission of any such phrase as τῇ ἐπιούσῃ, τῇ ἑτέρᾳ, or τῇ ἐχομένῃ. Compare xx. 15.

[2] Observe the word διαπερῶν.

[3] See above.

[4] See above, p. 209.

[5] See Smith's "Voyage and Shipwreck, p. 151."

[6] See above.

[7] Smith, p. 180.

eight hours.[1] Everything in St. Luke's account gives a strong impression that the weather was in the highest degree favorable; and there is one picturesque phrase employed by the narrator, which sets vividly before us some of the phenomena of a rapid voyage.[2] That which is said in the English version concerning the "discovering" of Cyprus, and "leaving it on the left hand," is, in the original, a nautical expression, implying that the land appeared to rise quickly[3], as they sailed past it to the southward.[4] It would be in the course of the second day (probably in the evening) that "the high blue eastern land appeared." The highest mountain of Cyprus is a rounded summit, and there would be snow upon it at that season of the year.[5] After the second night, the first land in sight would be the high range of Lebanon[6] in Syria (xxi. 3.), and they would easily arrive at Tyre before the evening.

So much has been written concerning the past history and present condition of Tyre, these subjects are familiar to every reader, and it is unnecessary to dwell upon them here.[7] When St. Paul came to this city, it was neither in the

[1] *i. e.* the rate would be rather more than seven knots an hour. The writer once asked the captain of a vessel engaged in the Mediterranean trade, how long it would take to sail with a fair wind from the Seven Capes to Tyre; and the answer was, "About thirty hours, or perhaps it would be safer to say forty-eight." Now, vessels rigged like those of the ancients, with one large main-sail, would run *before the wind* more quickly than our own merchantmen. Those who have sailed before the monsoons in the China seas have seen junks (which are rigged in this respect like Greek and Roman merchantmen) behind them in the horizon in the morning, and before them in the horizon in the evening.

[2] Ἀναφανέντες τὴν Κύπρον καὶ καταλιπόντες αὐτὴν εὐώνυμον. The word *ἀναφαίνειν*, in reference to sea voyages, means "to see land, to bring land into view," by a similar figure of speech to that in which our sailors speak of "*making* land." The corresponding word for losing sight of land is *ἀποκρύπτειν*. See the commentators on Plat. Protag. xxiv., and Thucyd. v. 65. The terms in Latin are *aperire* and *abscondere*. Virg. Æn. iii. 205. 275. 291. Heyne says "Terra *aperit* montes, dum in conspectum eos admovet." (Compare the use of the verb "*open*" by our own sailors.) As to the construction, De Wette compares *πεπίστευμαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*; but the cases are not quite parallel. Confusions of grammar are common in the language of sailors. Thus an English seaman speaks of "*rising* the land," which is exactly what is meant here by *ἀναφανέντες*. One of the Byzantine writers uses the same phrase in reference to an expedition in the same sea. Ἐλθόντες ἕως τὰ Μύρα οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἰσῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸν κόλπον τῆς Ατταλείας· οἱ δὲ Ἄραβες κινήσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς Κύπρου, καὶ εὐδίας αὐτοὺς καταλαβούσης, περιεφέροντο ἐν τῷ πελάγει· ἀναφανέντων δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν γῆν, εἶδον αὐτοὺς οἱ στρατηγοί. Theophanes, i. p. 721., Ed. Bonn.

[3] Mr. Smith says in a MS. note: "The term *ἀναφανέντες* indicates both the rapid approach to land, and that it was seen at a distance by daylight."

[4] We shall hereafter point out the contrast between this voyage and that which is mentioned afterwards in Acts xxvii. 4.

[5] The island is traversed by two chains, running nearly east and west: and they are covered with snow in winter. Norie, p. 144. See the map of Cyprus in Vol. I. The writer has been informed by Captain Graves, R.N., that the highest part is of a rounded form.

[6] Compare Vol. I. pp. 22. 57.

[7] One of the fullest accounts of Tyre will be found in Dr. Robinson's third volume.

VIEW OF TYRE.[1]

glorious state described in the prophecies of Ezekiel and Isaiah[2], when "its merchants were princes, and its traffickers the honorable of the earth," nor in the abject desolation in which it now fulfils those prophecies, being "a place to spread nets upon," and showing only the traces of its maritime supremacy in its ruined mole, and a port hardly deep enough for boats.[3] It was in the condition in which it had been left by the successors of Alexander,—the island, which once held the city, being joined to the mainland by a causeway,—with a harbour on the north, and another on the south.[4] In honour of its ancient greatness, the Romans gave it the name of a free city[5]; and it still commanded some commerce, for its manufactures of glass and purple were not yet decayed[6], and the narrow belt of the Phœnician coast between the mountains and the sea required that the food for its population should be partly brought from without.[7] It is allowable to conjecture that the ship, which we have just seen crossing from Patara, may have brought grain from the Black Sea, or wine from the Archipelago[8],—with the purpose of taking on from Tyre a cargo of Phœnician

[1] From a drawing by the Rev. G. F. Weston.

[2] Ezek. xxvi. xxvii., Isa. xxiii.

[3] Sailing Directory, p. 259.

[4] Strabo, xvi. *Old Tyre* (Παλαίτυρος) was destroyed. *New Tyre* was built on a small island, separated by a very narrow channel from the mainland (See Diod. Sic. xvii. 60., Plin. v. 19. 17., Q. Curt. iv. 2.), with which it was united by a dam in Alexander's siege: and thenceforward Tyre was on a *peninsula*.

[5] Strabo, l. c. The Emperor Severus made it a Roman *colonia* with the *Jus Italicum*. (See Vol. I. p. 302. n. 5.) For the general notion of a free city (*libera civitas*) under the empire, see p. 357. Tyre seems to have been honoured, like Athens, for the sake of the past.

[6] For the manufactures of Tyre at a much later period, see Vol. I. p. 227. n. 9.

[7] The dependence of Phœnicia on other countries for grain is alluded to in Acts xii. 20. (See Vol. I. p. 139. n. 2.)

[8] For the wine trade of the Archipelago, see

manufactures. We know that, whatever were the goods she brought, they were unladed at Tyre (v. 3.); and that the vessel was afterwards to proceed[1] to Ptolemais (v. 7.). For this purpose some days would be required. She would be taken into the inner dock[2]; and St. Paul had thus some time at his disposal, which he could spend in the active service of his Master. He and his companions lost no time in "seeking out the disciples." It is probable that the Christians at Tyre were not numerous[3]; but a Church had existed there ever since the dispersion consequent upon the death of Stephen (Vol. I. pp. 88. 127.), and St. Paul had himself visited it, if not on his mission of charity from Antioch to Jerusalem (ib. p. 138.), yet doubtless on his way to the Council (ib. p. 227.). There were not only disciples at Tyre, but prophets. Some of those who had the prophetical power foresaw the danger which was hanging over St. Paul, and endeavoured to persuade him to desist from his purpose of going to Jerusalem.[4] We see that different views of duty might be taken by those who had the same spiritual knowledge, though that knowledge were supernatural. St. Paul looked on the coming danger from a higher point. What to others was an overwhelming darkness, to him appeared only as a passing storm. And he resolved to face it, in the faith that He who had protected him hitherto, would still give him shelter and safety.

The time spent at Tyre in unlading the vessel, and probably taking in a new cargo, and possibly, also, waiting for a fair wind[5], was "seven days," including a Sunday.[6] St. Paul "broke bread" with the disciples, and discoursed

what has been said in reference to Rhodes. We need not suppose that the vessel bound for Phœnicia sailed in the first instance from Patara. St. Paul afterwards found a westward-bound Alexandrian ship in one of the harbours of Lycia. Acts xxvii. 5.

[1] We infer that St. Paul proceeded in *the same vessel* to Ptolemais, partly from the phrase τὸ πλοῖον (v. 6.), and partly because it is not said that the vessel was *bound* for Tyre, but simply that she was to *unlade* there (ἐκεῖσε ἦν τὸ πλοῖον ἀποφορτιζόμενον τὸν γόμον, v. 3.). With regard to ἐκεῖσε, it seems best to consider it simply to mean "she was to go *thither* and unlade *there*." The explanation of De Wette and Meyer, who distinguish between the harbour and the town, is too elaborate.

[2] Scylax, p. 24., mentions a harbour within the walls.

[3] Observe the article in τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς. The word ἀνευρόντες implies that some search was required before the Christians were found. Perhaps the first enquiries would be made at the synagogue. [See Vol. I. p. 438.] For a notice of the Jews at Tyre in later times, we may again refer to p. 227. n. 9.

[4] Τῷ Παύλῳ ἔλεγον διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν εἰς Ἰερουσόλυμα, v. 4.

[5] These suppositions, however, are not necessary; for the work of taking the cargo from the hold of a merchant-vessel might easily occupy six or seven days.

[6] Ἡμέρας ἑπτά, v. 4. We may observe, however, that this need not mean more than "six days." As to the phrase ἐξαρτίσαι τὰς ἡμέρας, Meyer and Olshausen take it to mean "employed the time in making ready for the journey," comparing 2 Tim. iii. 17. [See on v. 15.]

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as he had done at Troas (p. 212.); and the week days, too, would afford many precious opportunities of confirming those who were already Christians, and in making the Gospel known to others, both Jews and Gentiles. When the time came for the ship to sail, a scene was witnessed on the Phœnician shore, like that which had made the Apostle's departure from Miletus so impressive and affecting.[1] There attended him through the city gate[2], as he and his companions went out to join the vessel now ready to receive them, all the Christians of Tyre, and even their "wives and children." And there they knelt down and prayed together on the level shore.[3] We are not to imagine here any Jewish place of worship, like the *proseucha* at Philippi[4]; but simply that they were on their way to the ship. The last few moments were precious, and could not be so well employed as in praying to Him, who alone can give true comfort and protection. The time spent in this prayer was soon passed. And then they tore themselves from each others' embrace[5]; the strangers went on board[6], and the Tyrian believers returned home sorrowful and anxious, while the ship sailed southwards on her way to Ptolemais.

There is a singular contrast in the history of those three cities on the Phœnician shore, which are mentioned in close succession in the concluding part of the narrative of this apostolic journey. *Tyre*, the city from which St. Paul had just sailed, had been the seaport whose destiny formed the burden of the sublimest prophecies in the last days of the Hebrew monarchy. *Cæsarea*, the city to which he was ultimately bound, was the work of the family of Herod, and rose with the rise of Christianity. Both are fallen now into utter decay. *Ptolemais*, which was the intermediate stage between them, is an older city than either, and has outlived them both. It has never been withdrawn from the field of history; and its interest has seemed to increase (at least in the eyes of Englishmen) with the progress of centuries. Under the ancient name of Acco it appears in the Book of Judges (i. 31.) as one of the towns of the tribe of Assher. It was the pivot of the contests between Persia and Egypt.[7] Not

[1] See above, p. 225.

[2] Observe ἐξελθόντες and ἕως ἔξω τῆς πόλεως. There is a dramatic force, too, in the imperfect ἐπορευόμεθα.

[3] Ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, the word used in Acts xxvii. 39, 40., and denoting a sandy or pebbly beach, as opposed to ἀκτη.

[4] Hammond supposes that there was a proseucha near the place of embarkation. But we need not suppose any reference to a Jewish place of worship either here or at Miletus, though it is interesting to bear in mind the *orationes littorales* of the Jews. See Vol. I. p. 315.

[5] The MSS. vary here. Lachmann and Tischendorf have προσευξάμενοι ἀπησπασάμεθα instead of the common reading, προσηυξάμεθα καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι. See v. l.

[6] See on τὸ πλοῖον, above.

[7] Forbiger, 672.

unknown in the Macedonian and Roman periods, it reappears with brilliant distinction in the middle ages, when the Crusaders called it St. Jean d'Acre. It is needless to allude to the events which have fixed on this sea-fortress, more than once, the attention of our own generation.[1] At the particular time when the Apostle Paul visited this place, it bore the name of Ptolemais[2],—most probably given to it by Ptolemy Lagi, who was long in possession of this part of Syria[3],—and it had recently been made a Roman colony by the emperor Claudius.[4] It shared with Tyre and Sidon[5], Antioch and Cæsarea, the trade of the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea. With a fair wind, a short day's voyage separates it from Tyre. To speak in the language of our own sailors, there are thirteen miles from Tyre to Cape Blanco, and fifteen from thence to Cape Carmel; and Acre—the ancient Ptolemais—is situated on the further extremity of that bay, which sweeps with a wide curvature of sand to the northwards, from the headland of Carmel.[6] It is evident that St. Paul's company sailed from Tyre to Ptolemais within the day.[7] At the latter city, as at the former, there were Christian disciples[8], who had probably been converted at the same time, and under the same circumstances, as those of Tyre. Another opportunity was afforded for the salutations[9] and encouragement of brotherly love; but the missionary party staid here only one day.[10] Though they had accomplished the voyage in abundant time to reach Jerusalem at Pentecost, they hastened onwards, that they might linger some days at Cæsarea.[11]

One day's travelling by land[12] was sufficient for this part of their journey. The distance is between thirty and forty miles.[13] At Cæsarea there was a Christian

[1] The events at the close of the last century and others still more recent. It is surely well that we should be able to associate this place with the Apostle of the Gentiles as much as with Sir Sidney Smith and Sir Charles Napier.

[2] So it is called in 1 Mac. v. 15., x. i., &c.

[3] See his life in Smith's Dictionary of Biography.

[4] Pliny, v. 19. 17.

[5] In the Acts of the Apostles, we find *Tyre* mentioned in connection with the voyages of merchantmen, xxi. 3., and *Sidon*, xxvii. 3.

[6] For a nautical delineation of this bay, with the anchorage, Kaifa, &c., see the Admiralty Chart. The travellers who have described the sweep of this bay from Carmel are so numerous, that they need not be specified. Our view of Ptolemais is from the south.

[7] V. 7. Instead of the words *οἱ περὶ τὸν Παῦλον*, the best MSS. have simply *ἡμεῖς*; which seems to have been altered into the longer phrase, as being the opening of a separate section for reading in churches. The meaning of *τὸν πλοῦν διανύσαντες* seems to be "thus accomplishing our voyage." The rest of the journey was by land.

[8] *Τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς*, with the article as above, v. 4.

[9] *Ἀσπασάμενοι.*

[10] *Ἐμείναμεν ἡμέραν μίαν.*

[11] See *ἐπιμενόντων ἡμέρας πλείους* below, v. 10.

[12] *Τῇ ἐπαύριον ἦλθ. εἰς* K., v. 8. We may observe, that the word *ἐξελθόντες* is far more suitable to a departure by land than by sea.

[13] The Jerusalem Itinerary gives the distance as thirty-one miles, and the stages from "*Civitas Ptolemaida*" as follows:—*Mutatio Calamon.*

family, already known to us in the earlier passages of the Acts of the Apostles, with whom they were sure of receiving a welcome. The last time we made mention of Philip the Evangelist (Vol. I. p. 87.), was when he was engaged in making the Gospel known on the road which leads southwards by Gaza towards Egypt, about the time when St. Paul himself was converted on the northern road, when travelling to Damascus. Now, after many years, the Apostle and the Evangelist are brought together under one roof. On the former occasion, we saw that Cæsarea was the place where the labours of Philip on that journey ended.[1] Thenceforward it became his residence if his life was stationary, or it was the centre from which he made other missionary circuits through Judæa.[2] He is found, at least, residing in this city by the sea, when St. Paul arrives in the year 58 from Achaia and Macedonia. His family consisted of four daughters, who were an example of the fulfilment of that prediction of Joel, quoted by St. Peter, which said that at the opening of the new dispensation, God's spirit should come on His "handmaidens" as well as His bondsmen, and that the "daughters," as well as the sons, should prophesy.[3] The prophetic power was granted to these four women at Cæsarea, who seem to have been living that life of single devotedness[4] which is commended by St. Paul in his letter to the Corinthians (1 Cor. vii.), and to have exercised their gift in concert for the benefit of the Church.

It is not improbable that these inspired women gave St. Paul some intimation of the sorrows which were hanging over him.[5] But soon a more explicit voice declared the very nature of the trial he was to expect. The stay of the Apostle at Cæsarea lasted some days (v. 10.). He had arrived in Judæa in good time before the festival, and haste was now unnecessary. Thus news reached Jerusalem of his arrival; and a prophet named Agabus — whom we have seen before (Vol. I.

M. XII.; *Mansio Sicamenos*, M. III. (*ibi est mons Carmelus, ibi Helias sacrificium faciebat*); *Mutatio certa*, M. VIII. (*fines Syriæ et Palestinæ*); *Civitas Cæsarea Palestina*, M. VIII. The Antonine Itinerary makes the distance greater, viz. twenty-four miles to Sycamina, and twenty from thence to Cæsarea. See Wess. pp. 149. 584. Compare our itinerary map of Palestine in the first volume, p. 92.

[1] Acts viii. 40. See Vol. I. p. 87. n. 6.

[2] The term "Evangelist" seems to have been almost synonymous with our word "Missionary." It is applied to Philip and to Timothy. See Vol. I. p. 468.; also p. 466. n. 8.

[3] Joel ii. 28, 29., Acts ii. 17, 18. Compare 1 Cor. xiv. 34., 1 Tim. ii. 12.; and see Vol. I. p. 462.

[4] Meyer sees only in v. 9. "eine gelegentliche Reminiscenz für den Leser an eine damals bekannte merkwürdige Erscheinung in jener Familie." But it is difficult not to see more emphasis in παρθένοι. See Matt. xix. 12.

[5] Perhaps the force of προφητεύουσαι (v. 9.) is to be found in the fact, that they did foretell what was to come. The word, however, has not necessarily any relation to the future. See Vol. I. p. 460.

p. 138.) coming from the same place on a similar errand — went down to Cæsarea, and communicated to St. Paul and the company of Christians by whom he was surrounded, a clear knowledge of the impending danger. His revelation was made in that dramatic form which impresses the mind with a stronger sense of reality than mere words can do, and which was made familiar to the Jews of old by the practice of the Hebrew prophets. As Isaiah (ch. xx.) loosed the sackcloth from his loins, and put off his shoes from his feet, to declare how the Egyptian captives should be led away into Assyria naked and barefoot, — or as the girdle of Jeremiah (ch. xiii.), in its strength and its decay, was made a type of the people of Israel in their privilege and their fall, — Agabus, in like manner using the imagery of action[1], took the girdle of St. Paul, and fastened it round his own[2] hands and feet, and said, "Thus saith the Holy Ghost: so shall the Jews at Jerusalem bind the man to whom this girdle belongs, and they shall deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles."

The effect of this emphatic prophecy, both on Luke, Aristarchus, and Trophimus[3], the companions of St. Paul's journey, and those Christians of Cæsarea[4], who, though they had not travelled with him, had learnt to love him, was very great. They wept[5], and implored him not to go to Jerusalem.[6] But the Apostle himself could not so interpret the supernatural intimation. He was placed in a position of peculiar trial. A voice of authentic prophecy had been so uttered, that, had he been timid and wavering, it might easily have been construed into a warning to deter him. Nor was that temptation unfelt which arises from the sympathetic grief of loving friends. His affectionate heart was almost broken[7] when he heard their earnest supplications, and saw the sorrow that was caused by the prospect of his danger. But the mind of the Spirit had been so revealed to him in his own inward convictions, that he could see the Divine counsel through apparent hindrances. His resolution was "no wavering between yea and nay, but was yea in Jesus Christ."[8] His deliberate purpose did not falter for a moment.[9] He declared that he was "ready not only to be

[1] See another striking instance in Ezek. iv. Compare what has been said before in reference to the gestures of Paul and Barnabas when they departed from Antioch in Pisidia, Vol. I. p. 194.

[2] It would be a mistake to suppose that Agabus bound Paul's hands and feet. The correct reading is ἑαυτοῦ. Besides, Agabus says, not "the man whom I bind,' but "the man whose girdle this is."

[3] For the companions of St. Paul at this moment, see p. 207. with p. 208. n. 5.

[4] Ἡμεῖς τε καὶ οἱ ἐντόπιοι, v. 12.

[5] Τί ποιεῖτε κλαίοντες, v. 13.

[6] V. 12.

[7] Συνθρύπτοντές μου τὴν καρδίαν, v. 13.

[8] 2 Cor. i. See above, p. 96.

[9] Observe how this is implied in the present tense (μὴ πειθομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ, v. 14.).

bound, but to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus." And then they desisted from their entreaties. Their respect for the Apostle made them silent.[1] They recognised the will of God in the steady purpose of His servant; and gave their acquiescence in those words in which Christian resignation is best expressed: "*The will of the Lord be done.*"

The time was now come for the completion of the journey. The festival was close at hand. Having made the arrangements that were necessary with regard to their luggage[2],—and such notices in Holy Scripture[3] should receive their due attention, for they help to set before us all the reality of the Apostle's journeys,—he and the companions who had attended him from Macedonia proceeded to the Holy City. Some of the Christians of Cæsarea went along with them, not merely, as it would seem, to show their respect and sympathy for the Apostolic company[4], but to secure their comfort on arriving, by taking him to the house of Mnason, a native of Cyprus, who had been long ago converted to Christianity[5],—possibly during the life of our Lord Himself[6],—and who may have been one of those Cyprian Jews who first made the Gospel known to the Greeks at Antioch (see Vol. I. p. 127.).

Thus we have accompanied St. Paul on his last recorded journey to

[1] Ἡσυχάσαμεν. Ib.

[2] Ἀποσκευασάμενοι. "Sublatis sarcinis." Erasmus. "Præparati." Vulg. "We weran made redi." Wiclif. "We made oure selfes redy." Tyndale. "We toke up oure burthens." Cranmer. "We trussed up our fardeles." Geneva. "Being prepared." Rheims. The word "carriage" in the authorised version is used as in Judg. xviii. 21., 1 Sam. xvii. 22. The correct reading, however, is probably ἐπισκευασάμενοι (Tisch.). So Chrys., ἐπισκευασάμενοι· τούτεστι, τὰ πρὸς τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν λαβόντες. "Qui profiscuntur, non deponunt sarcinas, sed instruunt se necessariis ad iter." Rosenmüller. The former word would mean, "Having stowed away our luggage, '*weggepackt*,' sarcinis, impedimentis quippe itineris, depositis:" the latter, "having packed up our luggage, '*aufgepackt*,' quum accepissemus res ad iter necessarias." In answer to Olshausen, who retains ἀποσκ., and supposes the bulk of the luggage to have been left at Cæsarea in order to lighten the land-journey,—it must be remarked, that, in that case, it would have been left at Ptolemais. But we may very well suppose that St. Paul hoped to stay only a short time in Jerusalem, and to sail soon from *Cæsarea* to Rome. Greswell sees, in the allusion to the baggage, some indication of haste; but the contrary seems rather implied.

[3] See for instance 2 Tim. iv. 13.

[4] The frequent use of the word προπέμπειν in the accounts of the movements of the Apostles and their companions, is worthy of observation. See Acts xv. 3., xx. 38., Rom. xv. 24., &c.

[5] Ἀρχαίῳ μαθητῇ. Compare ἐν ἀρχῇ. Acts xi. 15.

[6] He can hardly have been converted by St. Paul during his journey through Cyprus, or St. Paul would have been acquainted with him, which does not appear to have been the case. He may have been converted by Barnabas. (See Acts xv. 39.) But he was most probably one of the earliest disciples of Christ. With regard to the words ἄγοντες παρ' ᾧ ξενισθῶμεν Μνάσωνι, we may remark, that the English version introduces a new difficulty without overcoming that which relates to the grammatical construction. [See Vol. I. p. 127., and Chap. V.]

Jerusalem. It was a journey full of incident; and it is related more minutely than any other portion of his travels. We know all the places by which he passed, or at which he stayed; and we are able to connect them all with familiar recollections of history. We know, too, all the aspect of the scenery. He sailed along those coasts of Western Asia, and among those famous islands, the beauty of which is proverbial. The very time of the year is known to us. It was when the advancing season was clothing every low shore, and the edge of every broken cliff, with a beautiful and refreshing verdure; when the winter storms had ceased to be dangerous, and the small vessels could ply safely in shade and sunshine between neighbouring ports. Even the state of the weather and the direction of the wind are known. We can point to the places on the map where the vessel anchored for the night[1]; and trace across the chart the track that was followed, when the moon was full.[2] Yet more than this. We are made fully aware of the state of the Apostle's mind, and of the burdened feeling under which this journey was accomplished. The expression of this feeling strikes us the more, from its contrast with all the outward circumstances of the voyage. He sailed in the finest season, by the brightest coasts, and in the fairest weather; and yet his mind was occupied with forebodings of evil from first to last; — so that a peculiar shade of sadness is thrown over the whole narration. If this be true, we should expect to find some indications of this pervading sadness in the letters written about this time; for we know how the deeper tones of feeling make themselves known in the correspondence of any man with his friends. Accordingly, we do find in *The Epistle written to the Romans* shortly before leaving Corinth, a remarkable indication of discouragement, and almost despondency, when he asked the Christians at Rome to pray that, on his arrival in Jerusalem, he might be delivered from the Jews who hated him, and be well received by those Christians who disregarded his authority.[3] The depressing anxiety with which he thus looked forward to the journey would not be diminished, when the very moment of his departure from *Corinth* was beset by a Jewish plot against his life.[4] And we find the cloud of gloom, which thus gathered at the first, increasing and becoming darker as we advance. At *Philippi* and at *Troas*, indeed, no direct intimation is given of coming calamities;

[1] See pp. 217, 218.

[2] See p. 233.

[3] Rom. xv. 31. We should remember that he had two causes of apprehension, — one arising from the Jews, who persecuted him everywhere, — the other from the Judaising Christians, who sought to depreciate his apostolic authority.

[4] See p. 207.

but it is surely no fancy which sees a foreboding shadow thrown over that midnight meeting, where death so suddenly appeared among those that were assembled there with many lights in the upper chamber, while the Apostle seemed unable to intermit his discourse, as "ready to depart on the morrow." For indeed at Miletus he said, that already "*in every city*"[1] the spirit had admonished him that bonds and imprisonment were before him. At *Miletus* it is clear that the heaviness of spirit, under which he started, had become a confirmed anticipation of evil. When he wrote to Rome, he hoped to be delivered from the danger he had too much reason to fear. Now his fear predominates over hope[2]; and he looks forward, sadly but calmly, to some imprisonment not far distant. At *Tyre*, the first sounds that he hears on landing are the echo of his own thoughts. He is met by the same voice of warning, and the same bitter trial for himself and his friends. At *Cæsarea* his vague forebodings of captivity are finally made decisive and distinct, and he has a last struggle with the remonstrances of those whom he loved. Never had he gone to Jerusalem without a heart full of emotion,—neither in those early years, when he came an enthusiastic boy from Tarsus to the school of Gamaliel,—nor on his return from Damascus, after the greatest change that could have passed over an inquisitor's mind,—nor when he went with Barnabas from Antioch to the council, which was to decide an anxious controversy. Now he had much new experience of the insidious progress of error, and of the sinfulness even of the converted. Yet his trust in God did not depend on the faithfulness of man; and he went to Jerusalem calmly and resolutely, though doubtful of his reception among the Christian brethren, and not knowing what would happen on the morrow.

[1] See p. 223.

[2] Acts xx. 23. should be closely compared with Rom. xv. 30, 31. See also the note above ὃτι δεδεμένος τῷ πνεύματι. St. Paul seems to have suffered extremely both from the anticipation and the experience of *imprisonment*.

CHAPTER XXI.

Τὸν ἄνδρα δήσουσιν εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ παραδώσουσιν εἰς χεῖρας ἐθνῶν. — Acts xxi. 11.

RECEPTION AT JERUSALEM. — ASSEMBLING OF THE PRESBYTERS. — ADVICE GIVEN TO ST. PAUL. — THE FOUR NAZARITES. — ST. PAUL SEIZED AT THE FESTIVAL. — THE TEMPLE AND THE GARRISON. — *HEBREW SPEECH ON THE STAIRS.* — THE CENTURION AND THE CHIEF CAPTAIN. — ST. PAUL BEFORE THE SANHEDRIN. — THE PHARISEES AND SADDUCEES. — VISION IN THE CASTLE. — CONSPIRACY. — ST. PAUL'S NEPHEW. — LETTER OF CLAUDIUS LYSIAS TO FELIX. — NIGHT JOURNEY TO ANTIPATRIS. — CÆSAREA.

"WHEN we were come to Jerusalem, the Brethren received us gladly." Such is St. Luke's description of the welcome which met the Apostle of the Gentiles on his arrival in the metropolis of Judaism. So we shall find afterwards[1] "the brethren" hailing his approach to Rome, and "coming to meet him as far as Appii Forum." Thus, wherever he went, or whatever might be the strength of hostility and persecution which dogged his footsteps, he found some Christian hearts who loved the Glad-tidings which he preached, and loved himself as the messenger of the Grace of God.

The Apostle's spirit, which was much depressed, as we have seen[2], by anticipations of coldness and distrust on the part of the Church at Jerusalem, must have been lightened by his kind reception. He seems to have spent the evening of his arrival with these sympathising brethren; but on the morrow, a more formidable ordeal awaited him. He must encounter the assembled Presbyters of the Church; and he might well doubt whether even the substantial proof of loving interest in their welfare, of which he was the bearer, would overcome the antipathy with which (as he was fully aware) too many of them regarded him. The experiment, however, must be tried; for this was the very end of his coming to Jerusalem at all, at a time when his heart called him to

[1] Οἱ ἀδελφοί (Acts xxviii. 15.), the same expression in both cases. This is sufficient to refute the cavils which have been made, as though this verse (xxi. 17) implied a unanimous cordiality on the part of the Church at Jerusalem.

[2] See the preceding chapter, pp. 207. 223—225. 236. 240. 242.

Rome.[1] His purpose was to endeavour to set himself right with the Church of Jerusalem, to overcome the hostile prejudices which had already so much impeded his labours, and to endeavour, by the force of Christian love and forbearance, to win the hearts of those whom he regarded, in spite of all their weaknesses and errors, as brethren in Christ Jesus. Accordingly, when the morning came[2], the Presbyters or Elders of the Church were called together by James[3], (who, as we have before mentioned, presided over the Church of Jerusalem,) to receive Paul and his fellow-travellers, the messengers of the Gentile Churches. We have already seen how carefully St. Paul had guarded himself from the possibility of suspicion in the administration of his trust, by causing deputies to be elected by the several Churches whose alms he bore, as joint trustees with himself of the fund collected. These deputies now entered together with him[4] into the assembly of the Elders, and the offering was presented,—a proof of love from the Churches of the Gentiles to the mother Church, whence their spiritual blessings had been derived.

The travellers were received with that touching symbol of brotherhood, the kiss of peace[5], which was exchanged between the Christians of those days on every occasion of public as well as private meeting. There the main business of the assembly was commenced by an address from St. Paul. This was not the first occasion on which he had been called to take a similar part, in the same city, and before the same audience. Our thoughts are naturally carried back to the days of the Apostolic Council, when he first declared to the Church of Jerusalem the Gospel which he preached among the Gentiles, and the great things which God had wrought thereby.[6] The majority of the Church had then, under the influence of the Spirit of God, been brought over to his side, and had ratified his views by their decree. But the battle was not yet won; he had still to contend against the same foes with the same weapons.

We are told that he now gave a detailed account[7] of all that "God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry" since he last parted from Jerusalem four years before.[8] The foundation of the great and flourishing Church of Ephesus doubtless furnished the main interest of his narrative; but he would

[1] See Acts xix. 21., Rom. i. 10—15., xv. 22—29.

[2] Τῇ ἐπιούσῃ, v. 18.

[3] See Vol. I. p. 231.

[4] Ὁ Παῦλος σὺν ἡμῖν. ib.

[5] So we understand ἀσπασάμενος αὐτούς, v. 19. See 1 Thess. v. 26., and the note, Vol. I. p. 427.

[6] See Vol. I. p. 230. &c.

[7] Καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον, v. 19.

[8] He had then endeavoured to reach Jerusalem by the feast of Pentecost (Acts xviii. 21., and see Wieseler), as on the present occasion.

also dwell on the progress of the several Churches in Phrygia, Galatia, and other parts of Asia Minor, and likewise those in Macedonia and Achaia, from whence he was just returned. In such a discourse, he could scarcely avoid touching on subjects which would excite painful feelings, and rouse bitter prejudice in many of his audience. He could hardly speak of Galatia without mentioning the attempted perversion of his converts there. He could not enter into the state of Corinth without alluding to the emissaries from Palestine, who had introduced confusion and strife among the Christians of that city. Yet we cannot doubt that St. Paul, with that graceful courtesy which distinguished both his writings and his speeches, softened all that was disagreeable, and avoided what was personally offensive to his audience, and dwelt, as far as he could, on topics in which all present would agree. Accordingly, we find that the majority of the assembled Elders were favourably impressed by his address, and by the tidings which he brought of the progress of the Gospel. The first act of the assembly was to glorify God for the wonders He had wrought.[1] They joined in solemn thanksgiving with one accord; and the Amen (1 Cor. xiv. 16.), which followed the utterance of thanks and praise from apostolic lips, was swelled by many voices.

Thus the hope expressed by St. Paul on a former occasion[2], concerning the result of this visit to Jerusalem, was in a measure fulfilled. But beneath this superficial show of harmony there lurked elements of discord, which threatened to disturb it too soon. We have already had occasion to remark upon the peculiar composition of the Church at Jerusalem, and we have seen that a Pharasaic faction was sheltered in its bosom, which continually strove to turn Christianity into a sect of Judaism. We have seen that this faction had recently sent emissaries into the Gentile Churches, and had endeavoured to alienate the minds of St. Paul's converts from their converter. These men were restless agitators, animated by the bitterest sectarian spirit, and although they were numerically a small party, yet we know the power of a turbulent minority. But besides these Judaizing zealots, there was a large proportion of the Christians at Jerusalem, whose Christianity, though more sincere than that of those just mentioned, was yet very weak and imperfect. The "many thousands of Jews which believed," had by no means all attained to the fulness of Christian faith. Many of them still knew only a Christ after the flesh,—a Saviour of Israel,—a

[1] Οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐδοξαζον τὸν Θεόν, v. 20.

[2] 2 Cor. ix. 12.

Jewish Messiah. Their minds were in a state of transition between the Law and the Gospel, and it was of great consequence not to shock their prejudices too rudely, lest they should be tempted to make shipwreck of their faith, and renounce their Christianity altogether. Their prejudices were most wisely consulted in things indifferent by St. James; who accommodated himself in all points to the strict requirements of the law, and thus disarmed the hostility of the Judaizing bigots. He was, indeed, divinely ordained to be the Apostle of this *transition-Church*. Had its councils been less wisely guided, had the Gospel of St. Paul been really repudiated by the Church of Jerusalem, it is difficult to estimate the evil which might have resulted. This class of Christians was naturally very much influenced by the declamation of the more violent partizans of Judaism. Their feelings would be easily excited by an appeal to their Jewish patriotism. They might without difficulty be roused to fury against one whom they were taught to regard as a despiser of the Law, and a reviler of the customs of their forefathers. Against St. Paul their dislike had been long and artfully fostered; and they would from the first have looked on him perhaps with some suspicion, as not being, like themselves, a Hebrew of the Holy City, but only a Hellenist of the Dispersion.

Such being the composition of the great body of the Church, we cannot doubt that the same elements were to be found amongst the Elders also. And this will explain the resolution to which the assembly came, at the close of their discussion on the matters brought before them. They began by calling St. Paul's attention to the strength of the Judaical party among the Christians of Jerusalem. They told him that the majority even of the Christian Church had been taught to hate his very name, and to believe that he went about the world, "teaching the Jews to forsake Moses, saying that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs." They further observed that it was impossible his arrival should remain unknown; his renown was too great to allow him to be concealed: his public appearance in the streets of Jerusalem would attract a crowd[1] of curious spectators, most of whom would be violently hostile. It was therefore of importance that he should do something to disarm this hostility, and to refute the calumnies which had been circulated concerning

[1] Πλῆθος, v. 22. Not "*the* multitude," nor *the laity of the Church*, as some have imagined. Were such the meaning, we should have had τὸ πλῆθος. There seems to be some doubt about the genuineness of the clause. See Tischendorf.

him. The plan they recommended was, that he should take charge of four Jewish Christians[1], who were under a Nazaritic vow, accompany them to the Temple, and pay for them the necessary expenses attending the termination of their vow. Agrippa I., not long before, had given the same public expression of his sympathy with the Jews, on his arrival from Rome to take possession of his throne.[2] And what the King had done for popularity, it was felt that the Apostle might do for the sake of truth and peace. His friends thought that he would thus, in the most public manner, exhibit himself as an observer of the Mosaic ceremonies, and refute the accusations of his enemies. They added that, by so doing, he would not countenance the errors of those who sought to impose the Law upon Gentile converts; because it had been already decided by the Church of Jerusalem, that the ceremonial observances of the Law were not obligatory on the Gentiles.[3]

It is remarkable that this conclusion is attributed expressly, in the Scriptural narrative, not to James (who presided over the meeting), but to the assembly itself. The lurking shade of distrust implied in the terms of the admonition, was certainly not shared by that great Apostle, who had long ago given to St. Paul the right hand of fellowship. We have already seen indications that, however strict might be the Judaical observances of St. James, they did not satisfy the Judaizing party at Jerusalem, who attempted, under the sanction of his name[4], to teach doctrines and enforce practices of which he disapproved. The partizans of this faction, indeed, are called by St. Paul (while anticipating this very visit to Jerusalem), "the *disobedient* party."[5] It would seem that their influence was not unfelt in the discussion which terminated in the resolution recorded. And though St. James acquiesced (as did St. Paul) in the advice given, it appears not to have originated with himself.

The counsel, however, though it may have been suggested by suspicious prejudice, or even by designing enmity, was not in itself unwise. St. Paul's great object (as we have seen) in this visit to Jerusalem, was to conciliate the Church of Palestine. If he could win over that Church to the truth, or even could avert its open hostility to himself, he would be doing more for the diffusion of Christianity than even by the conversion of Ephesus. Every

[1] That these Nazarites were Christians is evident from the words εἰσὶν ἡμῖν.

[2] Εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐλθὼν χαριστηρίους ἐξεπλήρωσε θυσίας, οὐδὲν τῶν κατὰ νόμον παραλιπών· διὸ καὶ Ναζιραίων ξυρᾶσθαι διέταξε μάλα συχνούς. Joseph. Ant. xix. 6. 1.

[3] v. 25., comparing xv. 28.

[4] Acts xv. See Gal. ii. 12.

[5] Rom. xv. 31. τῶν ἀπειθούντων.

lawful means for such an end he was ready gladly to adopt. His own principles, stated by himself in his Epistles, required this of him. He had recently declared that every compliance in ceremonial observances should be made, rather than cast a stumbling-block in a brother's way.[1] He had laid it down as his principle of action, to become a Jew to Jews that he might gain the Jews; as willingly as he became a Gentile to Gentiles, that he might gain the Gentiles.[2] He had given it as a rule, that no man should change his external observances because he became a Christian; that the Jew should remain a Jew in things outward.[3] Nay more, he himself observed the Jewish festivals, had previously countenanced his friends in the practice of Nazaritic vows[4], and had circumcised Timothy the son of a Jewess. So false was the charge that he had forbidden the Jews to circumcise their children.[5] In fact, the great doctrine of St. Paul concerning the worthlessness of ceremonial observances, rendered him equally ready to practise as to forsake them. A mind so truly Catholic as his, was necessarily free from any repugnance to mere outward observances; a repugnance equally superstitious with the formalism which clings to ritual. In his view, circumcision was nothing, and uncircumcision was nothing; but faith, which worketh by love. And this love rendered him willing to adopt the most burdensome ceremonies, if by so doing he could save a brother from stumbling. Hence he willingly complied with the advice of the assembly, and thereby, while he removed the prejudices of its more ingenuous members, doubtless exasperated the factious partizans who had hoped for his refusal.

Thus the meeting ended amicably, with no open manifestation of that hostile feeling towards St. Paul which lurked in the bosoms of some who were present. On the next day, which was the great feast of Pentecost[6], St. Paul

[1] Rom. xiv.

[2] 1 Cor. vii. 17—19. Such passages are the best refutation of Baur, who endeavours to represent the conduct here assigned to St. Paul as inconsistent with his teaching.

[3] See the discussion in Vol. I. pp. 286—288.

[4] Acts xviii. 18., which we conceive to refer to Aquila. (See Vol. I. p. 453.) But many interpreters of the passage think that St. Paul himself made the vow. We cannot possibly assent to Mr. Lewin's view, that St. Paul was still, on his arrival at Jerusalem, under the obligation of a vow taken in consequence of his escape at Ephesus.

[5] Baur argues that this charge was true, because the logical inference from St. Paul's doctrines was the uselessness of circumcision. But he might as well say that the logical inference from the decree of the council of Jerusalem was the uselessness of circumcision. The continued observance of the law was of course only transitional.

[6] Τῇ ἐχομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ, v. 26. We here adopt Wieseler's view of the *vexata quæstio* concerning the ἑπτὰ ἡμέραι (v. 27.). His arguments will be found in his *Chronologie*, pp. 99—113. This view entirely removes the difficulty arising out of the "*twelve days*," of which St. Paul speaks

proceeded with the four Christian Nazarites to the temple. It is necessary here to explain the nature of their vow, and of the office which he was to perform for them. It was customary among the Jews for those who had received deliverance from any great peril, or who from other causes desired publicly to testify their dedication to God, to take upon themselves the vow of a Nazarite, the regulations of which are prescribed in the sixth chapter of the book of Numbers.[1] In that book no rule is laid down as to the time during which this life of ascetic rigour was to continue[2]: but we learn from the Talmud[3] and Josephus[4] that thirty days was at least a customary period. During this time the Nazarite was bound to abstain from wine, and to suffer his hair to grow uncut. At the termination of the period, he was bound to present himself in the temple, with certain offerings, and his hair was then cut off and burnt upon the altar. The offerings required[5] were

(xxiv. 11.) in his speech before Felix. Yet it cannot be denied that, on reading consecutively the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh verses of the twenty-first chapter, it is difficult (whether or not we identify *τῶν ἡμέρων τοῦ ἁγνίσμου* with *αἱ ἑπτὰ ἡμέραι*) to believe that the *same day* is referred to in each verse. And when we come to xxiv. 11. we shall see that other modes of reckoning the time are admissible.

[1] "When either man or woman shall separate themselves to vow a vow of a Nazarite, to separate themselves unto the Lord; he shall separate himself from wine and strong drink. . . . . All the days of the vow of his separation there shall no razor come upon his head: until the days be fulfilled, in the which he separateth himself unto the Lord, he shall be holy and shall let the locks of the hair of his head grow." Numb. vi. 2—5.

[2] Sometimes the obligation was for life, as in the cases of Sampson, Samuel, and John the Baptist. That "seven days" in the instance before us was the whole duration of the vow, seems impossible, for this simple reason, that so short a time could produce no perceptible effect on the hair. Hemsen makes a mistake here in referring to the "seven days" in Numb. vi. 6., which contemplates only the exceptional case of defilement in the course of the vow.

[3] Tract. Nazir. (Vol. iii. pp. 148, 149. of the translation of the Mischna by Surenhusius.)

[4] After mentioning Berenice's vow (B. J. ii. 15. 1.) Josephus continues, *Τοὺς γὰρ ἢ νόσῳ καταπονουμένους ἤ τισιν ἄλλαις ἀνάγκαις ἔθος εὔχεσθαι πρὸ τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν ἧς ἀποδώσειν μέλλοιεν θυσίας οἴνου τε ἀφέξεσθαι καὶ ξυρήσεσθαι τὰς κόμας.*

[5] "And this is the law of the Nazarite, when the days of his separation are fulfilled: he shall be brought unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation; and he shall offer his offering unto the Lord, one he lamb of the first year without blemish for a burnt offering, and one ewe lamb of the first year without blemish for a sin offering, and one ram without blemish for peace offerings, and a basket of unleavened bread, cakes of fine flour mingled with oil, and wafers of unleavened bread anointed with oil, and their meat offering, and their drink offerings. And the priest shall bring them before the Lord, and shall offer his sin offering and his burnt offering: and he shall offer the ram for a sacrifice of peace offerings unto the Lord, with the basket of unleavened bread: the priest shall offer also his meat offering, and his drink offering. And the Nazarite shall shave the head of his separation at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and shall take the hair of the head of his separation, and put it in the fire which is under the sacrifice of the peace offerings." Numb. vi. 13—18.

beyond the means of the very poor, and consequently it was thought an act of piety for a rich man[1] to pay the necessary expenses, and thus enable his poorer countrymen to complete their vow. St. Paul was far from rich; he gained his daily bread by the work of his own hands; and we may therefore naturally ask how he was able to take upon himself the expenses of these four Nazarites. The answer probably is, that the assembled Elders had requested him to apply to this purpose a portion of the fund which he had placed at their disposal. However this may be, he now made himself responsible for these expenses, and accompanied the Nazarites to the temple, after having first performed the necessary purifications together with them.[2] On entering the temple, he announced to the priests that the period of the Nazaritic vow which his friends had taken was accomplished, and he waited[3] within the sacred enclosure till the necessary offerings were made for each of them, and their hair cut off and burnt in the sacred fire.

He might well have hoped, by thus complying with the legal ceremonial, to conciliate those, at least, who were only hostile to him because they believed him hostile to their national worship. And, so far as the great body of the Church at Jerusalem was concerned, he probably succeeded. But the celebration of the festival had attracted multitudes to the Holy City, and the temple was thronged with worshippers from every land; and amongst these were some of those Asiatic Jews who had been defeated by his arguments in the Synagogue of Ephesus, and irritated against him during the last few years daily more and more, by the continual growth of a Christian Church in that city, formed in great part of converts from among the Jewish proselytes. These men, whom a zealous feeling of nationality had attracted from their distant home to the

[1] Compare the case of Agrippa mentioned above.

[2] Ἁγνίσθητι σὺν αὐτοῖς (24.), ἁγνισθεὶς εἰσῆει (26.), εὗρόν με ἡγνισμένον (xxiv. 18.). We do not agree with those commentators who interpret the expression ἁγνίσθητι to mean "dedicate thyself as a Nazarite along with them." We doubt whether it could bear this meaning. At all events the other is by far the most natural and obvious. Compare the use of ἁγνίζομαι in Numbers xix. 12. (LXX.).

[3] The obvious translation of v. 26. seems to be "He entered into the temple, giving public notice that the days of purification were fulfilled, [and staid there] till the offering for each one of the Nazarites was brought." The emphatic force of ἑνὸς ἑκάστου should be noticed. Publicity is implied in διαγγέλλων. The persons to whom notice was given were the priests.

This interpretation harmonises with Wieseler's view of the whole subject. If we believe that several days were yet to elapse before the expiration of the Nazaritic ceremonies, we must translate, with Mr. Humphry — "making it known that the days of separation which must be fulfilled before the offering should be made, were in the course of completion." So it is taken by De Wette, who acknowledges the solecism in προσηνέχθη.

metropolis of their faith, now beheld, where they least expected to find him, the apostate Israelite, who had opposed their teaching and seduced their converts. An opportunity of revenge which they could not have hoped for in the Gentile city where they dwelt, had suddenly presented itself. They sprang upon their enemy, and shouted while they held him fast, "Men of Israel, help. This is the man that teacheth all men every where against the People and the Law, and this Place."[1] Then as the crowd rushed tumultuously towards the spot, they excited them yet further by accusing Paul of introducing Greeks into the Holy Place, which was profaned by the presence of a Gentile. The vast multitude which was assembled on the spot, and in the immediate neighbourhood, was excited to madness by these tidings, which spread rapidly through the crowd. The pilgrims who flocked at such seasons to Jerusalem were of course the most zealous of their nation; very Hebrews of the Hebrews. We may imagine the horror and indignation which would fill their minds when they heard that an apostate from the faith of Israel had been seized in the very act of profaning the Temple at this holy season. A furious multitude rushed upon the Apostle; and it was only their reverence for the holy place which preserved him from being torn to pieces on the spot. They hurried him out of the sacred enclosure, and assailed him with violent blows.[2] Their next course might have been to stone him or to hurl him over the precipice into the valley below. They were already in the Court of the Gentiles, and the heavy gates[3] which separated the inner from the outer enclosure were shut by the Levites,—when an unexpected interruption prevented the murderous purpose.

It becomes desirable here to give a more particular description than we have yet done of the Temple-area and the sanctuary which it enclosed. Some reference has been made to this subject in the account of St. Stephen's martyrdom (Vol. I. p. 75.), especially to that "Stone Chamber"—the Hall Gazith—where the Sanhedrin held their solemn conclave. Soon we shall see St. Paul himself summoned before this tribunal, and hear his voice in that hall where he had listened to the eloquence of the first martyr. But meantime other events came in rapid succession: for the better understanding of which it is well to form to ourselves a clear notion of the localities in which they occurred.

[1] "*This place*,"—τοῦ τόπου τούτου, v. 28. "*This holy place*,"—τὸν ἅγιον τόπον τοῦτον, ib. We should compare here the accusation against Stephen, vi. 13. Οὐ παύεται ῥήματα λαλῶν κατὰ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἁγίου. The two cases are in many respects parallel. We cannot but believe that Paul must have remembered Stephen, and felt as though this attack on himself were a retribution. See below on xxii. 20. Cf. Vol. I. p. 75., also p. 209.

[2] See Acts xxi. 31, 32.

[3] For an account of these gates, see below.

The position of the Temple on the eastern side of Jerusalem, the relation of Mount Moriah to the other eminences on which the city was built, the valley which separated it from the higher summit of Mount Zion, and the deeper ravine which formed a chasm between the whole city and the Mount of Olives, — these facts of general topography are too well known to require elucidation.[1] On the other hand, when we turn to the description of the Temple-area itself, and that which it contained, we are met with considerable difficulties. It does not, however, belong to our present task to reconcile the statements in Josephus[2] and the Talmud[3] with each other and with present appearances. Nor shall we attempt to trace the architectural changes by which the scene has been modified, in the long interval between the time when the Patriarch built the altar on Moriah for his mysterious sacrifice[4], and our own day, when the same spot[5] is the "wailing-place" of those who are his children after the flesh, but not yet the heirs of his faith. Keeping aloof from all difficult details, and withdrawing ourselves from the consideration of those events which have invested this hill with an interest unknown to any other spot on the earth, we confine ourselves to the simple task of depicting the Temple of Herod, as it was when St. Paul was arrested by the infuriated Jews.

That rocky summit, which was wide enough for the threshing-floor of Araunah[6], was levelled after David's death, and enlarged by means of laborious substructions, till it presented the appearance of one broad uniform area.[7] On

[1] In our account of the Temple, we have used Dr. Robinson's Researches (vol. i.), the Memoir on Jerusalem, with the Plan of the Ordnance Survey, by Mr. Williams, published separately, 1849. (We have not had the opportunity of consulting the Second Edition of "The Holy City," of which this Memoir properly forms a part.) Schulz's "Jerusalem," with Kiepert's Map, Berlin, 1845 (from which Map our own is taken, Vol. I. p. 80. Compare the notes, pp. 138. 140.); also the Articles on the Temple in Winer's Realwörterbuch and Kitto's Cyclopedia, with Lightfoot's treatise on the subject.

[2] The two places in Josephus where Herod's temple is described at length are Ant. xv. 11. and B. J. v. 5. See also Ant. xx. 9. 7.

[3] The tract Middoth (Measures) in the Mischna treats entirely of this subject. It will be found in the fifth volume of the Latin translation by Surenhusius. It was also published with notes by L'Empereur (small quarto, Leyden, 1630). This work is referred to below. When we quote the tract itself, the references are to the pages in Surenhusius.

[4] Gen. xxii.

[5] The situation of the place is marked (17) on the Map. See Robinson, i. 350. "It is the nearest point in which the Jews can venture to approach their ancient temple; and, fortunately for them, it is sheltered from observation by the narrowness of the lane and the dead walls around." It seems that the custom is mentioned even by Benjamin of Tudela in the twelfth century.

[6] 1 Chron. xxi. 18. 2 Chron. iii. 1.

[7] See the description of this work in Josephus, B. J. v. 5. 1. Ant. xv. 11. 3.

this level space the temples of Solomon and Zerubbabel were successively built: and in the time of the Apostles there were remains of the former work in the vast stones which formed the supporting wall on the side of the valley of Jehosaphat[1], and of the latter in the eastern gate, which in its name and its appearance continued to be a monument of the Persian power.[2] The architectural arrangements of Herod's temple were, in their general form, similar to the two which had preceded it. When we think of the Jewish sanctuary, whether in its earlier or later periods, our impulse is to imagine to ourselves some building like a synagogue or a church: but the first effort of our imagination should be to realize the appearance of that wide open space, which is spoken of by the prophets as the "Outward Court" or the "Court of the Lord's House[3];" and is named by Josephus the "Outer Temple," and both in the Apocrypha and the Talmud, the "Mountain of the House."[4] That which was the "House" itself, or the Temple, properly so called[5], was erected on the highest of a series of successive terraces, which rose in an isolated mass from the centre of the Court, or rather nearer to its north-western corner.[6]

In form the Outer Court was a square; a strong wall enclosed it; the sides corresponded to the four quarters of the heavens, and each was a stadium or a furlong in length.[7] Its pavement of stone was of various colours[8]: and it was surrounded by a covered colonnade, the roof of which was of costly cedar, and was supported on lofty and massive columns of the Corinthian order, and of

[1] The lower courses of these immense stones still remain, and are described by all travellers.

[2] The Shushan Gate, which had a sculptured representation of the city of Susa, and was preserved from the time of Zerubbabel. Middoth, p. 326. That which is now called the *Golden Gate*, "a highly ornamental double gateway of Roman construction," is doubtless on the same spot. See the Map.

[3] Ezek. xiv. 17., Jer. xix. 12., xxvi. 2. In 2 Chron. iv. 9. it is called the Great Court.

[4] The term with which we are most familiar, —the Court of the Gentiles,—is never applied to this space by Jewish writers.

[5] In the LXX. we find οἶκος and ναὸς used for that which was properly the Temple. The expression τὸ ἱερὸν, in the N. T., is a general term, inclusive of the whole series of courts. So it is used by Josephus, who speaks of the outer court as τὸ πρῶτον ἱερὸν, τὸ ἔξωθεν ἱερόν, while he uses ναὸς for the Temple itself.

[6] In Middoth it is distinctly said that the space from the east and south is greater than that from the west and north. "Mons ædis erat quadratus, ita ut singula latera essent cubitorum quingentorum. Maximum spatium erat ab austro; proximum ei ab oriente; tertium ab aquilone; minumum vero ab occidente. Eo loco, ubi majus erat spatium, major erat ejus usus," p. 334. It appears that Hirt (whose work on the Temple we have not been able to consult) erroneously places the Temple in the centre.

[7] We do not venture to touch the difficulties connected with the dimensions of the Temple. Josephus is inconsistent both with the Talmud and himself. In one of his estimates of the size of the whole area, the ground on which Antonia stood is included.

[8] Τὸ δὲ ὕπαιθρον ἅπαν πεποίκιλτο παντοδαπῶν λίθων κατεστρωμένον. B. J. v. 5. 2.

the whitest marble.[1] On three sides there were two rows of columns: but on the southern side the cloister deepened into a fourfold colonnade, the innermost supports of the roof being pilasters in the enclosing wall. About the south-eastern angle, where the valley was most depressed below the plateau of the Temple, we are to look for that "Porch of Solomon" (John x. 3., Acts iii. 11.) which is familiar to us in the New Testament[2]: and under the colonnades, or on the open area in the midst, were the "tables of the money-changers and the seats of them who sold doves," which turned that which was intended for a house of prayer into a "house of merchandise" (John ii. 16.), and "a den of thieves" (Matt. xxi. 13.). Free access was afforded into this wide enclosure by gates[3] on each of the four sides, one of which on the east was called the Royal Gate, and was perhaps identical with the "Beautiful Gate" of Sacred History[4], while another on the west was connected with the crowded streets of Mount Zion by a bridge over the intervening valley.[5]

Nearer (as we have seen) to the north-western corner than the centre of the square, arose that series of enclosed terraces on the summit of which was the sanctuary. These more sacred limits were fenced off by a low balustrade of stone, with columns at intervals, on which inscriptions in Greek and Latin warned all Gentiles against advancing beyond them on pain of death.[6] It was

[1] Διπλαῖ μὲν αἱ στοαὶ πᾶσαι, κιόνες δ' αὐταῖς μονόλιθοι λευκοτάτης μαρμάρου, κεδρίνοις δὲ φατνώμασιν ὠρόφωντο. Ibid. Κιονοκράνων αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸν Κορίνθιον τρόπον ἐπεξειργασμένων γλυφαῖς, ἔμπληξιν ἐμποιούσαις διὰ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς μεγαλουργίαν. Ant. xv. 11. 5. He adds that the height of the columns was 25 cubits (?), and their number 162, while each column was so wide that it required three men with outstretched arms to embrace it.

[2] See Jos. Ant. xx. 9. 7.

[3] The statements of Josephus and Middoth with regard to the gates into the outer court are absolutely irreconcileable.

[4] The Shushan Gate, mentioned above.

[5] The supposed remains of this bridge, with some of the different theories respecting them, have been alluded to before. See Vol. I. pp. 29, 30. and the engraving.

[6] Δρύφακτος περιβέβλητο λίθινος, τρίπηχυς μὲν ὕψος, πάνυ δὲ χαριέντως διειργασμένος· ἐν αὐτῷ δ' εἱστήκεσαν ἐξ ἴσου διαστήματος στῆλαι, τὸν τῆς ἁγνείας προσημαίνουσαι νόμον, αἱ μὲν Ἑλληνικοῖς, αἱ δὲ Ῥωμαικοῖς γράμμασι, μὴ δεῖν ἀλλόφυλον ἐντὸς τοῦ ἁγίου παριέναι· τὸ γὰρ δεύτερον ἱερὸν, ἅγιον ἐκαλεῖτο. Joseph. B. J. v. 5. 2. In the Antiquities (xv. 11. 7.) he does not say that the inscription was in different languages, but he adds that it announced death as the penalty of transgression. [Τὸν δεύτερον περίβολον] περιεῖχε ἑρκίον λιθίνον δρυφάκτου, γραφῇ κώλυον εἰσιέναι τὸν ἀλλοεθνῆ, θανατικῆς ἀπειλουμένης τῆς ζημίας. A similar statement occurs in Philo de Virt. Θάνατος ἀπαραίτητος ὥρισται κατὰ τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἐντὸς περιβόλους παρελθόντων (δέχονται γὰρ εἰς τοὺς ἐξωτέρω τοὺς πανταχόθεν πάντας) τῶν οὐχ ὁμοεθνῶν. Vol. II. p. 577. Ed. Mangey. This fence is mentioned again by Josephus in a striking passage, where Titus says to the Jews: Ἆρ' οὐχ ὑμεῖς, ὦ μιαρώτατοι, τὸν δρύφακτον τοῦτον προὐβάλεσθε τῶν ἁγίων; οὐχ ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ στήλας διεστήσατε γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ ἡμετέροις κεχαραγμένας, ἃ μηδένα τὸ γείσιον ὑπερβαίνειν παραγγέλλει; οὐχ ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὺς ὑπερβάντας

within this boundary that St. Paul was accused of having brought his Heathen companions. Besides this balustrade, a separation was formed by a flight of fourteen steps leading up to the first platform[1], which in its western portion was a narrow terrace of fifteen feet wide round the walls of the innermost sanctuary, — while the eastern portion expanded into a second court, called the *Court of the Women.*[2] By this term we are not to understand that it was exclusively devoted to that sex, but that no women were allowed to advance beyond it. This court seems to have contained the Treasury[3] (Mark xii. 41., Luke xxi. 1.) and various chambers, of which that at the south-eastern corner should be mentioned here, for there the Nazarites performed their vows[4]; and the whole Court was surrounded by a wall of its own, with gates on each side, — the easternmost of which was of Corinthian brass, with folding-doors and strong bolts and bars, requiring the force of twenty men to close them for the night.[5] We conceive that it was the closing of these doors by the Levites, which is so pointedly mentioned by St. Luke (Acts xxi. 30.): and we must suppose that St. Paul had been first seized within them, and was then dragged down the flight of steps into the Outer Court.

ὑμῖν ἀναιρεῖν ἐπετρέψαμεν, κἂν Ῥωμαίων τις ᾖ; B. J. vi. 2. 4. From this it appears that the Jews had full permission from the Romans to kill even a Roman, if he went beyond the boundary. [These inscriptions have been alluded to before in this work, Vol. I. p. 3.]

[1] With this platform begins what is called τὸ δεύτερον ἱερὸν by Josephus. Καὶ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα μὲν βαθμοῖς ἦν ἀναβατὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου· μετὰ δὲ τοὺς δεκατέσσαρας βαθμοὺς τὸ μέχρι τοῦ τείχους διάστημα πηχῶν ἦν δέκα, πᾶν ἰσόπεδον. B. J. v. 5. 2. In Middoth we find the following: "Ab interiori parte erat *cancellata sepes*, altitudine decem palmarum, cui inerant effracturæ tredecim quas effregerunt reges Græciæ. . . . . Citra illam erat *intermurale* decem cubitorum latitudine, ubi duodecim gradus," 335. Leaving aside the discordance as to numbers, we may remark that we are left in doubt as to whether the balustrade was above or below the steps.

[2] Ἡ γυναικωνῖτις. B. J. v. 5. 2. See Ant. xv. 11. 5.

[3] In Joseph. B. J. v. 5. 2. we find γαζοφυλάκια in the plural. Compare vi. 5. 2. L'Empereur (p. 47.) places the treasury, or treasuries, in the wall of the Court of the Women, but facing the Outer Court.

[4] "Ad ortum brumalem erat atrium Nazyræorum: quod ibi Nazyræi coquerent eucharistica sua, et detonderent capillos suos, eosque ollæ submitterent." Middoth, p. 341.

[5] We can hardly doubt that this is the gate mentioned by Josephus, B. J. vi. 5. 3.: Ἡ ἀνατολικὴ πύλη τοῦ ἐνδοτέρω, χαλκῆ μὲν οὖσα καὶ στιβαρωτάτη, κλειομένη δὲ περὶ δείλην μόλις ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν εἴκοσι, καὶ μοχλοῖς μὲν ἐπερειδομένη σιδηροδέτοις, καταπῆγας δ' ἔχουσα βαθυτάτους εἰς τὸν οὐδὸν ὄντα διηνεκοῦς λίθου καθιεμένους. And this, we think, must be identical with that of B. J. v. 8. 3. Μία ἡ ἔξωθεν τοῦ νεὼ Κορινθίου χαλκοῦ. This again is determined to be the gate by which the Court of the Women was *entered from the east*, by Ant. xv. 11.; Εἶχεν ὁ ἐντὸς περίβολος κατὰ ἡλίου βολὰς ἕνα τὸν μέγαν, δι' οὗ παρήειμεν ἁγνοὶ μετὰ γυναικῶν. Such is the position assigned to the gate of Corinthian brass by L'Empereur and Winer. Others (Lightfoot, De Wette, Williams) make it the *western* gate of the Court of the Women.

The interest, then, of this particular moment is to be associated with the eastern entrance of the Inner from the Outer Temple. But to complete our description, we must now cross the Court of the Women to its western gate. The Holy Place and the Holy of Holies were still within and above the spaces we have mentioned. Two courts yet intervened between the court last described and the Holy House itself. The first was the *Court of Israel*, the ascent to which was by a flight of fifteen semicircular steps[1]; the second, the *Court of the Priests*, separated from the former by a low balustrade.[2] Where these spaces bordered on each other, to the south, was the hall Gazith[3], the meeting-place of the Sanhedrin, partly in one court, and partly in the other. A little further towards the north were all those arrangements which we are hardly able to associate with the thought of worship, but which daily reiterated in the sight of the Israelites that awful truth that "without shedding of blood there is no remission," — the rings at which the victims were slaughtered, — the beams and hooks from which they were suspended when dead, — and the marble tables at which the entrails were washed[4]: — here, above all, was the *Altar*, the very place of which has been now identified by the bore in the sacred rock of the Moslems, which corresponds exactly with the description given in the Mischna of the drain and cesspool which communicated with the sewer that ran off into the Kedron.[5]

The House itself remains to be described. It was divided into three parts, the *Vestibule*, the *Holy Place*, and the *Holy of Holies*. From the Altar and the Court of the Priests to the Vestibule was another flight of twelve steps[6], the last of the successive approaches by which the Temple was ascended from the east. The Vestibule was wider[7] than the rest of the House: its front was

[1] Βαθμοὶ δεκαπέντε πρὸς τὴν μείζονα πύλην ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν γυναικῶν διατειχίσματος ἀνῆγον. B. J. v. 5. 3. "Quindecim gradus ascendebant ex ejus medio in atrium Israëlis, respondentes quindecim gradibus qui in Psalmis occurrunt: in quibus Levitæ canebant. Non erant gradus recti, sed gyrati instar dimidii rotundæ areæ." Middoth, p. 342.

[2] The information which Josephus gives concerning these two courts (or rather two parts of one court) is scanty. Under the Court of Israel were rooms for the musical instruments of the priests. Middoth, p. 344.

[3] "In conclavi cæsi lapidis consessus magnus Israëlis sedebat, &c." Middoth, p. 378. See L'Empereur, p. 183. "Partim in atrio, partim in loco communi sive intermurali." Reference has been made before to this hall, in the narrative of Stephen's trial. Vol. I. p. 75. n. 6. See below, p. 268. Rabbinical authorities say that the boundary line of Judah and Benjamin passed between Gazith and the Holy Place.

[4] Middoth, pp. 358, 359. The position of these rings, &c. was on the north side of the altar of burnt offering, — to which the ascent was by a gradual slope on the south side.

[5] This identification is due to Prof. Willis. See Williams' Memoir, p. 95.

[6] Αὐτὸς ὁ ναὸς δώδεκα βαθμοῖς ἦν ἀναβατός.

[7] Josephus says that there were shoulders on

adorned with a golden vine of colossal proportions[1]: and it was separated by a richly-embroidered curtain or veil from the Holy Place, which contained the Table of Shew-bread, the Candlestick, and the Altar of Incense. After this was the "second veil" (Heb. ix. 3.), closing the access to the innermost shrine, which in the days of the Tabernacle had contained the golden censer and the ark of the covenant, but which in Herod's Temple was entirely empty, though still regarded as the "Holiest of All." (Ib.) The interior height of the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies was comparatively small: but above them and on each side were chambers so arranged that the general exterior effect was that of a clerestory[2] rising above aisles: and the whole was surmounted with gilded spikes[3], to prevent the birds from settling on the sacred roof.

Such is a bare outline of the general plan of the Jewish Temple. Such was the arrangement of its parts, which could be traced, as in a map, by those who looked down from the summit of the Mount of Olives, as the modern traveller looks now from the same place upon the mosque of Omar and its surrounding court. As seen from this eminence, — when the gilded front of the vestibule flashed back the rays of the sun, and all the courts glittered (to use the comparison of Josephus) with the whiteness of snow[4] — while the column of smoke rose over all, as a perpetual token of acceptable sacrifice, — and worshippers were closely crowded on the eastern steps and terraces in front of the Holy House, and pilgrims from all countries under heaven were moving through the outer court and flocking to the same point from all streets in the city, — the Temple at the time of a festival must have been a proud spectacle to the religious Jew. It must have been with sad and incredulous wonder that the four Disciples heard from Him who wept over Jerusalem, that all this magnificence

each side (ἔμπροσθεν ὥσπερ ὦμοι παρ' ἑκάτερον). Hence the Rabbis explained the use of the word Ariel or Lion in Isai. xxix. 1., inasmuch as a lion is broader in front than behind. Middoth, p. 373.

[1] "Vitis aurea expandebatur super portam templi." Middoth, p. 362. Τὰς χρυσᾶς ἀμπέλους, ἀφ' ὧν βότρυες ἀνδρομήκεις κατεκρέμαντο. Ant. xv. 11. 3. Θαῦμα καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ τῆς τέχνης τοῖς ἰδοῦσιν. B. J. v. 5. 4. "Vitis aurea Templo reperta." Tac. Hist. v. 5.

[2] Williams, p. 97.

[3] Κατὰ κορυφὴν δὲ χρυσέους ὀβελοὺς ἀνεῖχε τεθηγμένους, ὡς μή τινι προσκαθεζομένῳ μολύνοιτο τῶν ὀρνέων. B. J. v. 5. 6. From the word κορυφή we may conclude (as De Wette remarks, in his Archäologie) that the roof, like that of Greek and Roman temples, was *tectum fastigiatum*. Lightfoot (Ch. xi.) thinks that the roof had pinnacles, "as King's Colledge Chappelle in Cambridge is decked in like manner, to its great beauty:" and he adds that the roof was not flat, but rising in the middle, "as King's Colledge Chapelle may be herein a parallel also."

[4] Τοῖς εἰσαφικνουμένοις ξένοις πόρρωθεν ὅμοιος ὄρει χιόνος πλήρει κατεφαίνετο· καὶ γὰρ καθ' μὴ κεχρύσωτο λευκότατος ἦν. Ib.

was presently to pass away.[1] None but a Jew can understand the passionate enthusiasm inspired by the recollections and the glorious appearance of the national Sanctuary. And none but a Jew can understand the bitter grief and deep hatred which grew out of the degradation in which his nation was sunk at that particular time. This ancient glory was now under the shadow of an alien power. The Sanctuary was all but trodden under foot by the Gentiles. The very worship was conducted under the surveillance of Roman soldiers. We cannot conclude this account of the Temple without describing the fortress which was contiguous, and almost a part of it.

If we were to remount to the earlier history of the Temple, we might perhaps identify the tower of Antonia with the "palace" of which we read in the book of Nehemiah (ii. 8., vii. 2.). It was certainly the building which the Asmonean princes erected for their own residence under the name of Baris.[2] Afterwards rebuilt with greater strength and splendour by the first Herod, it was named by him, after his Romanising fashion, in honour of Mark Antony.[3] Its situation is most distinctly marked out by Josephus, who tells us that it was at the north-western[4] corner of the Temple-area, with the cloisters of which it communicated by means of staircases (Acts xxi. 35. 40.).[5] It is difficult, however, to define the exact extent of ground which it covered in its renewed form during the time of the Herods. There is good reason for believing that it extended along the whole northern side of the great Temple court, from the north-western corner where it abutted on the city, to the north-eastern where it was suddenly stopped by the precipice which fronted the valley; and that the tank, which is now popularly called the Pool of Bethesda, was part of the fosse which protected it on the north.[6] Though the ground on

[1] Mat. xxiv. 2, 3. Mark xiii. 2, 3. Luke xxi. 6.

[2] Joseph. Ant. xv. 11. 4.

[3] Josephus says of it:—*πάλαι μὲν Βᾶρις ὀνομαζόμενον, αὖθις δὲ ταύτης τυχὸν τῆς προσηγορίας, ἐπικρατήσαντος Ἀντωνίου, καθάπερ ἀπό τε τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Ἀγρίππα Σεβαστὴ καὶ Ἀγριππιὰς πόλεις ἕτεραι μετωνομάσθησαν.* B. J. i. 5. 4. See Vol. I. pp. 30, 31.

[4] *Ἡ δὲ Ἀντωνία κατὰ γωνίαν δύο στοῶν ἔκειτο τοῦ πρώτου ἱεροῦ, τῆς πρὸς ἑσπέραν καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄρκτον.* B. J. v. 5. 8. Elsewhere we find: *κατὰ τὴν βόρειον πλευράν.* Ant. xv. 11. 4. *Τῷ βορείῳ κλίματι τοῦ ἱεροῦ.* B. J. i. 5. 4. *Τὸ βόρειον ἐπ' αὐτῷ φρούριον.* i. 21. 1. Compare also v. 4. 2.

[5] See the next note but two for the clear description which Josephus gives of this communication between the fortress and the cloisters.

[6] This view is ably advocated by Dr. Robinson, in his account of Antonia (Res. i. pp. 431—436.), and, as Mr. Williams remarks (Memoir, p. 100.), this reservoir (the Birket Israel) may still be the Bethesda of the Gospel. See a confirmation of Dr. Robinson's hypothesis, from the observations of Mr. Walcott, Bib. Sac. i. p. 29. Compare Traill's Josephus, xlii., and Taylor's Continuation, lxxxviii. Pompey found a trench

which the tower of Antonia stood was lower than that of the Temple itself, yet it was raised to such a height, that at least the south-eastern of its four turrets[1] commanded a view of all that went on within the Temple, and thus both in position and in elevation it was in ancient Jerusalem what the Turkish governor's house is now,—whence the best view is obtained over the enclosure of the mosque of Omar. But this is an inadequate comparison. If we wish to realise the influence of this fortress in reference to political and religious interests, we must turn rather to that which is the most humiliating spectacle in Christendom, the presence of the Turkish troops at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where they are stationed to control the fury of the Greeks and Latins at the most solemn festival of the Christian year. Such was the office of the Roman troops that were quartered at the Jewish festivals in the fortress of Antonia.[2] Within its walls there were barracks for at least a thousand soldiers.[3] Not that we are to suppose that all the garrison in Jerusalem was always posted there. It is probable that the usual quarters of the "whole cohort" (Mat. xxvii. 27.), or the greater part of it, were towards the western quarter of the city, in that "prætorium" (John xviii. 28.) or official residence[4] where JESUS was mocked by the soldiers, and on the tessellated pavement[5] in front of which Pilate sat, and condemned the Saviour of the world. But at the time of the greater festivals, when a vast concourse of people, full of religious fanaticism and embittered by hatred of their rulers, flocked into the Temple courts, it was found necessary to order a strong military force into Antonia, and to keep them under arms, so that they might act immediately and promptly in the case of any outbreak.

A striking illustration of the connection between the Fortress and the Temple is afforded by the history of those quarrels, which arose in reference to the

on the northern side of the Temple (Joseph Ant. xiv. 4. 2. B. J. i. 7. 3.) Compare the account of the occupation of Antonia by Titus. B. J. vi.

[1] It had four smaller towers rising from its angles, like the Tower of London, save that that on the S.E. was higher than the others. Πυργοειδὴς οὖσα τὸ πᾶν σχῆμα κατὰ γώνιαν τέσσαρσιν ἑτέροις διείληπτο πύργοις· ὧν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πεντήκοντα τὸ ὕψος, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ μεσημβρινῇ καὶ κατ' ἀνατολὴν γωνίᾳ ἑβδομήκοντα πηχῶν ἦν, ὡς καθορᾶν ὅλον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἱερόν. B. J. v. 5. 8.

[2] Καθὰ δὲ συνῆπτο ταῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοαῖς, εἰς ἀμφοτέρας εἶχε καταβάσεις· δι' ὧν κατιόντες οἱ φρουροὶ (καθῆστο γὰρ ἀεὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τάγμα Ῥωμαίων) καὶ διϊστάμενοι περὶ τὰς στοὰς μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων, ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς, τὸν δῆμον ὡς μή τι νεωτερισθείη παρεφύλαττον. Ib.

[3] See below, p. 274., note on σπεῖρα.

[4] This Prætorium seems to have been the old palace of Herod, connected with the tower called Hippicus, which is identified by existing remains. It was on the western side of the city, and is one of our fixed points in tracing the course of the ancient walls. See the Map.

[5] Ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ βήματος εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Λιθόστρωτον, Ἑβραϊστὶ δὲ Γαββαθᾶ. John xix. 13. Something has been said before (Vol. I. p. 450. n. 1.), on the βῆμα or tribunal as the symbol of Roman power in the provinces.

pontifical vestments. These robes were kept in Antonia during the time of Herod the Great. When he died, they came under the superintendence of the Roman procurator. Agrippa I., during his short reign, exercised the right which had belonged to his grandfather. At his death the command that the Procurator Cuspius Fadus should take the vestments under his care raised a ferment among the whole Jewish people; and they were only kept from an outbreak by the presence of an overwhelming force under Longinus, the Governor of Syria. An embassy to Rome, with the aid of the younger Agrippa, who was then at the imperial court, obtained the desired relaxation: and the letter is still extant in which Claudius assigned to Herod, King of Chalcis, the privilege which had belonged to his brother.[1] But under the succeeding Procurators, the relation between the fortress Antonia and the religious ceremonies in the Temple became more significant and ominous. The hatred between the embittered Jews and those soldiers who were soon to take part in their destruction, grew deeper and more implacable. Under Ventidius Cumanus[2], a frightful loss of life had taken place on one occasion at the passover, in consequence of an insult perpetrated by one of the military.[3] When Felix succeeded him, assassination became frequent in Jerusalem: the high priest Jonathan was murdered, like Becket, in the Temple itself, with the connivance of the Procurator[4]: and at the very moment of which we write, both the soldiers and the populace were in great excitement in consequence of the recent "uproar" caused by an Egyptian impostor (Acts xxi. 38.), who had led out a vast number of fanatic followers "into the wilderness" to be slain or captured by the troops of Felix.[5]

This imperfect description of the Temple-area and of the relations subsisting between it and the contiguous fortress, is sufficient to set the scene before us, on which the events we are now to relate occurred in rapid succession. We left St. Paul at the moment when the Levites had closed the gates, lest the Holy Place should be polluted by murder, — and when the infuriated mob were violently beating the Apostle, with the full intention of putting him to death.

[1] Joseph. Ant. xx. 1. 2. The letter is quoted in the fifteenth chapter of Mr. Lewin's work on the Life and Epistles of St. Paul, a chapter which contains much miscellaneous information concerning Jerusalem and the Jews at this time.

[2] Tiberius Alexander, a renegade Jew, intervened between Fadus and Cumanus. We shall recur to the series of procurators in the beginning of the next chapter.

[3] Joseph. Ant. xx. 5. 2. B. J. ii. 12. 1. In this narrative the tower of Antonia and its guards are particularly mentioned.

[4] B. J. ii. 13. 3.

[5] The passages in Josephus, which relate to this Egyptian, are Ant. xx. 8. 6. B. J. ii. 13. 5.

The beginning and rapid progress of the commotion must have been seen by the sentries on the cloisters and the tower: and news was sent up[1] immediately to Claudius Lysias, the commandant of the garrison, that "all Jerusalem was in an uproar" (v. 31.). The spark had fallen on materials the most inflammable, and not a moment was to be lost, if a conflagration was to be averted. Lysias himself rushed down instantly, with some of his subordinate officers and a strong body of men[2], into the Temple court. At the sight of the flashing arms and disciplined movements of the Imperial soldiers, the Jewish mob desisted from their murderous violence. "They left off beating of Paul." They had for a moment forgotten that the eyes of the sentries were upon them: but this sudden invasion by their hated and dreaded tyrants reminded them that they were "in danger to be called in question for that day's uproar." (Acts xix. 40.)

Claudius Lysias proceeded with the soldiers promptly and directly to St. Paul[3], whom he perceived to be the central object of all the excitement in the Temple court: and in the first place he ordered him to be chained by each hand to a soldier[4]: for he suspected that he might be the Egyptian rebel[5], who had himself baffled the pursuit of the Roman force, though his followers were dispersed. This being done, he proceeded to question the bystanders, who were watching this summary proceeding, half in disappointed rage at the loss of their victim, and half in satisfaction that they saw him at least in captivity. But "when Lysias demanded who he was and what he had done, some cried one thing, and some another, among the multitude" (v. 33, 34.); and when he found that he could obtain no certain information in consequence of the tumult, he gave orders that the prisoner should be conveyed into the barracks within the fortress.[6] The multitude pressed and crowded on the soldiers, as they proceeded to execute this order: so that the Apostle was actually "carried up" the staircase, in consequence of the violent pressure from below.[7] And meanwhile deafening shouts arose from the stairs and from the court, — the same shouts

[1] Ἀνέβη. Compare this with κατέδραμεν in the next verse, and the ἀναβαθμοί mentioned below.

[2] Παραλαβὼν στρατιώτας καὶ ἑκατοντάρχας, v. 32. The full complement of centurions in the castle would be ten.

[3] Τότε ἐγγίσας ὁ χιλίαρχος. κ. τ. λ.

[4] Ἀλύσεσιν δυσίν. So St. Peter was bound. Acts xii.

[5] This is evident from his question below, v. 38., Οὐκ ἄρα σὺ εἶ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος;

[6] Εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν, v. 34. So below, xxii. 24. xxiii. 16. The word denotes not "the castle," but soldiers' barracks within it. It is the word used of the camp of the Israelites in the Wilderness. (LXX.)

[7] Ὅτε δὲ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀναβαθμούς, συνέβη βαστάζεσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν διὰ τὴν βίαν τοῦ ὄχλου, v. 35.

which, nearly thirty years before, surrounded the prætorium of Pilate,[1]— "Away with him, away with him."

At this moment[2], the Apostle, with the utmost presence of mind, turned to the commanding officer who was near him,—and, addressing him in Greek, said respectfully, "May I speak with thee?" Claudius Lysias was startled when he found himself addressed by his prisoner in Greek, and asked him whether he was then mistaken in supposing he was the Egyptian ringleader of the late rebellion. St. Paul replied calmly that he was no Egyptian, but a Jew; and he readily explained his knowledge of Greek, and at the same time asserted his claim to respectful treatment[3], by saying that he was a native of "Tarsus in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city:" and he proceeded to request that he might be allowed to address the people. The request was a bold one: and we are almost surprised that Lysias should have granted it: but there seems to have been something in St. Paul's aspect and manner, which from the first gained an influence over the mind of the Roman officer: and his consent was not refused. And now the whole scene was changed in a moment. St. Paul stood upon the stairs and turned to the people, and made a motion with the hand[4], as about to address them. And they too felt the influence of his presence. Tranquillity came on the sea of heads below: there was "a great silence:" and he began, saying,

Brethren and Fathers[5], hear me, and let me now defend myself before you.

The language which he spoke was Hebrew. Had he spoken in Greek, the majority of those who heard him would have understood his words. But the sound of the holy tongue in that holy place fell like a calm on the troubled waters. The silence became universal and breathless: and the Apostle proceeded to address his countrymen as follows:—

[1] Compare Luke xxiii. 18., John xix. 15.

[2] Μέλλων εἰσάγεσθαι εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν.

[3] We need not repeat all that has been said before concerning the importance of Tarsus. See Vol. I. pp. 24. 52—54. 115, 116. 274, 275. We may refer, however, to the History of the place by the Abbé Belley in the twenty-seventh volume of the Ac. des Inscriptions.

[4] Ἐστώς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν κατέσεισε τῇ χειρί, v. 40. Compare xiii. 16. xxvi. 1., also xx. 34.

[5] To account for this peculiar mode of address, we must suppose that mixed with the crowd were men of venerable age and dignity, perhaps members of the Sanhedrin, ancient Scribes and Doctors of the Law, who were stirring up the people against the heretic. Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ generally translated in A.V. "*Men and brethren*" literally *Men who are my brethren*, may be equally translated *Brethren;* just as Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι *Athenians.*

His birth and education.

I am myself[1] an Israelite, born indeed at Tarsus in Cilicia, yet brought up in this city, and taught at the feet of Gamaliel, in the strictest doctrine of the law of our fathers; and was zealous[2] in the cause of God, as ye all are this day.

His persecution of the Christians.

And I persecuted this sect unto the death, binding with chains and casting into prison both men and women. And of this the High Priest is my witness, and all the[3] Sanhedrin; from whom I received letters to the brethren[4], and went[5] to Damascus, to bring those also who were there to Jerusalem, in chains, that they might be punished.

His conversion.

But it came to pass that as I journeyed, when I drew nigh to Damascus, about mid-day, suddenly there shone from heaven a great light round about me. And I fell to the ground, and heard a voice saying unto me, *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?* And I answered, *Who art thou, Lord?* and he said unto me, *I am Jesus of Nazareth*[6], *whom thou persecutest.* And the men who were with me saw the light, and were terrified[7]; but they heard not the voice of Him that spake unto me. And I said, *What shall I do, Lord?* And the Lord said unto me, *Arise and go into Damascus, and there thou shalt be told of all things which are appointed for thee to do.*

His blindness, cure, and baptism.

And when I could not see, from the brightness of that light, my companions led me by the hand, and so I entered into Damascus. And a certain Ananias, a devout[8] man according to the law, well reported of by all the Jews who dwelt there, came and stood beside me, and said to me,

[1] The ἐγὼ is emphatic.

[2] Ζηλωτής. See the note on Gal. i. 14.

[3] Πρεσβυτερίον. Compare Luke xxii. 66. The high priest here appealed to was the person who held that office at the time of St. Paul's conversion, probably Theophilus, who was high priest in 37 and 38, A.D.

[4] *i.e.* The Jews resident at Damascus.

[5] Ἐπορευόμην, literally, *I was on my road* (imperf.).

[6] Literally, *Jesus the Nazarene.* Saul was going to cast *the Nazarenes* (so the Christians were called, see Acts xxiv. 5.) into chains and dungeons, when he was stopped by the Lord, announcing himself from heaven to be *Jesus the Nazarene.*

[7] The clause καὶ ἔμφοβοι ἐγένοντο is omitted in some of the best MSS.

[8] Εὐσεβής. This word is omitted in some of the best MSS., probably because the copyists were perplexed at finding it not here used in its usual technical sense of a *Jewish proselyte.*

Brother Saul, receive thy sight; and in that instant I received my sight [1] and saw him. And he said, *The God of our fathers hath ordained thee to know His will, and to behold the Just One, and to hear the voice of His mouth. For thou shalt be His witness to all the world* [2] *of what thou hast seen and heard. And now, why dost thou delay? Arise and be baptized* [3] *and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of Jesus.* [4]

His return to Jerusalem.

And it came to pass, after I had returned to Jerusalem, and while I was praying in the Temple, that I was in a trance, and saw Him saying unto me, *Make haste and go forth quickly from Jerusalem; for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me.* And I said [5], *Lord, they themselves know that I continually* [6] *imprisoned and scourged in every synagogue the believers in Thee. And when the blood of thy martyr* [7] *Stephen was shed, I myself also was standing by and consenting gladly* [8] *to his death* [9], *and keeping the raiment of them who slew him.* And He said unto me, *Depart; for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles.*

He is commanded in a vision to go to the Gentiles.

At these words St. Paul's address to his countrymen was suddenly interrupted. Up to this point he had riveted their attention.[10] They listened, while he spoke to them of his early life, his persecution of the Church, his mission to Damascus. Many were present who could testify, on their own evidence, to

[1] Ἀναβλέπω has the double meaning of *to recover sight* and *to look up*; in the former of which it is used in the accounts of blind men healed in the gospels. Here the A. V. translates the same verb by two different words.

[2] Πάντας ἀνθρώπους, rather stronger than *all men.*

[3] Βάπτισαι, literally, *cause thyself to be baptized* (mid.). With the following ἀπόλουσαι, compare 1 Cor. vi. 11.

[4] The best MSS. read αὐτοῦ, and not τοῦ Κυρίου. The reference is to the confession of faith in Jesus, which preceded baptism.

[5] St. Paul expected at first that the Jews at Jerusalem (the members of his own party) would listen to him readily, because they could not be more violent against the Nazarenes than they knew him to have been: and he therefore thought that they must feel that nothing short of irresistible truth could have made him join the sect which he had hated.

[6] Ἤμην φυλακίζων. *I was imprisoning, I kept on imprisoning.*

[7] Μάρτυς had not yet acquired its technical sense, but here it may be translated *Martyr*, because the mode in which Stephen bore testimony was by his death.

[8] Συνευδοκεῖν, *to consent gladly.* Compare Rom. i. 32.

[9] Τῇ ἀναιρέσει αὐτοῦ, though omitted in the best MSS., is implied in the sense.

[10] Notice the imperfect ἤκουον as contrasted with ἐπῆραν which follows. See the remarks on Stephen's speech. Vol. I. p. 77.

the truth of what he said. Even when he told them of his miraculous conversion, his interview with Ananias, and his vision in the Temple, they listened still. With admirable judgment he deferred till the last all mention of the Gentiles.[1] He spoke of Ananias as a "devout man according to the law" (v. 12.), as one "well reported of by all the Jews" (16.), as one who addressed him in the name of "the God of their Fathers" (v. 14.). In his vision he showed how he had pleaded before that God the energy of his former persecution, as a proof that his countrymen must surely be convinced by his conversion: and when he alluded to the death of Stephen, and the part which he had taken himself in that cruel martyrdom (v. 20.), all the associations of the place where they stood[2] must (we should have thought) have brought the memory of that scene with pathetic force before their minds. But when his *mission to the Gentiles* was announced, — though the words quoted were the words of Jehovah spoken in the Temple itself, even as the Lord had once spoken to Samuel[3], — one outburst of frantic indignation rose from the Temple-area and silenced the speaker on the stairs. Their national pride bore down every argument which could influence their reason or their reverence. They could not bear the thought of uncircumcised Heathens being made equal to the sons of Abraham. They cried out that such a wretch ought not to pollute the earth with his presence[4], — that it was a shame to have preserved his life[5]: and in their rage and impatience they tossed off their outer garments (as on that other occasion, when the garments were laid at the feet of Saul himself[6]), and threw up dust into the air with frantic violence.[7] This commotion threw Lysias into

[1] As an illustration of St. Paul's wisdom, it is instructive to observe that in xxvi. 17., it is distinctly said that Jesus himself announced from heaven Paul's mission to the Gentiles; and that in ix. 15. the same announcement is made to Ananias, — whereas in the address to the Jews this is kept out of view for the moment, and reserved till after the vision in the Temple is mentioned. And again we should observe that while in ix. 10. Ananias is spoken of as a *Christian* (see 13), here he is described as *a strict and pious Jew*. He was, in fact, both the one and the other. But for the purposes of persuasion, St. Paul lays stress here on the latter point.

[2] See above, p. 252. n. 1.

[3] 1 Sam. iii.

[4] Αἶρε ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς τὸν τοιοῦτον.

[5] The correct reading appears to be *καθῆκεν*. It will be remembered that they were on the point of killing St. Paul, when Claudius Lysias rescued him, xxi. 31.

[6] Ῥιπτούντων τὰ ἱμάτια, xxii. 23. Καὶ οἱ μάρτυρες ἀπέθεντο τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν παρὰ τοὺς πόδας νεανίου καλουμένου Σαύλου καὶ ἐλιθοβόλουν τὸν Στέφανον, vi. 58. We need not, however, suppose, with Meyer, that this tossing of the garments and throwing of dust, was precisely symbolical of their desire to *stone* Paul. It denoted simply impatience and disgust. So in Lucian we find: τὸ θέατρον ἅπαν συνεμεμήνει, καὶ ἐπήδων, καὶ ἐβόων, καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἀπέῤῥίπτουν. De Salt. 83. See the next note.

[7] "Sir John Chardin, as quoted by Harmer (Obs. iv. 203.) says that it is common for the peasants in Persia, when they have a complaint

new perplexity. He had not been able to understand the Apostle's Hebrew speech: and, when he saw its results, he concluded that his prisoner must be guilty of some enormous crime. He ordered him therefore to be taken immediately from the stairs into the barracks[1]; and to be examined by torture[2], in order to elicit a confession of his guilt. Whatever instruments were necessary for this kind of scrutiny would be in readiness within a Roman fortress: and before long the body[3] of the Apostle was "stretched out," like that of a common malefactor, "to receive the lashes," with the officer standing by[4], to whom Lysias had entrusted the superintendence of this harsh examination.

Thus St. Paul was on the verge of adding another suffering and disgrace to that long catalogue of afflictions, which he gave in the last letter he wrote to Corinth, before his recent visit to that city (2 Cor. xi. 23—25.). Five times scourged by the Jews, once beaten with rods at Philippi, and twice on other unknown occasions, he had indeed been "in stripes above measure." And now he was in a Roman barrack, among rude soldiers, with a similar indignity[5] in prospect; when he rescued himself, and at the same time gained a vantage-ground for the Gospel, by that appeal to his rights as a Roman citizen, under which he had before sheltered his sacred cause at Philippi.[6] He said these few words to the centurion who stood by: "Is it lawful to put to the rack one who is a Roman citizen and uncondemned?" The magic of the Roman law produced its effect in a moment. The centurion immediately reported the words to his commanding-officer, and said significantly, "Take heed what thou doest: for this man is a Roman citizen." Lysias was both astonished and alarmed. He knew full well that no man would dare to assume the right of citizenship, if it did not really

to lay before their governors, to repair to them by hundreds, or a thousand, at once. They place themselves near the gate of the palace, where they suppose they are most likely to be seen and heard, and then set up a horrid outcry, rend their garments, and throw dust into the air, at the same time demanding justice." Hackett.

[1] Ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἄγεσθαι εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν. See above, p. 261, 2, 3.

[2] Μάστιξιν ἀνέταζεσθαι.

[3] The correct reading appears to be προέτειναν. We take τοῖς ἱμᾶσιν to mean "for the thongs," *i. e.* the straps (νεύροις) of which the μάστιγες were made. Others consider the words to denote the thongs or straps with which the offender was fastened to the post or pillar. In either case, the use of the article is explained.

[4] We see this from v. 25., εἶπε πρὸς τὸν ἑστῶτα ἑκατόνταρχον. Claudius Lysias himself was not on the spot (see v. 26.), but had handed over the Apostle to a centurion, who "stood by," as in the case of a military flogging with us.

[5] We must distinguish between μάστιγες, μαστίζειν here (24, 25.) and ῥαβδίζειν, ἐρράβδισθην (Acts, xxvi. 22. 2 Cor. xi. 25.). In the present instance the object was not punishment, but examination.

[6] See Vol. I. p. 332.

belong to him[1]: and he hastened in person[2] to his prisoner. A hurried dialogue took place, from which it appeared, not only that St. Paul was indeed a Roman citizen, but that he held this privilege under circumstances far more honourable than his interrogator: for while Claudius Lysias had purchased[3] the right for "a great sum," Paul[4] was "free-born." Orders were instantly given[5] for the removal of the instruments of torture: and those who had been about to conduct the examination retired. Lysias was compelled to keep the Apostle still in custody: for he was ignorant of the nature of his offence: and indeed this was evidently the only sure method of saving him from destruction by the Jews. But the Roman officer was full of alarm: for in his treatment of the prisoner[6] he had already been guilty of a flagrant violation of the law.

On the following day[7] the commandant of the garrison adopted a milder method of ascertaining the nature of his prisoner's offence. He summoned a meeting of the Jewish Sanhedrin with the high-priests, and brought St. Paul down from the fortress and set him before them, — doubtless taking due precautions to prevent the consequences which might result from a sudden attack upon his safety. Only a narrow space of the Great Temple Court intervened[8] between the steps which led down from the tower Antonia, and those which led up to the hall Gazith, the Sanhedrin's accustomed place of meeting. If that hall was used on this occasion, no heathen soldiers would be allowed to enter it: for it was within the balustrade which separated the sanctuary from the Court.

[1] Such pretensions were liable to capital punishment. "Civitatem Romanam usurpantes in Campo Esquilino securi percussit." Suet. Claud. 25.

[2] Προσελθὼν ὁ χιλιάρχος. κ. τ. λ.

[3] We learn from Dio Cassius, that the *civitas* of Rome was, in the early part of the reign of Claudius, sold at a high rate (ἡ πολίτεια μεγάλων τὸ πρῶτον χρημάτων πραθεῖσα) and afterwards for a mere trifle.

[4] It is unnecessary to repeat here what has been said concerning the citizenship of Paul and his father. See Vol. I. pp. 49, 50. For the laws relating to the privileges of citizens, see again Vol. I. p. 332.

[5] This is not expressed, but it is implied by what follows: εὐθέως ἀπέστησαν. κ. τ. λ.

[6] Ἐφοβήθη ὅτι ἦν αὐτὸν δεδεκώς. We cannot agree with Böttger in referring the last word to προέτειναν τοῖς ἱμᾶσι (v. 25.) Nor can we see any ground for De Wette's notion of an inconsistency between this word and what follows. Lysias was afraid, because he had so "bound" the Apostle, as he could not have ventured to do, had he known he was a Roman citizen. It seems, that in any case it would have been illegal to have had immediate recourse to torture. "Non esse a tormentis incipiendum, Div. Augustus constituit." Digest. L. 48. tit. 18. Certainly it was contrary to the Roman law to put any Roman citizen to the torture, either by scourging or in any other way. Under the Imperial regime, however, so early as the time of Tiberius, this rule was violated; and torture was applied to citizens of the highest rank, more and more freely. See Geib (Geschichte des römischen Criminalprocesses bis zum Tode Justinians) p. 615., and the instances which he quotes from Tacitus, Suetonius, Dio, and Seneca.

[7] Τῇ ἐπαύριον.

[8] See above.

But the fear of pollution would keep the Apostle's life in safety within that enclosure. There is good reason for believing that the Sanhedrin met at that period in a place less sacred[1], to which the soldiers would be admitted; but this is a question into which we need not enter. Wherever the council sat, we are suddenly transferred from the interior of a Roman barrack to a scene entirely Jewish.

Paul was now in presence of that council, before which, when he was himself a member of it, Stephen had been judged. That moment could hardly be forgotten by him: but he looked steadily at his inquisitors[2]; among whom he would recognize many who had been his fellow-pupils in the school of Gamaliel, and his associates in the persecution of the Christians. That unflinching look of conscious integrity offended them,—and his confident words—"Brethren[3], I have always lived a conscientious[4] life before God, up to this very day,"—so enraged the high-priest, that he commanded those who stood near to strike him on the mouth. This brutal insult roused the Apostle's feelings, and he exclaimed, "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall[5]: sittest thou to judge me according to the law, and then in defiance of the law dost thou command me to be struck." If we consider these words as an outburst of natural indignation, we cannot severely blame them, when we remember St. Paul's temperament[6], and how they were provoked. If we regard them as a prophetic denunciation, they were terribly fulfilled, when this hypocritical president of the Sanhedrin was murdered by the assassins in the Jewish war.[7] In whatever light we view them now, those who were present in the Sanhedrin treated them as profane and rebellious. "Revilest thou God's high-priest?" was the indignant exclamation of the bystanders. And then Paul recovered himself, and said, with Christian meekness and forbearance, that he did not consider[8] that Ananias was high-priest;

[1] The Rabbinical way of expressing this was as follows: "Migravit supremus senatus omnimodo ab exedra lapidum cæsorum ad tabernas, et a tabernis ad Jerusalem." L'Empereur on Middoth. p. 48. See Vol. I. p. 75.

[2] Ἀτενίσας τῷ συνεδρίῳ. See Vol. I. p. 160. n. 2.

[3] It should be observed that, both here and below (vv. 5, 6.) he addresses the Sanhedrin as equals,—ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί,—whereas in xxii. 1. he says ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες.

[4] This assertion of habitual conscientiousness is peculiarly characteristic of St. Paul. See 2 Tim. i. 3., where there is also a reference to his forefathers, as in v. 6. below. Compare ch. xxvi.

[5] With τοῖχε κεκονιαμένε, compare Our Saviour's comparison of hypocrites with "whited sepulchres" (Matt. xxiii. 27.). Lightfoot goes so far here, as to say that the words themselves mean that Ananias had the semblance of the high-priest's office without the reality.

[6] See Vol. I. p. 53.

[7] He was killed by the Sicarii. Joseph. B. J. ii. 17. 9.

[8] The use of this English word retains something of the ambiguity of the original οὐκ ᾔδειν, ὅτι ἐστιν ἀρχιερεύς. It is difficult to decide posi-

otherwise he would not so have spoken, seeing that it is written in the Law[1] **"thou shalt not revile the ruler of thy people."** But the Apostle had seen enough to be convinced that there was no prospect before this tribunal of a fair inquiry and a just decision. He therefore adroitly adopted a prompt measure for enlisting the sympathies of those who agreed with him in one doctrine, which, though held to be an open question in Judaism, was an essential truth in Christianity.[2] He knew that both Pharisees and Sadducees were among his judges, and well aware that, however united they might be in the outward work of persecution, they were divided by an impassable line in the deeper matters of religious faith, he cried out[3], "Brethren, I am a Pharisee, and all my forefathers[4] were Pharisees: it is for the hope of a resurrection from the dead that I am to be judged this day." This exclamation produced an instantaneous effect on the assembly. It was the watchword which marshalled the opposing forces in antagonism to each other.[5] The Pharisees felt a momentary hope that they might use their ancient partizan as a new weapon against their rivals; and their hatred against the Sadducees was even greater than their hatred of Christianity. They were vehement in their vociferations[6]; and their language was that which Gamaliel had used more calmly many years before[7] (and possibly the aged Rabban may have been present himself in this very assembly[8]): "If this

tively on the meaning of the words. Some think that St. Paul meant to confess that he had been guilty of a want of due reflection,—others that he spoke ironically, as refusing to recognize a man like Ananias as high-priest,—others have even thought that there was in the words an inspired reference to the abolition of the sacerdotal system of the Jews, and the sole priesthood of Christ. Another class of interpreters regard St. Paul as ignorant of the fact that Ananias was high-priest; or argue that Ananias was not really installed in this office. And we know from Josephus, that there was the greatest irregularity in the appointments about this time. Lastly, it has been suggested (Vol. I. p. 160. n. 2.) that the imperfection of St. Paul's vision (supposed to be implied in *ἀτενίσας*) was the cause of the mistake.

[1] Ex. xxii. 28.

[2] *Γνοὺς ὅτι τὸ ἓν μέρος ἐστὶ Σαδδουκαίων, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Φαρισαίων. κ. τ. λ.* For these two sects, see the early part of Chap. II. There is a mistake in p. 35. n. 1.

[3] *Ἔκραξεν.* Lachmann and Tischendorf read *ἔκραζεν.* But the MSS. are divided, and surely the aorist is more natural than the imperfect.

[4] *Φαρισαίων*, not *Φαρισαίου* is the reading best supported by MSS., and the plural is far more forcible. See Vol. I. pp. 36, 37.

[5] *Ἐγένετο στάσις . . . . . καὶ ἐσχίσθη τὸ πλῆθος.* v. 7. Compare *διεμάχοντο*, v. 9.

[6] *Ἐγένετο δὲ κραυγὴ μεγάλη*, v. 9.

[7] Acts, v. 39.

[8] It appears that he died about two years after this time. See Vol. I. p. 62. We may refer here to the observations of Mr. Birks in the Horæ Apostolicæ (No. xvi.) appended to his recent edition of the Horæ Paulinæ, where he applies the jealousy and mutual antipathy of the Sadducees and Pharisees, to explain the conduct of Gamaliel at the former trial, and thus traces "an unobtrusive coincidence" between

doctrine be of God, ye cannot destroy it: beware lest ye be found to be fighting against God." "We find no fault in this man: what, if (as he says [1]) an angel or a spirit have indeed spoken to him, ——" The sentence was left incomplete or unheard in the uproar.[2] The judgment-hall became a scene of the most violent contention; and presently Claudius Lysias received information of what was taking place, and fearing lest the Roman citizen, whom he was bound to protect, should be torn in pieces between those who sought to protect him, and those who thirsted for his destruction, he ordered the troops to go down instantly, and bring him back into the soldiers' quarters within the fortress.[3]

So passed this morning of violent excitement. In the evening, when Paul was isolated, both from Jewish enemies and Christian friends, and surrounded by the uncongenial sights and sounds of a soldiers' barrack,—when the agitation of his mind subsided, and he was no longer strung up by the presence of his persecutors, or supported by sympathizing brethren,—can we wonder that his heart sank, and that he looked with dread on the vague future that was before him? Just then it was that he had one of those visions by night, which were sometimes vouchsafed to him, at critical seasons of his life, and in providential conformity with the circumstances in which he was placed. The last time when we were informed of such an event, was when he was in the house of Aquila and Priscilla at Corinth, and when he was fortified against the intimidation of the Jews by the words "Fear not: for I am with thee." (Acts, xviii. 9, 10.) The next instance we shall have to relate is in the worst part of the storm at sea, between Fair Havens and Malta, when a similar assurance was given to him: "Fear not: thou must stand before Cæsar." (Ib. xxvii. 24.) On the present occasion events were not sufficiently matured for him to receive a prophetic intimation in this explicit form. He had, indeed, long looked forward to a visit to Rome: but the prospect now seemed further off than ever. And it

this passage and the narrative in Acts, v. "First, the leaders in the persecution were Sadducees (v. 17.). In the next place, it was a doctrinal offence which was charged upon them (v. 28.). Again, the answer of Peter, while an explicit testimony to the claims of Jesus, is an equally plain avowal of the doctrine of the resurrection (v. 30.). When Gamaliel interposes, it is noted that he was a Pharisee &c." (v. 34.)

[1] There is probably a tacit reference to what St. Paul had said, in his speech on the stairs, concerning his vision in the Temple.

[2] There seems no doubt that the words μὴ θεομαχῶμεν ought not to be in the text; and that there is an aposiopesis, either voluntary for the sake of emphasis, or compulsory because of the tumult. Perhaps the word θεόμαχοι in Acts. v. 39. may have led to the interpolation.

[3] Εὐλαβηθεὶς ὁ χ. μὴ διασπάσθῃ . . . . . ἄγειν τε εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν.

was at this anxious time that he was miraculously comforted and strengthened by Him, who is "the confidence of all the ends of the earth, and of them that are afar off upon the sea; who by His strength setteth fast the mountains; who stilleth the noise of the seas and the tumult of the people." In the visions of the night, the Lord himself stood by him and said: "Be of good cheer, Paul; for as thou hast testified of me at Jerusalem, so must thou testify also at Rome." (Ib. xxiii. 11.)

The contrast is great between the peaceful assurance thus secretly given to the faith of the Apostle in his place of imprisonment, and the active malignity of his enemies in the city. When it was day, more than forty of the Jews entered into a conspiracy to assassinate Paul[1]: and that they might fence round their crime with all the sanction of religion, they bound themselves by a curse, that they would eat and drink nothing till the deed was accomplished.[2] Thus fortified by a dreadful oath, they came before the chief priests and members of the Sanhedrin[3], and proposed the following plan, which seems to have been readily adopted. The Sanhedrists were to present themselves before Claudius Lysias, with the request that he would allow the prisoner to be brought once more before the Jewish Court, that they might enter into a further investigation[4]: and the assassins were to lie in wait, and murder the Apostle on his way down[5] from the fortress. The plea to be brought before Lysias was very plausible: and it is probable that, if he had received no further information, he would have

[1] With the direct narrative, v. 12—15. we should compare closely the account given by St. Paul's nephew, vv. 20, 21.

[2] So we are told by Josephus that ten Jews bound themselves by a solemn oath to assassinate Herod, and that before their execution they maintained *καλῶς καὶ σὺν εὐσεβείᾳ τὴν συνωμοσίαν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι*, Ant. xv. 8. 3, 4. Hackett quotes from Philo a formal justification of such assassinations of apostates. In illustration of the form of the oath, Wetstein cites the following from a Rabbinical authority: "Post jusjurandum non edam nec bibam, qui edit et bibit dupliciter reus est." Lightfoot, however, shows from the Talmud (Hor. Heb.) that those who were implicated in such an oath could obtain absolution.

[3] *Προσελθόντες τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις*, v. 14. Most of the commentators are of opinion that only the Sadducean party is contemplated here, the Pharisees having espoused St. Paul's cause. But it is far more natural to suppose that their enthusiasm in his behalf had been only momentary, and that the temporary schism had been healed in the common wish to destroy him. The Pharisees really hated him the most. It would seem, moreover, from xxiv. 15. that Pharisees appeared as accusers before Felix.

[4] *Ὡς μέλλοντας διαγινώσκειν ἀκριβέστερον τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ*. See the next note but two.

[5] *Καταγάγῃ*, v. 15.; *καταγάγῃς*, v. 20. So *καταβάν*, v. 10., and *καταγαγὼν*, xxii. 30. The accurate use of these words should be compared with what is said by Josephus and by St. Luke himself of the stairs between the temple and the fortress. They present us with an undesigned consistency in a matter of topography; and they show that the writer was familiar with the place he is describing.

acted on it: for he well knew that the proceedings of the Court had been suddenly interrupted the day before[1], and he would be glad to have his perplexity removed by the results of a new inquiry.[2] The danger to which the Apostle was exposed was most imminent: and there has seldom been a more horrible example of crime masked under the show of religious zeal.

The plot was ready[3]: and the next day[4] it would have been carried into effect, when God was pleased to confound the schemes of the conspirators. The instrument of St. Paul's safety was one of his own relations[5], the son of that sister whom we have before mentioned (Vol. I. p. 53.) as the companion of his childhood at Tarsus. It is useless to attempt to draw that veil aside, which screens the history of this relationship from our view: though the narrative seems to give us hints of domestic intercourse at Jerusalem[6], of which, if it were permitted to us, we would gladly know more. Enough is told to us to give a favourable impression, both of the affection and discretion of the Apostle's nephew: nor is he the only person, the traits of whose character are visible in the artless simplicity of the narrative. The young man came into the barracks, and related what he knew of the conspiracy to his uncle; to whom he seems to have had perfect liberty of access.[7] Paul, with his usual promptitude and prudence, called one of the centurions to him, and requested him to take the youth[8] to the commandant, saying that he had a communication to make to him.[9] The officer complied at once, and took the young man with this message from "the prisoner Paul," to Claudius Lysias; who—partly from the interest he felt in the prisoner, and partly, we need not doubt, from the natural justice and benevolence of his disposition,—received the stranger kindly, "took him by the

[1] See above.

[2] We believe, with Meyer, that in v. 20. the correct reading is that adopted by Lachmann and Tischendorf, *μέλλων*, not *μέλλοντες*. If the Sanhedrin were about to investigate (see v. 15.), it would be in order that Claudius Lysias might obtain more information: and it would be more natural for the young man to put the matter before him in this point of view.

[3] Observe the young man's words, v. 21.: *Καὶ νῦν εἰσὶν ἕτοιμοι προσδεχόμενοι τὴν ἀπὸ σοῦ ἐπαγγελίαν.*

[4] *Αὔριον*. v. 20. It is in the young man's statement that this precise reference to time occurs. In v. 15. the word appears to be an interpolation.

[5] Vv. 16—22.

[6] Two questions easily asked, but not easily answered, suggest themselves—whether St. Paul's sister and nephew resided at Jerusalem, and, if so, why he lodged not with them but with Mnason (above, p. 241.).

[7] So afterwards at Cæsarea, xxiv. 23. *διαταξάμενος ἔχειν ἄνεσιν καὶ μηδένα κωλύειν τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ ὑπηρετεῖν αὐτῷ*. See the next chapter for a description of the nature of the *Custodia*, in which St. Paul was kept, both at Jerusalem and Cæsarea.

[8] The word *νεανίας* is indeterminate, but the whole narrative gives the impression that he was a very young man. See Vol. I. p. 116. n. 5.

[9] Vv. 17, 18.

hand, and led him aside, and asked him in private" to tell him what he had to say. He related the story of the conspiracy in full detail, and with much feeling. Lysias listened to his statement and earnest entreaties[1]; then, with a soldier's promptitude, and yet with the caution of one who felt the difficulty of the situation, he decided at once on what he would do, but without communicating the plan to his informant. He simply dismissed him[2], with a significant admonition,—"Be careful that thou tell no man that thou hast laid this information before me."

When the young man was gone, Claudius Lysias summoned one or two of his subordinate officers[3], and ordered them to have in readiness two hundred of the legionary soldiers, with seventy of the cavalry, and two hundred spearmen[4]; so as to depart for Cæsarea at nine in the evening[5], and take Paul in safety to Felix the governor.[6] The journey was long, and it would be requisite to accomplish it as rapidly as possible. He therefore gave directions that more than one horse should be provided for the prisoner.[7] We may be surprised that so large a force was sent to secure the safety of one man; but we must remember that this man was a Roman citizen, while the garrison in Antonia, consisting of more than a thousand men[8], could easily spare such a number for one day on such a service; and further, that assassinations, robberies, and rebellions were frequent occurrences at that time in Judæa[9], and that a conspiracy always wears a formidable aspect to those who are responsible for the public

[1] Σὺ οὖν μὴ πεισθῇς αὐτοῖς, v. 21.

[2] Ὁ μὲν οὖν χ. ἀπέλυσεν τὸν νεανίαν παραγγείλας. κ. τ. λ.

[3] Δύο τινὰς τῶν ἑκατονταρχῶν, v. 23. The full complement of centurions would be ten. See below, p. 278. n. 3.

[4] The rendering in the English version is probably as near as any other to the true meaning of the singular word δεξιολάβους, which is evidently distinguished here from *legionary soldiers* and from *cavalry*, and therefore doubtless means *light-armed troops*. Again, it is distinguished from *bowmen* and *targeteers* in the following passage, which is the only other place where it occurs: Οἱ δὲ λεγόμενοι τουρμάρχαι εἰς ὑπουργίαν τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐτάχθησαν· σημαίνει δὲ τοιοῦτον ἀξίωμα τὸν ἔχοντα ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν στρατιῶτας τοξοφόρους πεντακοσίους, καὶ πελτάστὰς τριακοσίους καὶ δεξιολάβους ἑκατόν. Constant. Porphyr. Moreover the word δεξιόλαβος (or δεξιόβολος, as it is in manuscript A.) seems to imply the use of some weapon simply carried in the right hand. As to the mixture of troops in the escort sent by Claudius Lysias, we may remark that he sent forces adapted to act on all kinds of ground, and from the imperfect nature of his information he could not be sure that an ambuscade might not be laid in the way; and at least banditti were to be feared.

[5] Ἀπὸ τρίτης ὥρας τῆς νυκτός.

[6] Διασώσωσιν.

[7] Κτήνη τε παραστῆσαι.

[8] The σπεῖρα was a cohort. There were ten cohorts in a legion; and each legion contained more than 6000 men, besides an equal number of auxiliaries and a squadron of horse. See the next chapter.

[9] See the next chapter.

peace. The utmost secrecy, as well as promptitude, was evidently required; and therefore an hour was chosen, when the earliest part of the night would be already past. At the time appointed, the troops, with St. Paul in the midst of them, marched out of the fortress, and at a rapid pace took the road to Cæsarea.

It is to the quick journey and energetic researches of an American traveller, that we owe the power of following the exact course of this night march from Jerusalem to Cæsarea.[1] In an earlier part of this work, we have endeavoured to give an approximate representation of the Roman roads, as they existed in Palestine[2]; and we have had occasion more than once to allude to the route which lay between the religious and political capitals of the country.[3] To the roads delineated on the map (Vol. I. p. 92.) we must add another, which passes, not by Lydda[4] (or Diospolis), but more directly across the intermediate space from Gophna to Antipatris. We have thus the whole route to Cæsarea before us; and we are enabled to picture to ourselves the entire progress of the little army, which took St. Paul in safety from the conspiracies of the Jews, and placed him under the protection of Felix the governor.

The road lay first, for about three hours, northwards[5], along the high mountainous region which divides the valley of the Jordan from the great western plain of Judæa.[6] About midnight they would reach Gophna.[7] Here, after a short halt, they quitted the northern road which leads to Neapolis[8] and

[1] See "A Visit to Antipatris," by the Rev. Eli Smith, missionary in Palestine, in the Bibliotheca Sacra, vol. i. pp. 478—496. The journey was expressly taken (on the way from Jerusalem to Joppa) for the purpose of ascertaining St. Paul's route to Antipatris; and the whole of this circuitous route to Joppa was accomplished in two days. The article is followed by some valuable remarks by Dr. Robinson, who entirely agrees with Mr. E. Smith, though he had previously assumed (Bibl. Res. iii. 46. 60.) that St. Paul's escort had gone by the pass of Bethoron, a route sometimes used, as by Cestius Gallus on his march from Cæsarea by Lydda to Jerusalem. Joseph. B. J. ii. 19. 1.

[2] Chap. III. and the map, Vol. I. p. 92.

[3] Vol. I. pp. 57. 114. 455. Vol. II. p. 241.

[4] See Acts, ix. 32. For geographical illustration, we may refer to the movements of Peter in reference to Lydda, Joppa, Cæsarea, and Jerusalem (ix. 38., x. 23, 24., xi. 2.), and also those of Philip in reference to Sebaste (?) in Samaria, Azotus, Gaza, and Cæsarea (viii.).

[5] This part of the road has been mentioned before (Vol. I. p. 93.) as one where Dr. Robinson followed the line of a Roman pavement. With the very full description in his third volume, pp. 75—80., the map in the first volume should be compared. Mr. E. Smith mentions this part of the route briefly. B. S. pp. 478, 479.

[6] Vol. I. p. 93.

[7] "We rode hastily to Bireh. . . . reached Bireh in 2 h. 20 m. . . . 35 m. from Bireh, we came to ruins. Here we found we had mistaken our path. . . . 30 m. from hence we took the following bearings, &c. . . . reached Jufna in 30 m." B. S. 479. Compare the time in Dr. Robinson's account.

[8] Vol. I. p. 92.

Damascus,—once travelled by St. Paul under widely different circumstances,—and turned towards the coast on the left. Presently they began to descend among the western eminences and valleys of the mountain-country[1], startling the shepherd on the hills of Ephraim, and rousing the village peasant, who woke only to curse his oppressor, as he heard the hoofs of the horses on the pavement, and the well-known tramp of the Roman soldiers. A second resting-place might perhaps be found at Thamna[2], a city mentioned by Josephus in the Jewish wars, and possibly the "Timnath Heres," where Joshua[3] was buried "in mount Ephraim, in the border of his inheritance." And then they proceeded, still descending over a rocky and thinly cultivated tract[4], till about daybreak they came to the ridge of the last hill[5], and overlooked "the great

[1] "We started [from Jufna] by the *oldest* road to Kefr Saba. . . . In 20 m. reached Bir Zeit. In this distance, we found evident remains of the pavement of a Roman road, affording satisfactory proof that we had not mistaken our route." B. S. 480. "The whole of our way down the mountain was a very practicable, and, for the most part, a very easy descent. It seemed formed by nature for a road, and we had not descended far from the point where our observations were made, before we came again upon the Roman pavement. This we continued to find at intervals during the remainder of the day. In some places, for a considerable distance, it was nearly perfect; and then, again, it was entirely broken up, or a turn in our path made us lose sight of it. Yet we travelled hardly half an hour at any time without finding distinct traces of it. I do not remember observing anywhere before so extensive remains of a Roman road." p. 482. "A few minutes beyond the village [Um Sufah], a branch of the road led off to the right, where, according to our guides, it furnishes a more direct route to Kefr Saba. But just at this point the Roman road was fortunately seen following the path on the left; and thus informed us very distinctly that this was the direction for us to take." p. 483.

[2] One of the collateral results of Mr. Eli Smith's journey is the identification of the site of this city—not the Timnath of Josh. xv. 10.—but a place mentioned in the following passages of Josephus, Ant. xiv. 11. 2., B. J. iii. 3. 5., iv. 8. 1.; also 1 Mac. ix. 50. It would appear that in our map, p. 92., this city ought to be placed considerably to the northward, though still between Gophna and Diospolis. The ruins are now called Tibneh.

[3] Josh. xix. 49, 50., xxiv. 30.; Judg. ii. 8. 9. Mr. E. Smith observed some remarkable sepulchres at Tibneh.

[4] B. S. 486, 487. The traveller was still guided by the same indications of the ancient road. "Hastening on [from Tibneh] and passing occasionally portions of the Roman road, we reached in 40 m. the large town of Abud. . . . To the left of our road we passed several sepulchral excavations, marking this as an ancient place. Our path led us for a considerable distance down a gentle but very rocky descent, which was the beginning of a Wady. Through nearly the whole of it, we either rode upon or by the side of the Roman road. At length the Wady became broader, and with its declivities was chiefly occupied with fields of grain and other cultivation. . . . After clearing the cultivation in the neighbourhood, we passed over a hilly tract, with little cultivation, and thinly sprinkled with shrubbery. . . . In our descent, which was not great, we thought we could discern further traces of the Roman road. But it was nearly dark, and we may possibly have been mistaken."

[5] At this point is the village of Mejdel Yaba in the province of Nablous. "It stands on the top of a hill, with the valley of Belat on the south, a branch Wady running into it on the east, and the great plain of Sharon coming quite

plain of Sharon coming quite up to its base on the west." The road now turned northwards[1], across the rich land of the plain of Sharon, through fields of wheat and barley[2], just then almost ready for the harvest. "On the east were the mountains of Samaria, rising gradually above each other, and bounding the plain in that direction: on the left lay a line of low wooded hills, shutting it in from the sea." Between this higher and lower range, but on the level ground, in a place well watered and richly wooded, was the town of Antipatris. Both its history and situation are described to us by Josephus. The ancient Caphar-Saba, from which one of the Asmonean princes had dug a trench and built a wall to Joppa, to protect the country from invasion[3], was afterwards rebuilt by Herod, and named in honour of his father Antipater.[4] It is described in one passage as being near the mountains[5]; and in another, as in the richest plain of his dominions, with abundance both of water and wood.[6] In the narrative of the Jewish war, Antipatris is mentioned as one of the scenes of Vespasian's first military proceedings.[7] It afterwards disappears from history[8]; but the

up to its base on the west," p. 488. Mr. E. Smith arrived there at eight in the evening, having ridden about thirty miles since the morning. The next day he says: "I was disappointed in not procuring so many bearings from Mejdel Yaba as I had hoped. The rising sun shooting his rays down the side of the mountain, prevented our seeing much in that direction." p. 490.

[1] From Mejdel Yaba Mr. E. Smith did not take the direct road to Kefr Saba, "which would have led northward, probably in the direction of the Roman road," but went more to the west, by Ras-el-Ain, and across the river Anjeh near its source, and then by Jiljulieh.

[2] "Its soil is an inexhaustible black loam, and nearly the whole of it was now under cultivation, presenting a scene of fertility and rural beauty rarely equalled. Immense fields of wheat and barley waving in the breeze, were advancing rapidly to maturity." p. 491. This was on the 27th of April, almost the exact time of St. Paul's journey.

[3] Δείσας δε Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν ἔφοδον Αντιόχου, τάφρον ὀρύττει βαθεῖαν, ἀπὸ τῆς Χαβαρζαβᾶ καταρξάμενος, ἣ νῦν Αντιπατρὶς καλεῖται, ἀχρὶ τῆς εἰς Ιόπην θαλάσσης, ᾗ καὶ μόνον ἦν ἐπίμαχον. Joseph. Ant. xiii. 15. 1. Τοῦτον δείσας στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας ὡρμημένον, τὸ μὲν μεταξὺ τῆς ὑπὲρ Αντιπατρίδος παρορείου καὶ τῶν Ιόπης αἰγιαλῶν διαταφρεύει φάραγγι βαθείᾳ. B. J. i. 4. 7.

[4] Πόλιν ἄλλην ἀνήγειρεν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῷ λεγομένῳ Καφαρσαβᾷ, τόπον ἔνυδρον καὶ χώραν ἀρίστην φυτοῖς ἐκλέξας, ποταμοῦ τε περιρρέοντος τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν, καὶ καλλίστου κατὰ μέγεθος τῶν φυτῶν περιειληφότος ἄλσους. Τάυτην ἀπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀντιπατρίδα προσηγόρευσεν. Ant. xvi. 5. 2. Φιλοπάτωρ γε μὴν [Ἡρώδης], εἰ καί τις ἕτερος· καὶ γὰρ τῷ πατρὶ μνημεῖον κατέστησε πόλιν, ἣν ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ τῆς βασιλείας πεδίῳ κτίσας ποταμοῖς τε καὶ δένδρεσι πλουσίαν ὠνόμασεν Αντιπατρίδα. B. J. i. 21. 9.

[5] B. J. i. 4. 7.

[6] Ant. xvi. 5. 2. B. J. i. 21. 9.

[7] Hearing of the revolt of Vindex from Nero, ὑπὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔαρος ἀναλαβὼν τὸ πλέον τῆς δυνάμεως, ἤγαγεν ἀπὸ τῆς Καισαρείας ἐπὶ Αντιπατρίδος. B. J. iv. 8. 1.

[8] It is mentioned by Jerome as "Semirutum oppidulum." Its name appears in the Syecdemus and in the Jerusalem Itinerary, where the distances from Jerusalem are as follows: *Civitas Nicopoli, M. XXII.; Civitas Lidda, M. X.; Mutatio Antipatrida, M. X.; Mutatio Betthar, M. X.; Civitas Cæsarea, M. XVI.* Dr. Robinson thinks the distance between Lydda and Antipa-

ancient name is still familiarly used by the peasantry, and remains with the physical features of the neighbourhood to identify the site.[1]

The foot-soldiers proceeded no further than Antipatris, but returned from thence to Jerusalem (xxii. 32.) They were no longer necessary to secure St. Paul's safety; for no plot by the way was now to be apprehended; but they might very probably be required in the fortress of Antonia.[2] It would be in the course of the afternoon that the remaining soldiers with their weary horses entered the streets of Cæsarea. The centurion who remained in command of them[3] proceeded at once to the governor, and gave up his prisoner; and at the same time presented the dispatch[4], with which he was charged by the commandant of the garrison at Jerusalem.

We have no record of the personal appearance of Felix; but if we may yield to the impression naturally left by what we know of his sensual and ferocious character[5], we can imagine the countenance with which he read the following dispatch. "*Claudius Lysias sends greeting to the most Excellent*[6] *Felix the governor. This man was apprehended by the Jews, and on the point of being killed by them, when I came and rescued him with my military guard*[7]*: for I learnt that he was a Roman citizen.*[8] *And when I wished to ascertain the*

tris ought to be XX. instead of X. Bib. Res. iii. 46. note.

[1] The existence of a place called Kafar Saba in this part of the plain was known to Prokesch, and its identity with Antipatris was suggested by Raumer, Rob. Bib. Res. iii. 45—47. This may be considered now as proved beyond a doubt. There are some minor difficulties connected with distances, and especially with the trench of Alexander Balas,—which at first sight would lead us to look for Antipatris further south than the modern Caphar Saba. B. S. 493, 494. But here we may remark (what appears to have escaped the notice both of Mr. E. Smith and Dr. Robinson) that the trench is not said to have been dug from Antipatris itself, but *μεταξὺ τῆς ὑπὲρ Αντ. παρορείου*; and, again, that the *plain* and not the *town* is said to have been called Caphar Saba: so that we may well place it further south, towards Mejdel Yaba. Even if the town had been so called, it might possibly have moved its place without changing its name, just as Capua has done.

[2] It is explicitly stated that they came back to their quarters at Jerusalem (*εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν*).

[3] One centurion would remain, while the others returned. Possibly he is the same officer who is mentioned. xxiv. 23.

[4] *Ἀναδόντες τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τῷ ἡγεμόνι, παρέστησαν καὶ τὸν Παῦλον αὐτῷ*, v. 33.

[5] See next chapter.

[6] *Τῷ κρατίστῳ ἡγεμόνι*, v. 26. "His Excellency the Governor." This is evidently an official title. Tertullus uses the same style, *κράτιστε Φῆλιξ*, xxiv. 3., and Paul himself, *κράτιστε Φῆστε*, xxvi. 25.

[7] *Σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι*, which is unfortunately translated in the English version "with an army."

[8] This statement was dexterously inserted by Claudius Lysias to save himself from disgrace. But it was false: for it is impossible not to see that *μαθών* intends to convey the impression that Paul's Roman citizenship was the cause of the rescue, whereas this fact did not come to his knowledge till afterwards. Some of the commentators have justly observed that this dexterous

charge which they had to allege against him, I took him down[1] *to their Sanhedrin: and there I found that the charge had reference to certain questions of their law, and that he was accused of no offence worthy of death or imprisonment. And now, having received information, that a plot is about to be formed against the man's life, I send*[2] *him to thee forthwith, and I have told his accusers that they must bring their charge before thee.*[3] *Farewell.*"[4]

Felix raised his eyes from the paper, and said, "To what province does he belong?" It was the first question which a Roman governor would naturally ask in such a case. So Pilate had formerly paused, when he found he was likely to trespass on "Herod's jurisdiction." Besides the delicacy required by etiquette, the Roman law laid down strict rules for all inter-provincial communications. In the present case there could be no great difficulty for the moment. A Roman citizen with certain vague charges brought against him, was placed under the protection of a provincial governor: who was bound to keep him in safe custody till the cause should be heard. Having therefore ascertained that Paul was a native of the province of Cilicia[5], Felix simply ordered him to be kept in "Herod's prætorium," and said to Paul himself, "I will hear and decide thy cause[6], when thy accusers are come." Here then we leave the Apostle for a time. A relation of what befel him at Cæsarea will be given in another chapter, to which an account of the political state of Palestine, and a description of Herod's city, will form a suitable introduction.

falsehood is an incidental proof of the genuineness of the document.

[1] Κατήγαγον. Here we may repeat what has been said above concerning the topography of Antonia and the Temple.

[2] This is the natural English translation of ἔπεμψα. Our letters are expressed as from the writer's point of view, those of the ancients were adapted to the position of the reader.

[3] Ἐπὶ σοῦ, at the termination, emphatic.

[4] Ἐῤῥωσο. The MSS. vary as to the genuineness of this word. If the evidence is equally balanced, we should decide in its favour; for it is exactly the Latin "Vale." Such dispatches from a subordinate to a commanding officer would naturally be in Latin. See Vol. I. p. 3., where however it ought to be added that *Elogium* is rather a report from a lower to a higher court, upon appeal.

[5] Ἐκ ποίας ἐπαρχίας. . . . καὶ πυθόμενος ὅτι ἀπὸ Κιλικίας, v. 34. It has already been observed (Vol. I. p. 155.) that ἐπαρχία is a general term for both the emperor's and the senate's provinces, just as ἡγεμών is a general term for the government of either. For the province of Cilicia see pp. 267, 268.

[6] Διακούσομαί σου, κ. τ. λ., v. 35. Compare διαγνώσομαι, xxiv. 22.

CHAPTER XXII.

Παραδώσουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΑ· καὶ ἐπὶ ΗΓΕΜΟΝΑΣ δὲ καὶ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΣ ἀχθήσεσθε ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. Ὅταν δὲ παραδῶσιν ὑμᾶς, μὴ μεριμνήσητε πῶς ἢ τί λαλήσετε· δοθήσεται γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τί λαλήσετε· οὐ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ οἱ λαλοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑμῶν τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν ὑμῖν. Mat. x. 17—20.

HISTORY OF JUDÆA RESUMED.—ROMAN GOVERNORS.—FELIX.—TROOPS QUARTERED IN PALESTINE. — DESCRIPTION OF CÆSAREA. — ST. PAUL ACCUSED THERE. — *SPEECH BEFORE FELIX.*—CONTINUED IMPRISONMENT.—ACCESSION OF FESTUS.—APPEAL TO THE EMPEROR.—*SPEECH BEFORE AGRIPPA.*

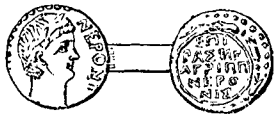
We have pursued a long and varied narrative, since we last took a general view of the political history of Judæa. The state of this part of the Empire in the year 44 was briefly summed up in a previous chapter (Vol. I. Ch. IV.). It was then remarked that this year and the year 60 were the two only points which we can regard as fixed in the annals of the earliest Church, and, therefore, the two best chronological pivots of the Apostolic history.[1] We have followed the life of the Apostle Paul through a space of fourteen years from the former of these dates: and now we are rapidly approaching the second. Then we recounted the miserable end of King Agrippa I. Now we are to speak of Agrippa II., who, like his father, had the title of King, though his kingdom was not identically the same.[2]

The life of the second Agrippa ranges over the last period of national Jewish history, and the first age of the Christian Church: and both his life and that of his sisters Drusilla and Berenice are curiously connected, by manifold links, with the general history of the times. Agrippa saw the destruction of Jerusalem, and lived till the first century was closed in the old age of St. John,—the last of a dynasty eminent for magnificence and intrigue. Berenice concluded a life of profligacy by a criminal connection with Titus the conqueror of Jerusalem.

[1] We assume that Festus succeeded Felix in the year 60. In support of this opinion we must refer to the note (C) upon the Chronological Table in the Appendix.

[2] Agrippa II. was made king of Chalcis A.D. 48—he received a further accession of territory A.D. 53, and died, at the age of 70, A.D. 99. He was intimate with Josephus, and was the last prince of the Herodian house.

Drusilla became the wife of Felix, and perished with the child of that union in the eruption of Vesuvius.



COIN OF HEROD AGRIPPA II.[1]

We have said that the kingdom of this Agrippa was not coincident with that of his father. He was never, in fact, *King of Judæa.* The three years, during which Agrippa I. reigned at Cæsarea, were only an interpolation in the long series of Roman procurators, who ruled Judæa in subordination to the governors of Syria, from the death of Herod the Great to the final destruction of Jerusalem. In the year 44, the second Agrippa was only sixteen years old, and he was detained about the court of Claudius, whilst Cuspius Fadus was sent out to direct the provincial affairs at Cæsarea.[2] It was under the administration of Fadus that those religious movements took place, which ended (as we have seen above, p. 261.) in placing under the care of the Jews the sacred vestments kept in the tower Antonia, and which gave to Herod king of Chalcis the management of the temple and its treasury, and the appointment of the high priests. And in other respects the Jews had reason to remember his administration with gratitude; for he put down the banditti which had been the pest of the country under Agrippa; and the slavish compliment of Tertullus to Felix (Acts xxiv. 2, 3.) might have been addressed to him with truth,—that "by him the Jews enjoyed great quietness, and that very worthy deeds had been done to the nation by his providence." He was succeeded by Tiberius Alexander, a renegade Alexandrian Jew, and the nephew of the celebrated Philo.[3] In relation to the life of this official in Judæa, there are no incidents worth recording: at a later period we see him at the siege of Jerusalem in command of Roman forces under Titus[4]: and the consequent inscriptions in his honour at Rome served to point the sarcasm of the Roman satirist.[5] Soon after the ar-

[1] From the British Museum. "This prince, notwithstanding the troubles which now began to afflict his ill-fated country, spent large sums in improving and beautifying Jerusalem, Berytus, and Cæsarea Philippi. Of the latter there is a coin extant, bearing the head of Nero: *reverse*, ΕΠΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΝΕΡΩΝΙΕ, within a laurel garland, confirming the account of Josephus (Ant. xx. 9. 8.), who says Herod enlarged and called the city Neronias, in honour of the Emperor." Akerman, Num. Ill. p. 57. There seems to be some doubt about the coins, one of which Mr. Akerman gives, bearing the name of Agrippa, with the umbrella or *tabernaculum* (the Oriental symbol of power) on one side, and on the other some ears of corn (perhaps having a symbolical reference to the oblation of the first-fruits, or perhaps only a substitute for the representations which were repugnants to the Jews).

[2] Joseph. Ant. xix. 9. xx. 5. 1. B. J. ii. 11. 6.

[3] Joseph. Ant. xx. 5. 2.

[4] B. J. v. 1. 6. Compare ii. 18. 7.; and iv. 10. 6.

[5] Atque triumphales inter quos ausus habere
Nescio quis titulos Ægyptius atque Alabarches.
Juv. i. 129.

rival of Ventidius Cumanus to succeed him as governor[1] in the year 48, Herod King of Chalcis died, and Agrippa II. was placed on his throne, with the same privileges in reference to the temple and its worship, which had been possessed by his uncle. "During the government of Cumanus, the low and sullen murmurs which announced the approaching eruption of the dark volcano now gathering its strength in Palestine, became more distinct. The people and the Roman soldiery began to display mutual animosity."[2] One indication of this animosity has been alluded to before[3],—the dreadful loss of life in the temple which resulted from the wanton insolence of one of the soldiers in Antonia at the time of a festival. Another was the excitement which ensued after the burning of the Scriptures by the Roman troops at Beth-Horon, on the road between Jerusalem and Cæsarea. An attack made by the Samaritans on some Jews who were proceeding through their country to a festival, led to wider results.[4] Appeal was made to Quadratus, governor of Syria: and Cumanus was sent to Rome to answer for his conduct to the emperor In the end he was deposed, and Felix, the brother of Pallas the freedman and favourite of Claudius, was (partly by the influence of Jonathan the high priest) appointed to succeed him.[5]

The mention of this governor, who was brought into such intimate relations with St. Paul, demands that we should enter now more closely into details. The origin of Felix and the mode of his elevation would prepare us to expect in him such a character as that which is condensed into a few words by Tacitus[6],—that "in the practice of all kinds of lust and cruelty he exercised the power of a king with the temper of a slave." The Jews had, indeed, to thank him for some good services to their nation. He cleared various parts of the country from robbers[7]; and he pursued and drove away that Egyptian fanatic[8],

[1] Ant. xx. 5. 2. B. J. ii. 12. 1.

[2] Milman's History of the Jews, ii. 203.

[3] See the preceding chapter, p. 261. For Beth-Horon see p. 275. n. 1.

[4] Ant. xx. 6. B. J. ii. 12.

[5] Josephus and Tacitus differ as to the circumstances of his first coming into the East. According to one account he was joint-procurator for a time with Cumanus, the latter holding Galilee, the former Samaria. From the circumstance of his being called Antonius Felix, it has been supposed that he was manumitted by Antonia, the mother of Claudius.

[6] "Claudius, defunctis regibus aut ad modicum redactis, Judæam provinciam equitibus Romanis aut libertis permisit; e quibus *Antonius Felix per omnem sævitiam ac libidinem jus regium servili ingenio exercuit.*" Hist. v. 9. In another place, he says, comparing him with his brother Pallas: — "At non frater ejus,, cognomento Felix, pari moderatione agebat, jam pridem Judææ impositus et cuncta malefacta sibi impune ratus tanta potentia subnixo." Ann. xii. 54.

[7] B. J. ii. 13. 2.

[8] Ant. xx. 8. 6. B. J. ii. 13. 5.

with whom Claudius Lysias too hastily identified St. Paul.[1] But the same historian, from whom we derive this information, gives us a terrible illustration of his cruelty in the story of the murder of Jonathan, to whom Felix was partly indebted for his own elevation. The high priest had presumed to expostulate with the governor on some of his practices, and assassins were forthwith employed to murder him in the sanctuary of the temple.[2] And as this crime illustrates one part of the sentence, in which Tacitus describes his character, so we may see the other parts of it justified and elucidated in the narrative of St. Luke; —that which speaks of him as a voluptuary, by his union with Drusilla, whom he had enticed from her husband by aid of a magician, who is not unreasonably identified by some with Simon Magus[3],—and that which speaks of his servile meanness, by his trembling without repentance at the preaching of Paul, and by his detention of him in prison from the hope of a bribe. When he finally left the Apostle in bonds at Cæsarea, this also (as we shall see) was done from a mean desire to conciliate those who were about to accuse him at Rome of mal-administration of the province. The final breach between him and the provincials seems to have arisen from a quarrel at Cæsarea, between the Jewish and heathen population, which grew so serious, that the troops were called out into the streets, and both slaughter and plunder was the result.

The mention of this circumstance leads us to give some account of the troops quartered in Palestine, and of the general distribution of the Roman army: without some notion of which no adequate idea can be obtained of the empire and the provinces. Moreover, St. Paul is brought, about this part of his life, into such close relations with different parts of that military service, from which he draws some of his most forcible imagery[4], that our narrative would be incomplete without some account both of the Prætorian guards and the legionary soldiers. The latter force may be fitly described in connection with Cæsarea, and we shall see that it is not out of place to allude here to the former also, though its natural association is with the city of Rome.

That division between the armed and unarmed provinces, to which attention

[1] See the preceding Chapter.

[2] Ant. xx. 8. 5. His treachery to Eleazar the arch-robber, mentioned by Josephus in the same section, should not be unnoticed.

[3] See Vol. I. p. 87. n. 2. By Suetonius (Claud. 28.) Felix is called "Trium reginarum Maritus." One of these was another Drusilla.

[4] See especially Eph. vi. 10—18.; also 1 Thess. v. 8.; and 2 Tim. ii. 3, 4.

has been called before (Vol. I. pp. 153—157.)[1], will serve to direct us to the principle on which the Roman legions were distributed. They were chiefly posted in the outer provinces or along the frontier, the immediate neighbourhood of the Mediterranean being completely subdued under the sway of Rome.[2] The military force required in Gaul and Spain was much smaller than it had been in the early days of Augustus.[3] Even in Africa the frontier was easily maintained[4]: for the Romans do not seem to have been engaged there in that interminable war with native tribes, which occupies the French in Algeria. The greatest accumulation of legions was on the northern and eastern boundaries of the empire,—along the courses of the three frontier rivers, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates[5]; and, finally, three legions were stationed in Britain and three in Judæa. We know the very names of these legions. Just as we find memorials of the second, the ninth, and the twentieth in connection with Chester[6] or York, so by the aid of historians or historic monuments we can trace the presence of the fifth, the tenth, and the fifteenth in Cæsarea, Ptolemais, or Jerusalem.[7] And here two principles must be borne in mind which regulated the stations of the legions. They did not move from province to province, as our troops are taken in succession from one colony to another;

[1] We may add here, that the division of the provinces under the Emperors arose out of an earlier division under the republic, when a Proconsul with a large military force was sent to some provinces, and a Proprætor with a smaller force to others. See Hoeck's Röm. Gesch. I. ii. 180, 181.

[2] It is enough here to refer to secondary authorities. Hoeck (I. ii. 183.) enumerates the legions and their stations in the time of Augustus: Gibbon (Ch. i.) describes the "peace establishment of Hadrian," a hundred years later. The original sources of information are Tac. Ann. iv. 5.; Dio Cass. lv. 23.; and Joseph. B. J. ii. 16.

[3] "Hispaniæ recens perdomitæ tribus [legionibus] habebantur." Tac. l. c. At the later period Gibbon assigns only one legion to the whole of Spain.

[4] Tacitus (l. c.) assigns two legions to Africa: but both before and afterwards only one was required there. See Ann. ii. 52. Hist. ii. 97. iv. 23. It must be remembered that Egypt is not included.

[5] At the earlier period we find four legions in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, eight on the Rhine-frontier, and six along the Danube, (two in Mœsia, two in Pannonia, and two in Dalmatia). At the later period the force on each of these rivers was considerably greater. See Hoeck and Gibbon.

[6] Antiquarians acquainted with the monuments of Chester are familiar with the letters LEG. XX. V. V. (Valens Victrix).

[7] In the History of Tacitus (v. 1.) these three legions are expressly mentioned. "Tres Titum in Judæa legiones, quinta et decuma et quinta decuma, vetus Vespasiani miles, excepere." Compare i. 10., ii. 4. The same legions are mentioned by Josephus. See, for instance, B. J. v. 1. 6., v. 2. 3. Orelli says that they were the V. Macedonica, X. Fretensis, and XV. Apollinaris. The fifth is mentioned in one of his Inscriptions (No. 1170) in connection with the names of Vespasian and Titus. The same legion is mentioned on coins of Berytus and Heliopolis in Syria; and the tenth on a coin of Ptolemais. See Mionnet, as referred to by Akerman, p. 35.

but they remained on one station for a vast number of years. And they were recruited, for the most part, from the provinces where they were posted: for the time had long passed away when every legionary soldier was an Italian and a freeborn Roman citizen.[1] Thus Josephus tells us repeatedly that the troops quartered in his native country were reinforced from thence[2]; not, indeed, from the Jews,—for they were exempt from the duty of serving[3],—but from the Greek and Syrian population.

But what were these legions? We must beware of comparing them too exactly with our own regiments of a few hundred men: for they ought rather to be called brigades, each consisting of more than 6000 infantry, with a regiment of cavalry attached. Here we see the explanation of one part of the force sent down by Claudius Lysias to Antipatris. Within the fortress of Antonia were stables for the horses of the troopers, as well as quarters for a cohort of infantry. But, moreover, every legion had attached to it a body of auxiliaries levied in the province, of almost equal number: and here, perhaps, we find the true account of the 200 "spearmen," who formed a part of St. Paul's escort, with the 200 legionary soldiers. Thus we can form to ourselves some notion of those troops (amounting, perhaps, to 35,000 men), the presence of which was so familiar a thing in Judæa, that the mention of them appears in the most solemn passages of the Evangelic and Apostolic history[4], while a Jewish historian gives us one of the best accounts of their discipline and exercises.[5]

But the legionary soldiers, with their cavalry and auxiliaries, were not the only military force in the empire, and, as it seems, not the only one in Judæa itself. The great body of troops at Rome (as we shall see when we have followed St. Paul to the metropolis) were the Prætorian Guards, amounting at this period to 10,000 men.[6] These favoured forces were entirely recruited from Italy[7]; their pay was higher, and their time of service shorter; and, for the most part, they

[1] At first under the Republic all Roman soldiers were Roman citizens. "But in proportion as the public freedom was lost in extent of conquest, war was gradually improved into an art and degraded into a trade." The change began with Marius. The *alauda* of Cæsar was formed of strangers: but these troops afterwards received the Roman citizenship. With the distinction between the Prætorian and legionary soldiers, all necessary connection between citizenship and military service ceased to exist. In strict conformity with this state of things we find that Claudius Lysias was a citizen by purchase, not because he was a military officer.

[2] Ant. xiv. 15. 10. B. J. i. 17. 1.

[3] Jos. Ant. xiv. 10. 11—19.

[4] It must be borne in mind that some of the soldiers mentioned in the Gospels belonged to Herod's military force: but since his troops were disciplined on the Roman model, we need hardly make this distinction.

[5] B. J. iii. 5.

[6] Under Augustus there were nine cohorts. Tac. Ann. iv. 5. Under Tiberius they were raised to ten. Dio C. lv. 24. The number was not increased again till after St. Paul's time.

[7] "Etruria ferme Umbriaque delectæ aut vetere Latio et coloniis antiquitus Romanis." Tac.

were not called out on foreign service.[1] Yet there is much weight in the opinion which regards the *Augustan Cohort* of Acts xxvii. 1. as a part of this Imperial Guard.[2] Possibly it was identical[3] with the *Italic Cohort* of Acts x. 1. It might well be that the same corps might be called "Italic," because its men were exclusively Italians; and "Augustan," because they were properly part of the Emperor's guard, though a part of them might occasionally be attached to the person of a provincial governor. And we observe that, while Cornelius (x. 1) and Julius (xxvii. 1) are both Roman names, it is at Cæsarea that each of these cohorts is said to have been stationed. As regards the Augustan cohort, if the view above given is correct, one result of it is singularly interesting: for it seems that Julius, the centurion, who conducted the Apostle Paul to Rome, can be identified with a high degree of probability with Julius Priscus, who was afterwards prefect of the Prætorian Guards under the Emperor Vitellius.[4]

This brief notice may suffice, concerning the troops quartered in Palestine, and especially at Cæsarea. The city itself remains to be described. Little now survives on the spot to aid us in the restoration of this handsome metropolis. On the wide area once occupied by its busy population there is silence, interrupted only by the monotonous wash-

COIN OF CÆSAREA.[5]

l. c. Hence Otho compliments them with the titles "Italiæ alumni, Romana vere juventus."

[1] Such a general rule would have exceptions, — as when our own Guards were at Waterloo.

[2] This is a question of some difficulty. Two opinions held by various commentators may, we think, readily be dismissed. 1. This *cohors Augusta* was not a part of any *legio Augusta*: for though three legions at least had this designation, it does not appear that any of them ever served in Syria or Judæa. 2. It was not identical with the *Sebasteni* (so named from Sebaste in Samaria) mentioned by Josephus. Ant. xix. 9. 2. xx. 8. 7. xx. 6. 1. B. J. ii. 12. 5.; for, in the first place, this was a troop of horse (ἴλη ἱππέων καλουμένη Σεβαστηνῶν), and secondly, we should expect a different term to be used, such as σπεῖρα καλ. Σεβ. Wieseler's view may be seen in a long and valuable note p. 389. He thinks this cohort was a special corps enrolled by Nero under the name of *Augustani* (Tac. Ann. xiv. 15.). *Augustiani* (Suet. Nero. 20. 25.). Αὐγουστεῖοι. (Dio. lxi. 20. lxiii. 8.). They were the *élite* of the Prætorians and accompanied Nero to Greece. The date of their enrolment constitutes a difficulty. But might not the cohort in question be some other detachment of the Prætorian guards?

[3] If this is so, we must modify what has been said in Vol. I. p. 31. n. 1. The subject has been alluded to again, in the account of Cornelius, p. 126. n. 2. It is there shown that this corps cannot have been a cohort of Nero's Legio prima Italica. One objection to the view of Meyer, who identifies the two, is that Judæa was not under procurators at the time of the conversion of Cornelius. But there is great obscurity about the early dates in the Acts. If the Augustan cohort is identical with the Augustani of Nero, it is clear that the Italic cohort is not the same.

[4] See Wieseler's argument, p. 393., and the Addenda at the end of his Chronologie. The passages on which it is based are Tac. Hist. ii. 92. iv. 11.

[5] From the British Museum. For the coins

ing of the sea; and no sign of human life, save the occasional encampment of Bedouin Arabs, or the accident of a small coasting vessel anchoring off the shore. The best of the ruins are engulphed by the sand, or concealed by the encroaching sea. The nearest road passes at some distance, so that comparatively few travellers have visited Cæsarea.[1] Its glory was short-lived. Its decay has been complete, as its rise was arbitrary and sudden. Strabo, in the reign of Augustus, describes at this part of the inhospitable coast of Palestine nothing but a landing-place, with a castle called Strato's tower.[2] Less than eighty years afterwards we read in Tacitus and Pliny of a city here, which was in possession of honourable privileges, and which was the "Head of Judæa," as Antioch was of Syria.[3] Josephus explains to us the change which took place in so short an interval, by describing the work which Herod the Great began and completed in twelve years.[4] Before building Antipatris in honour of his father (see p. 277.), he built on the shore between Dora and Joppa, where Strato's castle stood near the boundary of Galilee and Samaria, a city of sumptuous palaces[5] in honour of Augustus Cæsar. The city was provided with everything that could contribute to magnificence[6], amusement[7], and health.[8] But its great boast was its harbour, which provided for the ships which visited that dangerous coast, a safe basin, equal in extent to the Piræus.[9] Vast stones were sunk in the sea to the depth of twenty fathoms[10], and thus a stupendous breakwater[11] was

of Cæsarea see Sestini. p. 149. Eckhel iii. 428. Mionnet v. 486. Supp. viii. 334.

[1] Thus Dr. Robinson was prevented from visiting or describing what remains. The fullest account is perhaps that in Buckingham's Travels, (I. 197—215.). See also Irby and Mangles, and Lamartine. There is an excellent description of the place, with illustrations, at the end of the first volume of Dr. Traill's Josephus. Woodcuts will be found in Kitto's Cyclopedia, and in the first volume of Scripture Topography published by the Chr. Kn. Society: but the sources are not given. Our illustration, at the close of this chapter, is from Bartlett's Footsteps of Our Lord and His Apostles.

[2] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἄκην, Στράτωνος πύργος πρόσορμον ἔχων· μεταξὺ δὲ Κάρμηλος τὸ ὄρος. Strab. xvi. 2.

[3] "Stratonis turris, eadem Cæsarea, ab Herode rege condita: nunc Colonia prima Flavia, a Vespasiano Imperatore deducta." Plin. H. N. v. 14. "Mucianus Antiochiam, Vespasianus Cæsaream: illa Suriæ, hæc Judææ caput est." Tac. Hist. ii. 79.

[4] Antiq. xv. 9. 6. B. J. i. 21. 5—8.

[5] Λαμπροτάτοις ἐκόσμησε βασιλείοις. B. J. Below he says of the harbour:—τὸ κάλλος ὡς ἐπὶ μηδενὶ δυσκόλῳ κεκοσμῆσθαι.

[6] It contained both a theatre and an amphitheatre. The former possesses great interest for us, as being the scene of the death of Agrippa. (Vol. I. p. 139.) Some traces of it are said to remain.

[7] The buildings were of white stone. Of the harbour it is said: ἐπεισάκτοις καὶ πολλαῖς ἐξετελειώθη ταῖς δαπάναις. Ant.

[8] The arrangement of the sewers is particularly mentioned by Josephus. The remains of aqueducts are still visible.

[9] Μέγεθος μὲν κατὰ τὸν Πειραιᾶ. κ. τ. λ. Ant. In the "War" he says it was greater than the Piræus.

[10] Most of the stones were 50 feet long, 18 feet broad, and 9 feet deep. Josephus, however, is not quite consistent with himself in his statement of the dimensions.

[11] Προκυμία. This breakwater has been compared to that of Plymouth: but it was more like

formed, curving round so as to afford complete protection from the south-westerly winds,[1] and open only on the north.[2] Such is an imperfect description of that city, which in its rise and greatest eminence is exactly contemporaneous with the events of which we read in the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. It has, indeed, some connection with later history. Vespasian was here declared Emperor, and he conferred on it the title of a colony, with the additional honour of being called by his own name.[3] Here Eusebius[4] and Procopius were born, and thus it is linked with the recollections of Constantine and Justinian. After this time its annals are obscured, though the character of its remains — which have been aptly termed "ruins of ruins," — show that it must have long been a city of note under the successive occupants of Palestine.[5] Its chief association, however, must always be with the age of which we are writing. Its two great features were its close connection with Rome and the Emperors, and the large admixture of heathen strangers in its population. Not only do we see here the residence of Roman procurators[6], the quarters of imperial troops[7], and the port by which Judæa was entered from the west, but a Roman impress was ostentatiously given to everything that belonged to Cæsarea. The conspicuous object to

that of Cherbourg, and the whole harbour may more fitly be compared to the harbours of refuge now (1852) in construction at Holyhead and Portland.

[1] Josephus particularly says that the places on this part of the coast were δύσορμα διὰ τὰς κατὰ λίβα προσβολάς, — a passage which deserves careful attention, as illustrating Acts xxvii. 12.

[2] Ὁ δὲ εἴσπλους καὶ τὸ στόμα πεποιῆται πρὸς βορρᾶν, ὃς ἀνέμων αἰθριώτατος.

[3] See Plin. quoted above.

[4] He was the first biblical geographer (as Forbiger remarks, in his account of Cæsarea), and to him we owe the Onomasticon, translated by Jerome. This place was also one of the scenes of Origen's theological labours.

[5] See the appendix to Dr. Traill's Josephus. Vol. I. xlix—lvi., where a very copious account is given of the existing state of Cæsarea. Its ruins are described as "remains from which obtrude the costly materials of a succession of structures, and which furnish a sort of condensed commentary upon that series of historical evidence which we derive from books." Of late years they have been used as a quarry, furnishing shafts and ready-wrought blocks, &c., for public buildings at Acre and elsewhere. A marked change seems to have taken place since the visit of Count Forbin in 1817, who says, "Césarée renferme encore des colonnes superbes, et en grand nombre, dont quelqu'unes sont parfaitement entières; plusieurs, dans le moyen âge, furent employées à la construction du môle; cet édifice s'avançait très loin dans la mer; *les matériaux les plus riches servirent à former sa base.*" Voy. dans le Levant, p. 77. This last circumstance — the appearance of rich materials in the lowest courses of the present ruins — is shown in Mr. Tipping's third plate. He visited Cæsarea in 1842, approaching from the south, whence the point of the ruins appears "stretching into the sea and backed by the sweep of Carmel." On leaving it, and advancing towards Carmel, he found evidences of the former existence of a great population, — "the face of the limestone rock, which for the most part walls in the shore, being hewn into innumerable tombs."

[6] We are inclined to think that the "prætorium" or "palace" of Herod (Act xxiii. 35) was a different building from the official residence of Felix and Festus. See how παραγενόμενος is used xxiv. 24, and compare xxv. 23. We shall have occasion again to refer to the word πραιτώριον.

[7] See above on the Augustan cohort.

those who approached from the sea was a temple dedicated to Cæsar and to Rome[1]: the harbour was called the "Augustan harbour[2]:" the city itself was "Augustan Cæsarea."[3] And, finally, the foreign influence here was so great, that the Septuagint translation of the Scriptures was read in the Synagogues.[4] There was a standing quarrel between the Greeks and the Jews, as to whether it was a Greek city or a Jewish city. The Jews appealed to the fact that it was built by a Jewish prince. The Greeks pointed to the temples and statues.[5] This quarrel was never appeased till the great war broke out, the first act of which was the slaughter of 20,000 Jews in the streets of Cæsarea.[6]

Such was the city in which St. Paul was kept in detention among the Roman soldiers, till the time should come for his trial before that unscrupulous governor, whose character has been above described. His accusers were not long in arriving. The law required that causes should be heard speedily; and the Apostle's enemies at Jerusalem were not wanting in zeal. Thus, "after five days,"[7] the high priest Ananias and certain members of the Sanhedrin[8] appeared, with one of those advocates, who practised in the law courts of the provinces, where the forms of Roman law were imperfectly known, and the Latin language imperfectly understood.[9] The man, whose professional services were engaged on this occasion, was called Tertullus. The name is Roman, and there is little doubt that he was an Italian, and spoke on this

[1] This temple has been alluded to before, Vol. I. p. 125. The words of Josephus are: *Περίκεινται ἐν κύκλῳ τὸν λιμένα λειοτάτου λίθου κατασκευῇ συνεχεῖς οἰκήσεις, κἀν τῷ μέσῳ κολωνός τις, ἐφ' οὗ νεὼς Καίσαρος ἄποπτος τοῖς εἰσπλέουσιν, ἔχων ἀγάλματα, τὸ μὲν Ῥώμης, τὸ δὲ Καίσαρος.* Ant. In B. J. he says that the statues were colossal, that of Cæsar equal in size to the Olympian Jupiter, and that of Rome to the Argive Juno.

[2] We may refer here to the inscription on the coin of Agrippa I., given in p. 2. of the first volume: **ΚΑΙCΑΡΙΑ Η ΠΡΟC ΤΩ CΕΒΑCΤΩ ΛΙΜΕΝΙ.**

[3] So it is called by Josephus. Ant. xvi. 51: *Περὶ δὲ τον χρόνον τοῦτον συντέλειαν ἔλαβεν ἡ Καισάρεια Σεβαστή.*

[4] Lightfoot on Acts, vi. 1. See Vol. I. p. 40. n. 2.

[5] Ant. xx. 8. 7. B. J. ii. 13. 7.

[6] B. J. ii. 18. 1.

[7] It is most natural to reckon these 5 days from the time of Paul's departure from Jerusalem.

[8] *Μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*· by which we are to understand representatives or deputies from the Sanhedrin.

[9] The accuser and the accused could plead in person, as St. Paul did here: but *advocati* (*ῥήτορες*) were often employed. Geib. p. 602. It was a common practice for young Roman lawyers to go with consuls and prætors to the provinces, and to "qualify themselves by this provincial practice for the sharper struggles of the forum at home." We have an instance in the case of Cælius, who spent his youth in this way in Africa (in qua provincia cum res erant et possessiones paternæ, tum usus quidam provincialis non sine causa a magistratibus huic ætati tributus. Cic. pro Cæl. 30). It must be remembered that *Latin* was the proper language of the law courts in every part of the empire. See the quotation from Valerius Maximus in Vol. I. p. 3. n. 2.

occasion in Latin.[1] The criminal information was formally laid before the governor.[2] The prisoner was summoned[3], and Tertullus brought forward the charges against him in a set speech, which we need not quote at length. He began by loading Felix with unmerited praises[4], and then proceeded to allege three distinct heads of accusation against St. Paul, — charging him, first, with causing factious disturbances among all the Jews throughout the Empire[5] (which was an offence against the Roman Government, and amounted to *Majestas* or treason against the Emperor), — secondly, with being a ringleader of "the sect of the Nazarenes[6]" (which involved heresy against the Law of Moses), — and thirdly, with an attempt to profane the temple at Jerusalem[7], (an offence not only against the Jewish, but also against the Roman Law, which protected the Jews in the exercise of their worship). He concluded by asserting (with serious deviations from the truth) that Lysias, the commandant of the garrison, had forcibly taken the prisoner away, when the Jews were about to judge him by their own ecclesiastical law, and had thus improperly brought the matter before Felix.[8] The drift of this representation, was evidently to persuade Felix to give up St. Paul to the Jewish courts, in which case his assassination would have been easily accomplished.[9] And the Jews, who were present, gave a vehement assent to the statements of Tertullus, making no secret of their animosity against St. Paul, and[10] asserting that these things were indeed so.[11]

The governor now made a gesture[11] to the prisoner to signify that he might make his defence. The Jews were silent: and the Apostle, after briefly expressing his satisfaction that he had to plead his cause before one so well acquainted

[1] See again Vol. I. p. 3 and 4. for remarks on Tertullus and the peculiarly Latin character of the speech here given.

[2] Ἐνεφάνισαν τῷ ἡγεμόνι κατὰ τοῦ Παύλου.

[3] Κληθέντος αὐτοῦ. The presence of the accused was required by the Roman law.

[4] See above. It is worth while to notice here one phrase, διὰ τῆς σῆς προνοίας which is exactly the Latin *tuâ providentiâ*. It may be illustrated by the inscription: PROVID. AUG. on the coin of Commodus in the next chapter.

[5] Κινοῦντα στάσιν πᾶσι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς κατα τὴν οἰκουμένην.

[6] Πρωτοστάτην τῆς τῶν Ναζωραίων αἱρέσεως. See the note on αἵρεσις below, on v. 14. The authorised version unfortunately renders the same Greek word, in one case by "sect," in the other "heresy," and thus conceals the link of connection. As regards Ναζωραῖος, this is the only place where it occurs in this sense. See Vol. I. p. 129. In the mouth of Ananias it was a term of reproach, as Χριστίανος below (xxvi. 28.) in that of Agrippa.

[7] Ὃς καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπείρασε βεβηλῶσαι.

[8] We have before observed that the Sanhedrin was still allowed to exercise Criminal Jurisdiction over Ecclesiastical offenders.

[9] Compare the two attempts xxiii. 15. and xxv. 3.

[10] Συνεπέθεντο appears to be the correct reading.

[11] Νεύσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος λέγειν, v. 10. It is some help towards our realising the scene in our imagination, if we remember that Felix was seated on the tribunal (βῆμα) like Gallio (xviii. 12.) and Festus (xxv. 6.).

with Jewish customs, refuted Tertullus step by step. He said that on his recent visit to Jerusalem at the festival (and he added that it was only "twelve days" since he had left Cæsarea for that purpose)[1], he had caused no disturbance in any part of Jerusalem, — that, as to heresy, he had never swerved from his belief in the Law and the Prophets, and that in conformity with that belief, he held the doctrine of a resurrection, and sought to live conscientiously before the God of his fathers[2],—and, as to the Temple, so far from profaning it, he had been found in it deliberately observing the very strictest ceremonies. The Asiatic Jews, he added, who had been his first accusers, ought to have been present as witnesses now. Those who were present knew full well that no other charge was brought home to him before the Sanhedrin, except what related to the belief that he held in common with the Pharisees. But, without further introduction, we quote St. Luke's summary of his own words.

He denies the charges against him.

Knowing, as I do, that thou hast been judge over this nation for many years, I defend myself in the matters brought against me with greater confidence. For[3] it is in thy power to learn, that only twelve days have passed since I went up to Jerusalem to worship. And neither in the temple, nor in the synagogues, nor in the streets, did they find me disputing with any man, or causing any disorderly concourse[4] of people; nor can they prove against me the things whereof they now accuse me.

His own statement of his case.

But this I acknowledge to thee, that I follow the opinion[5], which they call a sect[6], and thus worship the

[1] In reckoning these twelve days (v. 11.) it would be possible to begin with the arrival in Jerusalem instead of the departure for Cæsarea, —or we might exclude the days after the return to Cæsarea. Wieseler's arrangement of the time is as follows. 1st day: Departure from Cæsarea. 2nd: Arrival at Jerusalem. 3rd: Meeting of the Elders. 4th (*Pentecost*): Arrest in the Temple. 5th: Trial before the Sanhedrin. 6th (at night): Departure to Cæsarea. 7th: Arrival. 12th (five days after): Ananias leaves Jerusalem. 13th: Ananias reaches Cæsarea. Trial before Felix.

[2] It has been well observed that the classical phrase τῷ πατρώῳ Θεῷ (v. 14.) was judiciously employed before Felix. "The Apostle asserts that, according to the Roman law which allowed all men to worship the gods of their own nation, he is not open to any charge of irreligion." Humphry.

[3] The connexion of this with the preceding is that Felix, having so long governed the province, would know that Paul had not been resident there before, during several years; besides which he could easily ascertain the date of his recent arrival.

[4] Ἐπισύστασις is a Pauline word found no where else in N. T. except 2 Cor. xi. 28. ἐπισύστασις ὄχλου would be literally translated *a mob*.

[5] Ὁδον, a *religious opinion* or *sect*. (See chap. xxii. 4.)

[6] Αἵρεσιν, properly a *sect* or *religious party;*

God of my fathers. And I believe all things which are written in the law and in[1] the Prophets; and I hold a hope towards God, which my accusers themselves[2] entertain, that there will be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and of the unjust. Wherefore[3] also[4] I myself strive earnestly to keep a conscience always void of offence[5] towards God and man.

Now after several[6] years I came[7] hither, to bring alms[8] to my nation, and offerings to the Temple.[9] And they found me so doing in the Temple, after I had undergone purification; not gathering together a multitude, nor causing a tumult; but certain[10] Jews from Asia discovered me, who ought to have been here before thee to accuse me, if they had anything to object against me.

He appeals to his recent acquittal by the Sanhedrin.

Or let these my accusers themselves say whether they found me guilty of any offence, when I was brought before the Sanhedrin; except it be for these words only which I cried out as I stood in the midst of them: "Concerning the resurrection of the dead, I am called in question before you this day."[11]

not used in a bad sense. See Acts v. 17. and xv. 5, and especially xxvi. 5. *κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην αἵρεσιν τῆς ἡμέτερας θρησκείας.* St. Paul means to say (or rather did say in the argument of which St. Luke here gives the outline): "Our nation is divided into religious parties, which are called *sects* (*αἱρέσεις*); thus there is the sect of the Pharisees, and the sect of the Sadducees, and so now we are called the sect of the Nazarenes. I do not deny that I belong to the latter sect; but I claim for it the same toleration which is extended by the Roman law to the others. I claim the right which you allow to all the nations under your government, of worshipping their national Gods (*τῷ πατρῴῳ θεῷ*)."

[1] The MSS. vary here. Our translation follows the reading of the Vatican MS.

[2] This shows that the Pharisees were the principal accusers of St. Paul; and that the effect produced upon them by his speech before the Sanhedrin was only momentary.

[3] Compare 2 Cor. v. 9. (*διὸ καὶ κ. τ. λ.*) where the same conclusion is derived from the same premises.

[4] The best MSS. read *καὶ* not *δὲ*, but De Wette is surely wrong in joining it with *αὐτὸς* (auch ich wie andere). Compare the *διὸ καὶ* quoted in last note.

[5] *Ἀπρόσκοπον*, literally *containing no cause of stumbling.* This also is a Pauline word occurring only 1 Cor. x. 32. and Phil. i. 10. in N. T.

[6] *Πλειόνων*, not so strong as "*many.*"

[7] *Παρεγενόμην*, *I came into this country.*

[8] This is the only mention of this collection in the Acts, and its occurrence here is a striking undesigned coincidence between the Acts and Epistles.

[9] *Προσφοράς.* We need not infer that St. Paul brought offerings to the temple with him from foreign parts; this in itself would have been not unlikely, but it seems inconsistent with St. James's remarks (Acts xxi. 23, 24). The present is only a condensation for "I came to Jerusalem to bring alms to my nation, and I entered the temple to make offerings to the temple."

[10] We read *τινὲς δὲ* with the best MSS.

[11] The best MSS. read *ἐφ'* not *ὑφ'* here.

There was all the appearance of truthfulness in St. Paul's words: and they harmonised entirely with the statement contained in the dispatch of Claudius Lysias. Moreover, Felix had resided so long in Cæsarea[1], where the Christian religion had been known for many years[2], and had penetrated even among the troops[3], that "he had a more accurate knowledge of their religion" (v. 22.) than to be easily deceived by the misrepresentations of the Jews.[4] Thus a strong impression was made on the mind of this wicked man. But his was one of those characters, which are easily affected by feelings, but always drawn away from right action by the overpowering motive of self-interest. He could not make up his mind to acquit St. Paul. He deferred all inquiry into the case for the present. "When Lysias comes down," he said, "I will decide finally[5] between you." Meanwhile he placed him under the charge of the centurion who had brought him to Cæsarea[6], with directions that he should be treated with kindness and consideration. Close confinement was indeed necessary, both to keep him in safety from the Jews, and because he was not yet acquitted: but orders were given that he should have every relaxation which could be allowed in such a case[7], and that any of his friends should be allowed to visit him, and to minister to his comfort.[8]

We read nothing, however, of Lysias coming to Cæsarea, or of any further judicial proceedings. Some few days afterwards[9] Felix came into the audience-chamber[10] with his wife Drusilla, and the prisoner was summoned before them. Drusilla, "being a Jewess" (v. 24.), took a lively interest in what Felix told her of Paul, and was curious to hear something of this faith which had

[1] If these events took place in the year 58 A D. he had been governor six years.

[2] See Acts viii. 40.

[3] Acts x. Besides other means of information, we must remember that Drusilla, his present wife, was a Jewess.

[4] Such is the turn given by Wieseler and Meyer to the words ἀκριβέστερον εἰδὼς τὰ περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ. Or they may be taken to denote that he was too well informed concerning the Christian religion to require any further information that might be elicited by the trial: it was only needful to wait for the coming of Lysias.

[5] Διαγνώσομαι.

[6] Τῷ ἑκατοντ. — not "*a* centurion" — as in A. V. A natural inference from the use of the article is, that it was the same centurion who had brought St. Paul from Antipatris (see above) and Mr. Birks traces here an undesigned coincidence. But no stress can be laid on this view. The officer might be simply the centurion who was present and on duty at the time.

[7] Ἔχειν τε ἄνεσιν. See below.

[8] Καὶ μηδένα κωλύειν τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ ὑπηρετεῖν αὐτῷ.

[9] Μετὰ ἡμέρας τινάς.

[10] By παραγενόμενος we must understand that Felix and Drusilla came to some place convenient for an audience, probably the ἀκροατήριον mentioned below (xxv. 23.) where the Apostle spoke before Festus with Drusilla's brother and sister, Agrippa and Berenice.

"Christ" for its object.[1] Thus Paul had an opportunity in his bonds of preaching the Gospel, and such an opportunity as he could hardly otherwise have obtained. His audience consisted of a Roman libertine and a profligate Jewish princess: and he so preached, as a faithful Apostle must needs have preached to such hearers. In speaking of Christ, he spoke of "righteousness and temperance and judgment to come," and while he was so discoursing, "Felix trembled." Yet still we hear of no decisive result. "Go thy way for this time: when I have a convenient season, I will send for thee," — was the response of the conscience-stricken but impenitent sinner, — the response which the Divine Word has received ever since, when listened to in a like spirit.

We are explicitly informed why this governor shut his ears to conviction, and even neglected his official duty, and kept his prisoner in cruel suspense. "He hoped that he might receive from Paul a bribe[1] for his liberation." He was not the only governor of Judæa, against whom a similar accusation is brought[2]: and Felix, well knowing how the Christians aided one another in distress, and possibly having some information of the funds with which St. Paul had recently been entrusted[3], and ignorant of those principles which make it impossible for a true Christian to tamper by bribes with the course of law, — might naturally suppose that he had here a good prospect of enriching himself. "Hence he frequently sent for Paul, and had many conversations[4] with him." But his hopes were unfulfilled. Paul, who was ever ready to claim the protection of the law, would not seek to evade it by dishonourable means[5]: and the Christians, who knew how to pray for an Apostle in bonds (Acts xii.), would not forget

[1] Observe the force of ὄναῃ Ἰουδαίᾳ. We should also notice the phrase by which the Gospel is here described, τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως, *i. e.* the faith in *Christ* or the *Messiah*. The name "*Christian*" was doubtless familiarly known at Cæsarea. And a Jewish princess must necessarily have been curious to hear some account of what professed to be the fulfilment of Jewish prophecy. Compare xxv. 22.

[2] Albinus, who succeeded Festus, is said to have released many prisoners, but those only from whom he received a bribe. Joseph. Ant. xx. 8. 5. B. J. ii. 14. 1.

[3] This suggestion is made by Mr. Birks. For the contributions which St. Paul had recently brought to Jerusalem, see above.

[4] We may contrast ὡμίλει (v. 26.) with διαλεγομένου (v. 25.) as we have done before in the narrative of the night-service at Troas. xx. 9. 11.

[5] It is allowable here to refer to the words in which Socrates refused the aid of his friends, who urged him to escape from prison: while in comparing the two cases we cannot but contrast the vague though overpowering sense of moral duty in the heathen philosopher, with the clear and lofty perception of eternal realities in the inspired Apostle.

the duty of "rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." Thus Paul remained in the Prætorium; and the suspense continued "two years."

Such a pause in a career of such activity, — such an arrest of the Apostle's labours at so critical a time, — two years taken from the best part of a life of such importance to the world, — would seem to us a mysterious dispensation of Providence, if we did not know that God has an inner work to accomplish in those, who are the chosen instruments for effecting His greatest purposes. As Paul might need the repose of preparation in Arabia, before he entered on his career,[1] so his prison at Cæsarea might be consecrated to the calm meditation, the less interrupted prayer, — which resulted in a deeper experience and knowledge of the power of the Gospel.[2] Nor need we assume that his active exertions for others were entirely suspended. "The care of all the churches" might still be resting on him: many messages, and even letters[3], of which we know nothing, may have been sent from Cæsarea to brethren at a distance. And a plausible conjecture fixes this period and place for the writing of St. Luke's Gospel under the superintendence of the Apostle of the Gentiles.[4]

All positive information, however, is denied as concerning the employments of St. Paul, while imprisoned at Cæsarea. We are the more disposed, therefore, to turn our thoughts to the consideration of the nature and outward circumstances of his confinement: and this inquiry is indeed necessary for the due elucidation of the narrative.

When an accusation was brought against a Roman citizen, the magistrate, who had criminal jurisdiction in the case, appointed the time for hearing the cause and detained the accused in custody during the interval. He was not bound to fix any definite time for the trial, but might defer it at his own arbitrary pleasure; and he might also commit the prisoner at his discretion to any of the several kinds of custody recognised by the Roman law. These were as follows[5]:— first, confinement in the public gaol (*custodia publica*) which was the most severe kind; the common gaols throughout the empire being dungeons of the worst description, where the prisoners were kept in chains, or even bound in positions of torture. Of this we have seen an example in the confinement of Paul and Silas at Philippi. Secondly, free custody (*custodia libera*),

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 105, 106.

[2] See Olshausen's excellent remarks. Komm. p. 898.

[3] It is well known that some have thought that the Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon, were written here. This question will be considered hereafter.

[4] See some good observations on this subject in Appendix E. of Tate's Continuous History. Compare Mr. Humphry's note on v. 27.

[5] The authorities for the following statements will be found in Geib, pp. 561—569.

which was the mildest kind. Here the accused party was committed to the charge of a magistrate or senator, who became responsible for his appearance on the day of trial; but this species of detention was only employed in the case of men of high rank. Thirdly, military custody (*custodia militaris*), which was introduced at the beginning of the Imperial[1] regime. In this last species of custody the accused person was given in charge to a soldier, who was responsible with his own life for the safe keeping of his prisoner. This was further secured by chaining the prisoner's right hand[2] to the soldier's left. The soldiers of course relieved one another[3] in this duty. Their prisoner was usually kept in their barracks, but sometimes allowed to reside in a private house under their charge.

It was under this latter species of custody that St. Paul was now placed by Felix, who "gave him in charge to the centurion, that he should be kept in custody" (Acts xxiv. 23.); but (as we have seen) he added the direction, that he should be treated with such indulgence[4] as this kind of detention permitted. Josephus tells us that, when the severity of Agrippa's imprisonment at Rome was mitigated, his chain was relaxed at mealtimes.[5] This illustrates the nature of the alleviations which such confinement admitted; and it is obvious that the centurion might render it more or less galling, according to his inclination, or the commands he had received. The most important alleviation of St. Paul's imprisonment consisted in the order, which Felix added, that his friends should be allowed free access to him.

[1] Tac. Ann. iii. 2. xiv. 60.

[2] Seneca de Tranquill. c. 10. Alligati sunt etiam qui alligaverunt, nisi tu forte leviorem in sinistrâ catenam putas.

[3] See Wieseler, Chron. p. 306.

[4] Ἔχειν ἄνεσιν (Acts xxiv. 23.). Meyer and De Wette have understood this as though St. Paul was committed to the *custodia libera*; but we have seen that this kind of detention was only employed in the case of men of rank; and, moreover, the mention of the centurion excludes it. But besides this, it is expressly stated (Acts xxiv. 27.) that Felix left Paul *chained* (δεδεμένον). The same word ἄνεσις (relaxation) is applied to the mitigation of Agrippa's imprisonment (Jos. Ant. xviii. 6. 10.) on the accession of Caligula, although Agrippa was still left under *custodia militaris*, and still bound with a chain. (See Wieseler, p. 381. note 2.). We shall have occasion to refer again to this relaxation of Agrippa's imprisonment, as illustrating that of St. Paul at Rome. There was, indeed, a lighter form of *custodia militaris* sometimes employed, under the name of *observatio*, when the soldier kept guard over his prisoner, and accompanied him wherever he went, but was not chained to him. (Tac. Ann. iv. 60—67.) To this we might have supposed St. Paul subjected, both at Cæsarea and at Rome, were not such an hypothesis excluded as to Cæsarea by the δεδεμένον (A. xxiv. 27.) and δεσμῶν (A. xxvi. 29.), and as to Rome by πρεσβεύω ἐν ἁλύσει (Eph. vi. 20.), and τοὺς δεσμούς μου (Phil. i. 13.). Compare Acts xxviii. 16. 21.

[5] Such seems the meaning of ἀνέσεως τῆς εἰς τὴν διαίταν in the passage referred to in the preceding note.

Meantime, the political state of Judæa grew more embarrassing. The exasperation of the people under the mal-administration of Felix became more implacable; and the crisis was rapidly approaching. It was during the two years of St. Paul's imprisonment that the disturbances to which allusion has been made before, took place in the streets of Cæsarea. The troops, who were chiefly recruited in the province, fraternised with the heathen population, while the Jews trusted chiefly to the influence of their wealth. In the end Felix was summoned to Rome, and the Jews followed him with their accusations. Thus it was that he was anxious, even at his departure, "to confer obligations upon them" (v. 27.), and one effort to diminish his unpopularity was "to leave Paul in bonds." In so doing, he doubtless violated the law, and trifled with the rights of a Roman citizen; but the favour of the provincial Jews was that which he needed, and the Christians were weak in comparison with them; nor were such delays in the administration of justice unprecedented, either at Rome or in the provinces. Thus it was, that as another governor of Judæa[1] opened the prisons that he might make himself popular, Felix, from the same motive, riveted the chains of an innocent man. The same enmity of the world against the Gospel, which set Barabbas free, left Paul a prisoner.

No change seems to have taken place in the outward circumstances of the Apostle, when Festus came to take command of the province. He was still in confinement as before. But immediately on the accession of the new governor, the unsleeping hatred of the Jews made a fresh attempt upon his life; and the course of their proceedings presently changed the whole aspect of his case, and led to unexpected results.

When a Roman governor came to his province—whether his character was coarse and cruel, like that of Felix, or reasonable and just, as that of Festus seems to have been,—his first step would be to make himself acquainted with the habits and prevalent feelings of the people he was come to rule, and to visit such places as might seem to be more peculiarly associated with national interests. The Jews were the most remarkable people in the whole extent of the Jewish provinces: and no city was to any other people what Jerusalem was to the Jews. We are not surprised, therefore, to learn that "three days" after his arrival at the political metropolis, Festus "went up to Jerusalem." Here he was immediately met by an urgent request against

[1] Albinus. See above, p. 294. Josephus says that, though he received bribes for opening the prisons, he wished by this act to make himself popular, when he found he was to be superseded by Gessius Florus.

St. Paul[1], preferred by the chief priests and leading men among the Jews[2], and seconded, as it seems, by a general concourse of the people, who came round him with no little vehemence and clamour.[3] They asked as a favour[4] (and they had good reason to hope that the new governor[5] on his accession would not refuse it), that he would allow St. Paul to be brought up to Jerusalem. The plea, doubtless, was, that he should be tried again before the Sanhedrin. But the real purpose was to assassinate him[6] on some part of the road, over which he had been safely brought by the escort two years before. So bitter and so enduring was their hatred against the apostate Pharisee. The answer of Festus was dignified and just, and worthy of his office. He said that Paul was in custody[7] at Cæsarea, and that he himself was shortly to return thither (v. 4.), adding that it was not the custom of the Romans to give up an uncondemned person as a mere favour[8] (v. 16.). The accused must have the accuser face to face[9], and full opportunity must be given for a defence (ib). Those, therefore, who were competent to undertake the task of accusers[10], should come down with him to Cæsarea, and there prefer the accusation (v. 5.).

Festus remained "eight or ten days" in Jerusalem, and then returned to Cæsarea; and the accusers went down the same day.[11] No time was lost after their arrival. The very next day[12] Festus took his seat on the judicial tribunal[13], with his assessors near him (v. 12.), and ordered Paul to be brought before him. "The Jews who had come down from Jerusalem" stood round, bringing various heavy accusations against him (which, however, they could not establish[14]), and

[1] Ἐνεφάνισαν, v. 2. Αἰτούμενοι κατ' αὐτοῦ δίκην, v. 15. We should compare St. Luke's statement with the two accounts given by Festus himself to Agrippa, below.

[2] Οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ τοῦ Παύλου, v. 2. οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Ἰ. v. 15. Thus the Accusers were again representatives of the Sanhedrin.

[3] See the second account given by Festus himself to Agrippa, below, v. 24. Ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐνέτυχόν μοι ἔν τε Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ ἐνθάδε, ἐπιβοῶντες μὴ δεῖν ζῆν αὐτὸν μηκέτι.

[4] Αἰτούμενοι χάριν κατ αὐτοῦ. v. 16.

[5] Compare the conduct of Albinus and Agrippa I., alluded to before.

[6] Ἐνέδραν ποιοῦντες ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν.

[7] Τηρεῖσθαι. The English version "should be kept" is rather too peremptory. Festus doubtless expresses this decision, but in the most conciliating form.

[8] Χαρίζεσθαι. See above, v. 11. Compare the case of Pilate and Barabbas.

[9] Πρὶν ἢ ὁ κατηγορούμενος κατὰ πρόσωπον ἔχοι τοὺς κατηγόρους. See Geib. p. 508. p. 595., and p. 689. Compare the following passages: Acts, xxiii. 30.; xxiv. 19.; xxv. 5.

[10] Οἱ οὖν ἐν ὑμῖν δυνατοὶ συγκαταβάντες. κ. τ. λ. v. 5.

[11] The course of the narrative shows that they went immediately. This is also asserted in the word συγκαταβάντες, which does not necessarily imply that they went down in the same company with Festus.

[12] Τῇ ἐπαύριον, v. 6. τῇ ἑξῆς, v. 17.

[13] Καθίσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, vv. 6. 17.

[14] V. 7.

clamorously asserting that he was worthy of death.[1] We must not suppose that the charges now brought were different in substance from those urged by Tertullus. The Prosecutors were in fact the same now as then, namely, delegates from the Sanhedrin; and the prisoner was still lying under the former accusation, which had never been withdrawn.[2] We see from what is said of Paul's defence, that the charges were still classed under the same three heads as before; viz. Heresy, Sacrilege, and Treason.[3] But Festus saw very plainly that St. Paul's offence was really connected with the religious opinions of the Jews, instead of relating, as he at first suspected, to some political movement (vv. 18, 19); and he was soon convinced that he had done nothing worthy of death (v. 25.). Being, therefore, in perplexity (v. 20.), and at the same time desirous of ingratiating himself with the provincials (v. 9.), he proposed to St. Paul that he should go up to Jerusalem, and be tried there in his presence, or at least under his protection.[4] But the Apostle knew full well the danger that lurked in this proposal, and, conscious of the rights which he possessed as a Roman citizen, he refused to accede to it, and said boldly to Festus:

> I stand before Cæsar's tribunal, and there ought my trial to be. To the Jews I have done no wrong, as thou knowest full well. If I am guilty of breaking the law, and have done any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die: but if the things whereof these men accuse me are nought, no man can give me up to them. I APPEAL UNTO CÆSAR.

Festus was probably surprised by this termination of the proceedings, but no choice was open to him. Paul had urged his prerogative as a Roman citizen, to be tried, not by the Jewish but by the Roman law[5]; a claim which, indeed, was already admitted by the words of Festus, who only proposed to transfer him to the jurisdiction of the Sanhedrin with his own consent.[6] He

[1] See v. 24., where the ἐπιβοῶντες μὴ δεῖν ζῆν αὐτὸν μηκέτι is said to have taken place both at Jerusalem and Cæsarea.

[2] At this period, an accused person might be kept in prison indefinitely, by the delay of the accuser, or the procrastination of the magistrate. See our note on this subject, at the beginning of Chap. XXIV.

[3] Acts xxv. 8. (1) εἰς τὸν νόμον; (2) εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν; (3) εἰς Καίσαρα.

[4] Ἐπ' ἐμοῦ. v. 6. In v. 2. this is omitted.

[5] Οὗ δεῖ με κρίνεσθαι.

[6] Θέλεις. κ. τ. λ.

ended by availing himself of one of the most important privileges of Roman citizenship, the right of appeal. By the mere pronunciation of those potent words "I appeal unto Cæsar"[1], he instantly removed his cause from the jurisdiction of the magistrate before whom he stood, and transferred it to the supreme tribunal of the Emperor at Rome.

To explain the full effect of this proceeding, we must observe that in the provinces of Rome, the supreme criminal jurisdiction (both under the Republic and the Empire) was exercised by the Governors, whether they were Proconsuls, Proprætors, or (as in the case of Judæa) Procurators. To this jurisdiction the *provincials* were subject without appeal, and it is needless to say that it was often exercised in the most arbitrary manner. But the *Roman citizens* in the provinces, though also liable to be brought before the judgment-seat of the Governor, were protected from the abuse of his authority; for they had the right of stopping his proceedings against them by appealing to the Tribunes, whose intervention at once transferred the cognizance of the cause to the ordinary tribunals at Rome.[2] This power was only one branch of that prerogative of *intercession* (as it was called) by which the Tribunes could stop the execution of the sentences of all other magistrates. Under the Imperial regime, the Emperor stood in the place of the Tribunes; Augustus and his successors being invested with the Tribunician power, as the most important of the many Republican offices which were concentrated in their persons. Hence the Emperors constitutionally exercised the right of *intercession*, by which they might stop the proceedings of inferior authorities. But they extended this prerogative much beyond the limits which had confined it during the Republican epoch. They not only arrested the execution of the sentences of other magistrates, but claimed and exercised the right of reversing or altering them,

[1] Καίσαρα ἐπικαλοῦμαι. This was the regular technical phrase for lodging an appeal: ἐπικαλεῖσθαι being used for the Latin *appellare*. Compare ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς δημάρχους, Plutarch, Cæsar, c. 4. The Roman law did not require any written appeal to be lodged in the hands of the Court; pronunciation of the single word *Appello* was sufficient to suspend all further proceedings. (See Geib, p. 686).

[2] We must not confound this right of *Appellatio* to the Tribunes with the right of appeal (*Provocatio*) to the Comitia which belonged to every Roman citizen. This latter right was restricted, even in the Republican era, by the institution of the *Quæstiones Perpetuæ;* because the judices appointed for those Quæstiones being regarded as representatives of the Comitia, there was no appeal from their decisions. In the time of the Emperors, the Comitia themselves being soon discontinued, this right of Provocatio could be no longer exercised. On this subject see Geib, p. 152—168. and 387—392.

and of re-hearing[1] the causes themselves. In short, the Imperial tribunal was erected into a supreme court of appeal from all inferior courts either in Rome or in the provinces.

Such was the state of things, when St. Paul appealed from Festus to Cæsar. If the appeal was admissible, it at once suspended all further proceedings on the part of Festus. There were, however, a few cases in which the right of appeal was disallowed; a bandit or a pirate, for example, taken in the fact, might be condemned and executed by the Proconsul, notwithstanding his appeal to the Emperor. Accordingly, we read that Festus took counsel with his Assessors[2], concerning the admissibility of Paul's appeal. But no doubt could be entertained on this head; and he immediately pronounced the decision of the Court. "Thou hast appealed[3] unto Cæsar; to Cæsar thou shalt be sent."

Thus the hearing of the cause, as far as Festus was concerned, had terminated. There only remained for him the office of remitting to the supreme tribunal, before which it was to be carried, his official report[4] upon its previous progress. He was bound to forward to Rome all the acts and documents bearing upon the trial, the depositions of the witnesses on both sides, and the record of his own judgment on the case. And it was his further duty to keep the person of the accused in safe custody, and to send him to Rome for trial at the earliest opportunity.

Festus, however, was still in some perplexity. Though the appeal had been allowed, yet the information elicited on the trial was so vague, that he hardly knew what statement to insert in his dispatch to the Emperor: and it seemed "a foolish thing to him to send a prisoner to Rome without at the same time specifying the charges against him." (v. 27.) It happened about this time that Herod Agrippa II., King of Chalcis, with his sister Berenice, came on a complimentary visit to the new governor and staid "some days" at

[1] According to Dio, this was already the case so early as the time of Augustus; who (he says) established the principle *μήτ' αὐτόδικος μήτ' αὐτοτελὴς οὕτω τις τὸ παράπαν ἔστω, ὥστε μὴ οὐκ ἐφέσιμον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δίκην γίγνεσθαι.* (Dio 52—33.). It may be doubted whether the Emperor at first claimed the right of reversing the sentences pronounced by the judices of the Quæstiones Perpetuæ, which were exempt from the Intercessio of the Tribune (Geib, 289—290.). But this question is of less importance, because the system of Quæstiones Perpetuæ was soon superseded under the Empire, as we shall afterwards have an opportunity of remarking.

[2] For a notice of such *consiliarii* in a province, see Sueton. Tib. 33. Their office was called *assessura*. Sueton. Galb. 14. Compare Juvenal's "Quando in consilio est ædilibus?"

[3] The sentence is not interrogative, as in A. V., but the words express a solemn decision of the Procurator and his Assessors.

[4] This report was termed *Apostoli*, or *literæ dimissoriæ*. See Geib, p. 689.

Cæsarea. This prince had been familiarly acquainted from his youth with all that related to the Jewish law, and moreover was at this time (as we have seen[1]) superintendent of the Temple, with the power of appointing the high-priest. Festus took advantage of this opportunity of consulting one better informed than himself on the points in question. He recounted to Agrippa what has been summarily related above[2]: confessing his ignorance of Jewish theology, and alluding especially to Paul's reiterated assertion[3] concerning "one Jesus who had died and was alive again." This cannot have been the first time that Agrippa had heard of the resurrection of Jesus or of the Apostle Paul.[4] His curiosity was aroused, and he expressed a wish to see the prisoner. Festus readily acceded to the request, and fixed the next day for the interview.

At the time appointed Agrippa and Berenice came with great pomp and display and entered into the audience-chamber, with a suite of military officers and the chief men of Cæsarea[5]: and at the command of Festus, Paul was brought before them. The proceedings were opened by a ceremonious speech from Festus himself,[6] describing the circumstances under which the prisoner had been brought under his notice, and ending with a statement of his perplexity as to what he should write to "his Lord"[7] the Emperor. This being concluded, Agrippa said condescendingly to St. Paul, that he was now permitted to speak for himself. And the Apostle, "stretching out the hand" which was chained to the soldier who guarded him, spoke thus :—

Complimentary address to Agrippa.

> I think myself happy, King Agrippa, that I shall defend myself to-day, before thee, against all the charges of my Jewish accusers; especially because thou art expert in all Jewish customs and questions. Wherefore I pray thee to hear me patiently.

[1] See above.

[2] V. 14—21.

[3] Ἔφασκεν.

[4] The tense of ἐβουλόμην (v. 22.) might seem to imply that he had long wished to see St. Paul.

[5] Μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας ... εἰς τὸ ἀκροατήριον σύν τε χιλιάρχοις καὶ ἀνδράσιν τοῖς κατ' ἐξοχὴν τῆς πόλεως. For ἀκροατήριον see above. We may remark that the presence of several χιλιάρχοι implies that the military force at Cæsarea was very large.

[6] Vv. 24—27.

[7] The title κύριος (Dominus) applied here to the Emperor should be noticed. Augustus and Tiberius declined a title, which implied the relation of master and slave (domini appellationem ut maledictum et opprobrium semper exhorruit. Suet. Aug. 53. Dominus appellatus a quodam denunciavit, ne se amplius contumeliæ causa nominaret. Tib. 27.), but their successors sanctioned the use of it, and Julian tried in vain to break through the custom.

He defends himself against the charge of heresy.

My[1] life and conduct from my youth, as it was at first among my own nation at Jerusalem, is known to all the Jews. They knew me of old[2] (I say) from the beginning, and can testify (if they would) that following the strictest sect of our religion, I lived a Pharisee. And now I stand here to be judged, for the hope of the promise[3] made by God unto our fathers. Which promise is the end whereto, in all their zealous worship[4], night and day, our twelve tribes hope to come. Yet this hope, O king Agrippa, is charged against me as a crime, and that by Jews.[5] What![6] is it judged among you a thing incredible that God should raise the dead?[7]

He describes his former persecution of Christians.

Now I myself[8] determined, in my own mind, that I ought exceedingly to oppose the name of Jesus the Nazarene. And this I did in Jerusalem, and many of the holy people[9] I myself shut up in prison, having received from the chief priests authority so to do[10]; and when they were condemned[11] to death, I gave my vote against them. And in every synagogue I continually punished them, and endeavoured[12] to compel them to blaspheme; and being exceedingly mad against them, I went even to foreign cities to persecute them.

[1] Μὲν οὖν here is rightly left untranslated in A. V. It is a conjunction, denoting that the speaker is beginning a new subject, used where no conjunction would be expressed in English.

[2] Προγινώσκοντες is *present.*

[3] The promise meant is that of the Messiah. Compare what St. Paul says in the speech at Antioch in Pisidia. Acts xiii. 32. Compare also Rom. xv. 8.

[4] Λατρεύω properly means to *perform the outward rites of worship,* see note on Rom. i. 19.

[5] Here again the best MSS. read Ἰουδαίων without τῶν.

[6] The punctuation adopted is, a note of interrogation after τί.

[7] This is an *argumentum ad homines* to the Jews, whose own Scriptures furnished them with cases where the dead had been raised, as for example by Elisha.

[8] The ἐγώ from its position must be emphatic.

[9] This speech should be carefully compared with that in Ch. xxii., with the view of observing St. Paul's judicious adaptation of his statements to his audience. Thus, here he calls the Christians ἅγιοι, which the Jews in the Temple would not have tolerated. See some useful remarks on this subject by Mr. Birks. Hor. Ap. vii. viii.

[10] Τήν.

[11] Ἀναιρουμένων literally *when they were being destroyed.* On the κατήνεγκα ψῆφον see Vol. I. p. 85.

[12] Ἠνάγκαζον. For this well known signification of the imperfect see Winer, § 41. 3.

His conversion and divine commission.

With this purpose I was on my road to Damascus, bearing my authority and commission from the chief[1] priests, when I saw in the way, O King, at midday[2] a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining round about me and those who journeyed with me. And when we all were fallen to the earth, I heard a voice speaking to me, and saying in the Hebrew tongue, *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? it is hard for thee to kick against the goad.* And I said, *Who art thou, Lord?* And the Lord[3] said, *I am Jesus whom thou persecutest. But rise and stand upon thy feet; for to this end I have appeared unto thee, to ordain*[4] *thee a minister and a witness both of those things which thou hast seen, and of those things wherein I shall appear unto thee. And thee have I chosen*[5] *from the house of Israel*[6]*, and from among the Gentiles; unto whom now I send thee, to open their eyes, that they may turn*[7] *from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; that by faith in me, they may receive forgiveness of sins, and an inheritance among the sanctified.*

His execution whereof had brought on him the hatred of the Jews.

Whereupon, O King Agrippa, I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision. But first[8] to those at Damascus and Jerusalem, and throughout all the land of Judæa[9], and also

[1] By ἀρχιερεῖς here, and above verse 10, is meant (as in Luke xxii. 52., Acts v. 24.) the presidents of the 24 classes (ἐφημερίαι) into which the priests were divided. These were *ex officio* members of the Sanhedrin, see Winer's Real-Wörterbuch, p. 271. In the *speech on the stairs* accordingly St. Paul states that he had received his commission to Damascus from the high priest and Sanhedrin (Acts xxii. 5.).

[2] The circumstance of the light overpowering even the blaze of the midday sun is mentioned before (Acts xxii. 6,).

[3] All the best MSS. read ὁ δὲ κύριος; this also agrees better with what follows, where St. Paul relates all which the Lord had revealed to him, both at the moment of his conversion, and, subsequently, by the voice of Ananias, and by the vision at Jerusalem. See Acts xxii. 12—21.

[4] We have here the very words of Ananias (Acts xxii. 14—15.); observe especially the unusual word προχειρίζομαι.

[5] Ἐξαιρούμενος, not "*delivering*" (A. V.).

[6] Τοῦ λαοῦ. See Vol. I. p. 189. note 5.

[7] Ἐπιστρέψαι, neuter, not active as in A. V. Compare, for the use of this word by St. Paul (to signify the conversion of the Gentiles) 1 Thess. i. 9., and Acts xiv. 15. Also below, verse 20.

[8] This does not at all prove, as has sometimes been supposed, that Saul did not preach in Arabia when he went there soon after his conversion; see Vol. I. pp. 104—106.

[9] How are we to reconcile this with St. Paul's statement (Gal. i. 22.) that he continued personally unknown to the Churches of Judæa for many years after his conversion? We must either suppose that, in the present passage, he means to

to the Gentiles, I proclaimed the tidings that they should repent and turn to God, and do works worthy of their repentance.

For these causes the Jews, when they caught me in the temple, endeavoured to kill me.

Yet his teaching accorded with the Jewish Scriptures.

Therefore[1], through the succour which I have received from God, I stand firm unto this day, and bear my testimony both to small and great; but I declare nothing else than what the Prophets and Moses foretold, That the Messiah should suffer, and that He should be the first[3] to rise from the dead, and should be the messenger[4] of light to the house of Israel, and also to the Gentiles.

Here Festus broke out into a loud exclamation[5], expressive of ridicule and surprise. To the cold man of the world, as to the inquisitive Athenians the doctrine of the resurrection was foolishness: and he said "Paul, thou art mad: thy incessant study[6] is turning thee to madness." The Apostle had alluded in his speech to writings which had a mysterious sound, to the prophets and to Moses[7] (vv. 22, 23): and it is reasonable to believe that in his imprisonment, such "books and parchments," as he afterwards wrote for in his second letter to Timotheus[8], were brought to him by his friends. Thus Festus adopted the conclusion that he had before him a mad enthusiast,

speak not in the order of time, but of all which he had done up to the present date; or else we may perhaps suppose that St. Luke did not think it necessary to attend to a minute detail of this kind, relating to a period of St. Paul's life with which he was himself not personally acquainted, in giving the general outline of this speech.

[1] Οὖν here cannot mean "*however.*" See Winer's remarks, § 57. p. 425.

[2] Εἰ occurs here when we should expect ὅτι; because the doctrines mentioned were subjects of dispute and discussion.

[3] Compare Col. i. 18. πρωτότοκος ἐκ νεκρῶν. Also ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων. 1 Cor. xv. 20.

[4] Καταγγέλλειν.

[5] Observe μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ and ἀπολογουμένου. Both expressions show that he was suddenly interrupted in the midst of his discourse.

[6] Τὰ πόλλα γράμματα. Observe the article.

[7] See again v. 27. where St. Paul appeals again to the prophets, the writings (τὰ γράμματα) to which he had alluded before.

[8] 2 Tim. iv. 12. These, we may well believe, would especially be the Old Testament Scriptures, — perhaps Jewish commentaries on them, and possibly also the works of heathen poets and philosophers.

whose head had been turned by poring over strange learning. The Apostle's reply was courteous and self-possessed, but intensely earnest.

> I am not mad, most noble Festus, but speak forth the words of truth and soberness: For the king has knowledge of these matters; and moreover I speak to him with boldness; because I am persuaded that none of these things is unknown to him, — for this has not been done in a corner.

Then, turning to the Jewish voluptuary who sat beside the governor, he made this solemn appeal to him:

> King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest.

The King's reply was: "Thou wilt soon[1] persuade me to be a Christian." The words were doubtless spoken ironically and in contempt: but Paul took them as though they had been spoken in earnest, and made that noble answer, which expresses, as no other words ever expressed them, that union of enthusiastic zeal with genuine courtesy, which is the true characteristic of "a Christian."

> I would to God, that whether soon or late[2], not only thou, but also all who hear me to-day, were such as I am, excepting these chains.

This concluded the interview. King Agrippa had no desire to hear more: and he rose from his seat[3], with the Governor and Berenice and those who sat with them. As they retired, they discussed the case with one another[4] and agreed that Paul was guilty of nothing worthy of death or even imprisonment.

[1] Ἐν ὀλίγῳ cannot mean "*almost*" (as it is in the Authorised version) which would be παρ' ὀλιγον. It might mean either "*in few words*" (Eph. iii. 3.), or "*in a small measure*," or "*in a small time*." The latter meaning agrees best with the following, ἐν ὀλίγῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ (or μεγάλῳ as the best MSS. read). We might render the passage thus: "Thou thinkest to make me a Christian with little persuasion." We should observe that πείθεις is in the present tense, and that the title "Christian" was one of contempt. See 1 Pet. iv. 16.

[2] The best MSS. have μεγάλῳ, not πολλῷ.

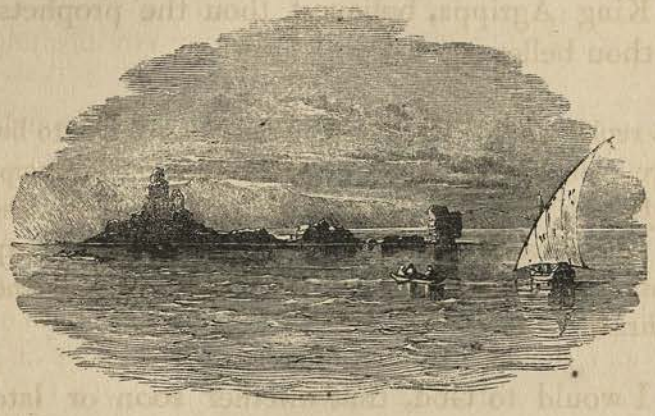
[3] Ἀνέστη ὁ βασιλεύς, κ. τ. λ. v. 30.

[4] Ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐλάλουν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, v. 31.

Agrippa said positively to Festus "This man[1] might have been set at liberty[2], if he had not appealed to the Emperor." But the appeal had been made. There was no retreat either for Festus or Paul. On the new Governor's part there was no wish to continue the procrastination of Felix; and nothing now remained but to wait for a convenient opportunity of sending his prisoner to Rome.

[1] Ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος, which again is contemptuous. See the remarks on τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνους, Acts xvi. 39. (Vol. I. p. 331.) Claudius Lysias uses the expression τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον, in his letter to Felix, xxiii. 27.

[2] Compare xxviii. 18.



CÆSAREA.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Immer, immer nach West! Dort muss die Küste sich zeigen.
Traue dem leitenden Gott. SCHILLER.

SHIPS AND NAVIGATION OF THE ANCIENTS. — ROMAN COMMERCE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN. — CORN TRADE BETWEEN ALEXANDRIA AND PUTEOLI. — TRAVELLERS BY SEA. — ST. PAUL'S VOYAGE FROM CÆSAREA, BY SIDON, TO MYRA. — FROM MYRA, BY CNIDUS AND CAPE SALMONE, TO FAIR HAVENS. — PHŒNICE. — THE STORM. — SEAMANSHIP DURING THE GALE. — ST. PAUL'S VISION. — ANCHORING IN THE NIGHT. — SHIPWRECK. — PROOF THAT IT TOOK PLACE IN MALTA. — WINTER IN THE ISLAND. — OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED. — VOYAGE, BY SYRACUSE AND RHEGIUM, TO PUTEOLI.

BEFORE entering on the narrative of that voyage[1] which brought the Apostle Paul, through manifold and imminent dangers, from Cæsarea to Rome, it will be convenient to make a few introductory remarks concerning the ships and navigation of the ancients. By fixing clearly in the mind some of the principal facts relating to the form and structure of Greek and Roman vessels, the manner in which these vessels were worked, the prevalent lines of traffic in the Mediterranean, and the opportunities afforded to travellers of reaching their destination by sea, — we shall be better able to follow this voyage without distractions or explanations, and with a clearer perception of each event as it occurred.

With regard to the vessels and seamanship of the Greeks and Romans, many popular mistakes have prevailed, to which it is hardly necessary to allude,

[1] The nautical difficulties of this narrative have been successfully explained by two independent inquirers; and, so far as we are aware, by no one else. A practical knowledge of seamanship was required for the elucidation of the whole subject; and none of the ordinary commentators seem to have looked on it with the eye of a sailor. The first who examined St. Paul's voyage in a practical spirit was the late Admiral Sir Charles Penrose, whose life has been lately published (Murray, 1851). His MSS. have been kindly placed in the hands of the writer of this chapter, and they are frequently referred to in the notes. A similar investigation was made subsequently, but independently, and more minutely and elaborately, by James Smith, Esq. of Jordanhill, whose published work on the subject (Longmans, 1848) has already obtained an European reputation. Besides other valuable aid, Mr. Smith has examined the sheets of this chapter, as they have passed through the press. We have also to express our acknowledgments for much kind assistance received from Admiral Moorsom and other naval officers.

CHART TO ILLUSTRATE
ST PAUL'S VOYAGE
FROM CÆSAREA TO PUTEOLI.
SHIPWRECK AT MALTA
ROME
ITALY
Syracuse
Melita
ADRIA
CRETE
Adrumettum
ASIA
PAMPHYLIA
Lycia
CILICIA
CYPRUS
Salon
Cæsarea
Jerusalem
Alexandria
SYRTIS
Longitude East of Greenwich

after the full illustration which the subject has now received.[1] We must not entertain the notion that all the commerce of the ancients was conducted merely by means of small craft, which proceeded timidly in the day time, and only in the summer season, along the coast from harbour to harbour, — and which were manned by mariners almost ignorant of the use of sails, and always trembling at the prospect of a storm. We cannot, indeed, assert that the arts either of ship building or navigation were matured in the Mediterranean so early as the first century of the Christian era. The Greeks and Romans were ignorant of the use of the compass[2]: the instruments with which they took observations must have been rude compared with our modern quadrants and sextants[3]: and we have no reason to believe that their vessels were provided with nautical charts[4]: and thus, when "neither sun nor stars appeared," and the sky gave indications of danger, they hesitated to try the open sea.[5] But the ancient sailor was well skilled in the changeable weather of the Levant, and his very ignorance of the aids of modern science made him the more observant of external phenomena, and more familiar with his own coasts.[6] He was not less

[1] The reference here is to the dissertation on "The Ships of the Ancients" in Mr. Smith's work on the Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul, pp. 140–202. This treatise may be regarded as the standard work on the subject, not only in England, but in Europe. It has been translated into German by H. Thiersch (Uber den Schiffbau der Griechen und Römer: Marb. 1851), and it is adduced by K. F. Hermann, in his recently published Lehrbuch der Griech. Privatalterthümer (Heidelb. 1852), as the decisive authority on the difficult points connected with the study of ancient ship-building. It is hardly necessary to refer to any of the older works on the subject. A full catalogue is given in Mr. Smith's Appendix. Bayf and Scheffer will be found in the eleventh volume of Gronovius. We shall have occasion to refer to Böckh's Urkünden presently.

[2] See Humboldt's Kosmos, Vol. II., for the main facts relating to the history of the Compass.

[3] We have no information of any nautical instruments at the time when we read of Ptolemy's mural quadrant at Alexandria; nor is it likely that any more effectual means of taking exact observations at sea, than the simple quadrant held in the hand, were in use before the invention of the reflecting quadrants and sextants by Hooke and Hadley. The want of exact chronometers must also be borne in mind.

[4] The first nautical charts were perhaps those of Marinus of Tyre (A. D. 150), whom Forbiger regards as the founder of mathematical geography.—Handb. der A. G., I. p. 365. See the life of Ptolemy in Smith's Dictionary.

[5] See Acts xxvii. 9–12., also, xxviii. 11. "We are apt to consider the ancients as timid and unskilful sailors, afraid to venture out of sight of land, or to make long voyages in the winter. I can see no evidence that this was the case. The cause of their not making voyages after the end of summer, arose, in a great measure, from the comparative obscurity of the sky during the winter, and not from the gales which prevail at that season. With no means of directing their course, except by observing the heavenly bodies, they were necessarily prevented from putting to sea when they could not depend on their being visible."—Smith, p. 180.

[6] See again what is said below in reference to Acts xxvii. 12.

prompt and practical than a modern seaman in the handling of his ship, when overtaken by stormy weather on a dangerous coast.

The ship of the Greek and Roman mariner was comparatively rude, both in its build and its rig. The hull was not laid down with the fine lines, with which we are so familiar in the competing vessels of England and America[1], and the arrangement of the sails exhibited little of that complicated distribution yet effective combination of mechanical forces, which we admire in the East-Indiaman or modern Frigate. With the war-ships[2] of the ancients we need not here occupy ourselves or the reader: but two peculiarities in the structure of Greek and Roman merchantmen must be carefully noticed: for both of them are much concerned in the seamanship described in the narrative before us.

The ships of the Greeks and Romans, like those of the early Northmen[3], were not steered by means of a single rudder, but by *two paddle-rudders*, one on each quarter. Hence "rudders" are mentioned in the plural[4] by St. Luke (Acts xxvii. 40.) as by heathen writers: and the fact is made still more palpable by the representations of art, as in the coins of Imperial Rome or the tapestry of Bayeux: nor does the hinged-rudder appear on any of the remains of antiquity, till a late period in the middle ages.[5]

And as this mode of steering is common to the two sources, from which we must trace our present art of ship-building, so also is the same mode of rigging characteristic of the ships both of the North Sea and the Mediterranean.[6] We find in these ancient ships one large mast, with strong ropes rove through a block at the mast-head, and *one large sail*, fastened to an enormous yard.[7] We

[1] "As both ends were alike, if we suppose a full-built merchant-ship of the present day, cut in two, and the stern half replaced by one exactly the same as that of the bow, we shall have a pretty accurate notion of what these ships were."—Smith, p. 141.

[2] For a full description and explanation of ancient triremes, &c. see Mr. Smith's Dissertation.

[3] See Vorsaee on the Danes and Northmen in England. He does not describe the structure of their ships; but this peculiarity is evident in the drawing given at p. 111., from the Bayeux tapestry.

[4] Τὰς ζευκτηρίας τῶν πηδαλίων. The fact of πηδάλια being in the plural is lost sight of in the English version; and the impression is conveyed of a single rudder, worked by tiller-ropes, which, as we shall see, is quite erroneous. Compare Ælian. V. H. ix. 40. See Smith, p. 143., and Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, under "Gubernaculum."

[5] Smith, p. 146. He traces the representation of ancient rudders from Trajan's column to the gold nobles of our king Edward III., and infers that "the change in the mode of steering must have taken place about the end of the thirteenth, or early in the fourteenth century."

[6] See Vorsaee, as above, and the representations of classical ships in Mr. Smith's work.

[7] By this it is not meant that topsails were not used, or that there were never more masts than one. Topsails (*suppara*) are frequently alluded to: and we shall have occasion hereafter

shall see the importance of attending to this arrangement, when we enter upon the incidents of St. Paul's voyage (xxvii. 17. 19.). One consequence was, that instead of the strain being distributed over the hull, as in a modern ship, it was concentrated upon a smaller portion of it: and thus in ancient times there must have been a greater tendency to leakage than at present[1]; and we have the testimony of ancient writers to the fact, that a vast proportion of the vessels lost were lost by foundering. Thus Virgil[2], whose descriptions of everything which relates to the sea are peculiarly exact, speaks of the ships in the fleet of Æneas as lost in various ways, some on rocks and some on quicksands, but "*all* with fastenings loosened:" and Josephus relates that the ship from which he so narrowly escaped, foundered[3] in "Adria," and that he and his companions saved themselves by swimming[4] through the night, — an escape which found its parallel in the experience of the Apostle, who in one of those shipwrecks, of which no particular narration has been given to us, was "a night and a day in the deep" (2 Cor. xi. 25.). The same danger was apprehended in the ship of Jonah, from which "they cast forth the wares that were in the ship into the sea to lighten it" (i. 5.); as well as in the ship of St. Paul, from which, after having "lightened" it the first day, they "cast out the tackling" on the second day, and finally "threw out the cargo of wheat into the sea" (xxvii. 18, 19. 38.).

This leads us to notice what may be called a third peculiarity of the appointments of ancient ships, as compared with those of modern times. In consequence of the extreme danger to which they were exposed from leaking, it was customary to take to sea, as part of their ordinary gear, "*undergirders*" (ὑποζώματα), which were simply ropes for passing round the hull of the ship and thus preventing the planks from starting.[5] One of the most remarkable

to refer particularly to a second mast, besides the mainmast. See Mr. Smith's Dissertation, p. 151., and the engraving there given from M. Jal's Archéologie Navale.

[1] See Smith, p. 63.

[2] "Laxis laterum compagibus *omnes*
Accipiunt inimicum imbrem, rimisque fatiscunt."

[3] Vit. c. 3. Mr. Smith remarks here (p. 62.) that, since Josephus and some of his companions saved themselves by swimming, "the ship did not go down during the gale, but in consequence of the damage she received during its continuance." For the meaning of the word "Adria," see below.

[4] Probably with the aid of floating spars, &c. See note on 2 Cor. xi. 25.

[5] This is what is called "*frapping*" by seamen in the English navy, who are always taught how to frap a ship. The only difference is that the practice is now resorted to much less frequently, and that modern ships are not supplied with "undergirders" specially prepared. The operation and its use are thus described in Falconer's Marine Dictionary: "To frap a ship is to pass four or five turns of a large cable-laid rope round the hull or frame of a ship, to support her in a great storm, or otherwise, when it is apprehended that she is not strong enough to resist the violent efforts of the sea." In most of the European languages the nautical term is, like the Greek, expressive of the nature of the

proofs of the truth of this statement is to be found in the inscribed marbles dug up within the last twenty years at the Piræus, which give us an inventory of the Attic fleet in its flourishing period[1]; as one of the most remarkable accounts of the application of these artificial "helps" (xxvii. 17.) in a storm, is to be found in the narrative before us.

If these differences between ancient ships and our own are borne in mind, the problems of early seamanship in the Mediterranean are nearly reduced to those with which the modern navigator has to deal in the same seas. The practical questions which remain to be asked are these. What were the dimensions of ancient ships? How near the wind could they sail? And, with a fair wind, at what rate?

As regards the first of these questions, there seems no reason why we should suppose the old trading vessels of the Mediterranean to be much smaller than our own. We may rest this conclusion, both on the character of the cargoes with which they were freighted[2], and on the number of persons we know them to have sometimes conveyed. Though the great ship of Ptolemy Philadelphus[3] may justly be regarded as built for ostentation rather than for use, the Alexandrian vessel, which forms the subject of one of Lucian's dialogues[4], and is described as driven by stress of weather into the Piræus, furnishes us

operation. Fr. *ceintrer;* Ital. *cingere;* Germ. *umgürten;* Dutch, *omgorden;* Norw. *omgyrte;* Portug. *cintrar.* In Spanish the word is *tortorar:* a circumstance which possesses some etymological interest, since the word used by Isidore of Seville for a rope used in this way is *tormentum.* See the next note.

[1] The excavations were made in the year 1834; and the inscriptions were published by A. Böckh, under the title Urkunden über das Seewesen des Attischen Staates (Berlin, 1840). A complete account is given of everything with which the Athenian ships were supplied, with the name of each vessel, &c.: and we find that they all carried *ὑποζώματα*, which are classed among the *σκεύη κρεμαστα*, or hanging gear, as opposed to the *σκ. ξύλινα*, or what was constructed of timber. See especially No. XIV., where mention is made of the ships which were on service in the Adriatic, and which carried several *ὑποζώματα.* Böckh shows (pp. 133–138.) that these were ropes passed round the body of the ship, but he strangely supposes that they were passed from stem to stern (vom Vordertheil bis zum Hintertheil) identifying them with a certain apparatus called *tormentum* by Isidore (Orig. xix. 4. 4.), who, however, seems to describe the common undergirding ropes under the term *mitra* (funis quo navis media vincitur, *Ib.* 4. 6.). See Smith, p. 174. Böckh says that Schneider (on Vitruv. x. 15. 6.) was the first to think that the *ὑπόζωμα* was not of wood, but *tauwerk.* He refers, in illustration, to Hor. Od. i. 14. 6., and Plat. Rep. x. 3. 616. c.; to *ὑποζωννύναι* as used by Polyb. xxvii. 3. 3., and *διαζωννύναι* by Appian, B. C. v. 91., and *ζωννύναι* by App. Rhod, i. 368.; to a representation of Jonah's ship in Bosii Roma Subterranea; to a small relief in the Berlin Museum (No. 622.), and in Beger Thes. Brand. iii. 406. The ship of Ptolemy described by Athenæus, carried (*ἐλάμβανε*) twelve *ὑποζώματα.*

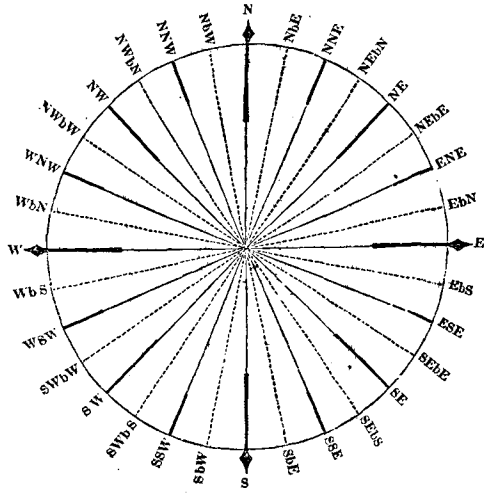
[2] See below on the traffic between the provinces and Rome.

[3] Described in Athenæus, v. 204.

[4] Navigium seu Vota. From the length and breadth of this ship as given by Lucian, Mr. Smith infers that her burthen was between 1000 and 1100 tons, pp. 147–150.

with satisfactory data for the calculation of the tonnage of ancient ships. Two hundred and seventy-six souls[1] were on board the ship in which St. Paul was wrecked (xxvii. 37.), and the "Castor and Pollux" conveyed them, in addition to her own crew, from Malta to Puteoli (xxviii. 11.): while Josephus informs us[2] that there were six hundred on board the ship from which he, with about eighty others, escaped. Such considerations lead us to suppose that the burthen of many ancient merchantmen may have been *from five hundred to a thousand tons.*

A second question of greater consequence in reference to the present subject, relates to the angle which the course of an ancient ship could be made to assume with the direction of the wind, or to use the language[3] of English sailors (who divide the compass into thirty-two points), *within how many points of the wind* she would sail? That ancient vessels could not work to windward, is one of the popular mistakes[4] which need not be refuted. They doubtless took advantage of the Etesian winds[5], just as the traders in the Eastern Archipelago sail with the monsoons: but those who were accustomed to a seafaring life could not avoid discovering that a ship's course can be made to assume a less angle than a right angle with the direction of the wind, or, in other words, that she can be made to sail within less than eight points of the wind[6]: and Pliny dis-



[1] "The ship must have been of considerable burden, as we find there were no less than 276 persons embarked on board her. To afford fair accommodation for troops in a transport expressly fitted for the purpose, we should allow at the rate of a ton and a half to each man, and, as the ship we are considering was not expressly fitted for passengers, we may conclude that her burden was fully, or at least nearly double, the number of tons, to the souls on board, or upwards of 500 tons."—Penrose, MS.

[2] Vit. c. 3.

[3] As it is essential, for the purpose of elucidating the narrative, that this language should be clearly understood, a compass has been inserted on this page, and some words of explanation are given, both here and below. This will be readily excused by those who are familiar with nautical phraseology.

[4] Yet we sometimes find the mistake when we should hardly expect it. Thus, Hemsen says (p. 570. note), with reference to the "Kreuzfahrt," which ὑποπλεῖν implies in Acts xxvii. 7., "Doch ist es wohl zweifelhaft, ob die Alten diese Art gegen den Wind zu segeln kannten."

[5] The classical passages relating to these winds —the monsoons of the Levant — are collected in Forbiger's first volume, p. 619.

[6] See Smith, p. 178.

tinctly says, that it is possible for a ship to sail on contrary tacks.[1] The limits of this possibility depend upon the character of the vessel and the violence of the gale. We shall find, below, that the vessel in which St. Paul was wrecked, "could not *look at* the wind," —for so the Greek word (xxvii. 15.) may be literally translated in the language of English sailors,—though with a less violent gale, an English ship, well-managed, could easily have kept her course. A modern merchantman, in moderate weather, can sail within six points of the wind. In an ancient vessel the yard could not be braced so sharp, and the hull was more clumsy: and it would not be safe to say that she could sail nearer the wind, than within *seven points*.[2]

To turn now to the third question, the *rate of sailing*, — the very nature of the rig, which was less adapted than our own for working to windward, was peculiarly favourable to a quick run before the wind. In the China seas, during the monsoons, junks have been seen from the deck of a British vessel behind in the horizon in the morning, and before in the horizon in the evening.[3] Thus we read of passages accomplished of old in the Mediterranean, which would do credit to a well appointed modern ship. Pliny, who was himself a seaman, and in command of a fleet at the time of his death, might furnish us with several instances. We might quote the story of the fresh fig, which Cato produced in the Senate at Rome, when he urged his countrymen to undertake the third Punic war, by impressing on them the imminent nearness of their enemy. "This fruit," he says, "was gathered fresh at Carthage three days ago."[3] Other voyages, which he adduces, are such at these, — seven days from Cadiz to Ostia, — seven days from the straits of Messina to Alexandria — nine days from Puteoli to Alexandria.[4] These instances are quite in harmony with what we read in other authors. Thus Rhodes and Cape Salmone, at the eastern extremity of Crete, are reckoned by Diodorus and Strabo as four days from Alexandria[5]: Plutarch tells us of a voyage within the day from Brundusium to Corcyra[6]: Procopius describes Belisarius as sailing on one

[1] "Iisdem ventis in contrarium navigatur prolatis pedibus." H. N. ii. 48.

[2] Smith, ibid.

[3] See above, in this volume, p. 234. n. 1.

[4] "Cum clamaret Carthaginem delendam, attulit quodam die in Curiam præcocem ex ea provincia ficum: ostendensque Patribus; Interrogo vos, inquit, quando hunc pomum decerptam putatis ex arbore? Cum inter omnes recentem esse constaret; Atqui tertium, inquit, ante diem scitote decerptam Carthagine: tam prope a muris habemus hostem." Plin. H. N. xv. 20. We may observe that the interval of time need not be regarded as so much as three entire days: though Mr. Greswell appears to estimate it at "four days." Diss. Vol. IV. p. 517.

[5] "A freto Siciliæ Alexandriam septima die . . . a Puteolis nono die lenissimo flatu . . . Gades ad Herculis columnas septimo die Ostiam." H. N. xix. 1.

[6] Diod. iii. 33. Plin. H. N. iv. 20. Strabo. x. 4.

[7] Plut. Paul. Æmil. c. 36.

day with his fleet from Malta, and landing on the next day some leagues to the south of Carthage.[1] A thousand stades (or between 100 and 150 miles), is reckoned by the geographers a common distance to accomplish in the twenty-fours.[2] And the conclusion to which we are brought, is, that with a fair wind an ancient merchantman would easily sail at the rate of *seven knots an hour*, — a conclusion in complete harmony both with what we have observed in a former voyage of St. Paul (Chap. XX.), and with what will demand our attention at the close of that voyage, which brought him at length from Malta by Rhegium to Puteoli (Acts xxviii. 13.).

The remarks which have been made will convey to the reader a sufficient notion of the ships and navigation of the ancients. If to the above-mentioned peculiarities of build and rig we add the eye painted at the prow, the conventional ornaments at stem and stern, which are familiar to us in remaining works of art[3], and the characteristic figures of heathen divinities[4], we shall gain a sufficient idea of an ancient merchantman. And a glance at the chart of the Mediterranean will enable us to realise in our imagination the nature of the voyages that were most frequent in the ancient world. With the same view of elucidating the details of our subject beforehand, we may now devote a short space to the prevalent lines of traffic, and to the opportunities of travellers by sea, in the first century of the Christian era.

Though the Romans had no natural love for the sea, and though a commercial life was never regarded by them as an honourable occupation, and thus both the experience of practical seamanship, and the business of the carrying trade remained in a great measure with the Greeks, yet a vast development had been given to commerce by the consolidation of the Roman Empire.

[1] Ἀράμενοι κατὰ τάχος τὰ ἱστία, Γάυλῳ τε καὶ Μελίτῃ ταῖς νήσοις πρόσεσχον, αἱ τότε Ἀδριατικὸν καὶ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος διορίζουσιν. ἔνθα δὴ αὐτοῖς Εὖρου τι πνεῦμα ἐπιπεσὸν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὴν Λιβύης ἀκτὴν ἤνεγκεν. Procop. Bell. Vand. i. 14. (I. 372. Ed. Bonn.). This is one of the passages which will be referred to hereafter, in considering the boundaries of the sea called Adria (Acts, xxvii. 27.).

[2] Such is the estimate of Marinus, Ptolemy, and Scylax. See Greswell's Dissertations, Vol. IV. p. 517. Herodotus (iv. 86.) reckons a day and a night's sail in the summer time, and with a favourable wind, at 1300 stadia, or 162 Roman miles.

[3] For the χηνίσκος, a tall ornament at the stern or prow, in the form of the neck of a waterfowl, see Smith, p. 142., and Hermann, 50. 31. And see the Dictionary of Antiquities under "Aplustre."

[4] Παρασήμῳ Διοσκούροις, Acts, xxviii. 11. Τῆς νεὼς τὸ παράσημον. Plut. Sept. Sapp. c. 18. Ἡ πρῶρα τὴν ἐπωΐνυμον τῆς νεὼς θεὸν ἔχουσα τὴν Ἶσιν ἐκατέρωθεν. Lucian. Nav. c. 5. See the Scholiast on Aristoph. Ach. 547. Ἐν ταῖς πρώραις τῶν τριήρων ἦν ἀγάλματά τινα ξύλινα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καθιδρυμένα.

Piracy had been effectually put down before the close of the Republic.[1] The annexation of Egypt drew towards Italy the rich trade of the Indian seas. After the effectual reduction of Gaul and Spain, Roman soldiers and Roman slave-dealers[2] invaded the shores of Britain. The trade of all the countries which surround the Mediterranean began to flow towards Rome. The great city herself was passive, for she had nothing to export. But the cravings of her luxury, and the necessities of her vast population, drew to one centre the converging lines of a busy traffic from a wide extent of provinces. To leave out of view what hardly concerns us here, the commerce by land from the North[3], some of the principal directions of trade by sea may be briefly enumerated as follows. The harbours of Ostia and Puteoli were constantly full of ships from the West, which had brought wool and other articles from Cadiz[4]: a circumstance which possesses some interest for us here, as illustrating the mode in which St. Paul might hope to accomplish his voyage to Spain (Rom. xv. 24.). On the South was Sicily, often called the Store-house of Italy[5], — and Africa, which sent furniture-woods to Rome, and heavy cargoes of marble and granite.[6] On the East, Asia Minor was the intermediate space through which the caravan-trade[7] passed, conveying silks and spices from beyond the Euphrates to the markets and wharves of Ephesus.[8] We might extend this enumeration by alluding to the fisheries of the Black Sea[9], and the wine-trade of the Archipelago.[10] But enough has been said to give some notion of the commercial activity of which Italy was the centre: and our particular attention here is required only to one branch of trade, one line of constant traffic across the waters of the Mediterranean to Rome.

Alexandria has been mentioned already as a city, which, next after Athens, exerted the strongest intellectual influence over the age in which St. Paul's appointed work was done: and we have had occasion to notice some indirect

[1] Compare Vol. I. pp. 22. 23. See Hor. "Pacatum volitant per mare navitæ," and Plin.

[2] See the passage in Pitt's speeches, referred to in Milman's Gibbon, i. p. 70.

[3] For example, the amber trade of the Baltic, and the importing of provisions and rough-cloths from Cisalpine Gaul. See Strabo, v. Polyb. ii. 15. Columella de R. R. vii. 2.

[4] See Hoeck's Röm. Geschichte, I. ii. p. 276.

[5] Ταμιεῖον τῆς Ῥώμης. Strabo, v. See Cic. in Verr. ii. 2.

[6] Hoeck, p. 278.

[7] There seem to have been two great lines of inland trade through Asia Minor, one near the southern shore of the Black Sea, through the districts opened by the campaigns of Pompey, and the other through the centre of the country from Mazaca, on the Euphrates, to Ephesus.

[8] Strabo, xii. xiv. In the first of these passages, he says of Ephesus, τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑποδοχεῖον κοινόν ἐστι.

[9] Aul. Gell. vii. 16. Mart. ii. 37.

[10] Plin. N. H. xiv. 16, 17.

connection between this city and the Apostle's own labours[1]. But it was eminent commercially not less than intellectually. The prophetic views of Alexander were at that time receiving an ampler fulfilment than at any former period. The trade with the Indian Seas, which had been encouraged under the Ptolemies, received a vast impulse in the reign of Augustus[2]: and under the reigns of his successors, the valley of the Nile was the channel of an active transit trade in spices, dyes, jewels, and perfumes, which were brought by Arabian mariners from the far East, and poured into the markets of Italy.[3] But Egypt was not only the medium of transit trade. She had her own manufactures of linen, paper, and glass[4], which she exported in large quantities. And one natural product of her soil has been a staple commodity from the time of Pharaoh to our own. We have only to think of the fertilizing inundations of the Nile, on the one hand, and, on the other, of the multitudes composing the free and slave population of Italy, in order to comprehend the activity and importance of the Alexandrian corn-trade. At a later period the Emperor Commodus established a company of merchants to convey the supplies from Egypt to Rome; and the commendations which he gave himself for this forethought may still be read in the inscription round the ships represented on his coins.[5] The harbour, to which the Egyptian corn-vessels were usually bound, was Puteoli. At the close of this Chapter we shall refer to some passages which give an animated picture of the arrival of these ships. Meanwhile, it is well to have called attention to this line of traffic between Alexandria and Puteoli; for in so doing we have described the means which Divine Providence employed for bringing the Apostle to Rome.

The transition is easy from the commerce of the Mediterranean to the progress of travellers from point to point in that sea. If to this enumeration of the

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 10, 11. 39.; Vol. II. p. 6.

[2] See the history of this trade in Dean Vincent's Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients.

[3] There is an enumeration of the imports into Egypt from the East in the Periplus Maris Erythræi, about the time of Nero, and also in the Pandects. The contents of these lists are analysed by Dean Vincent.

[4] Plin. H. N. xiii. 22, 23., xix. 1. Martial, xiv. 150., 115. Cic. pro Rabir. post, 14. For the manufactures of Alexandria, see Vopisc. Saturn. 8.

[5] This engraving is from Mr. Smith's work (p. 162.), and was taken from a coin at Avignon. See another from Capt. Smyth's Collection, p. 163. That which is here represented gives a good representation of the ἀρτέμων (Acts xxvii. 40.), which, as we shall see, was probably the foresail.

main lines of traffic by sea we add all the ramifications of the coasting-trade which depended on them, we have before us a full view of the opportunities which travellers possessed of accomplishing their voyages. Just in this way we have lately seen St. Paul completing the journey, on which his mind was set, from Philippi, by Miletus and Patara, to Cæsarea (Ch. XX.). We read of no periodical packets for the conveyance of passengers sailing between the great towns of the Mediterranean. Emperors themselves were usually compelled to take advantage of the same opportunities to which Jewish pilgrims and Christian Apostles were limited. When Vespasian went to Rome, leaving Titus to prosecute the siege of Jerusalem, "he went on board a merchant-ship, and sailed from Alexandria to Rhodes," and thence pursued his way through Greece to the Adriatic, and finally went to Rome through Italy by land.[1] And when the Jewish war was ended, and when, suspicions having arisen concerning the allegiance of Titus to Vespasian, the son was anxious "to rejoin his father," he also left Alexandria[2] in a "merchant-ship," and "hastened to Italy," touching at the very places at which St. Paul touched, first at Rhegium (xxviii. 13.), and then at Puteoli (Ib.).

If such was the mode in which even royal personages travelled from the provinces to the metropolis, we must of course conclude that those who travelled on the business of the state must often have been content to avail themselves of similar opportunities. The sending of state prisoners to Rome from various parts of the empire was an event of frequent occurrence. Thus we are told by Josephus[3], that Felix "for some slight offence, bound and sent to Rome several priests of his acquaintance, honourable and good men, to answer for themselves to Cæsar." Such groups must often have left Cæsarea and the other Eastern ports, in merchant-vessels bound for the West: and such was the departure of St. Paul, when the time at length came for that eventful journey, which had been so long and earnestly cherished in his own wishes[4]; so emphatically foretold by Divine revelation[5]; and which was destined to involve such great consequences to the whole future of Christianity.

[1] Νεὼς φορτίδος Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐπιβὰς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς Ῥόδον διέβαινεν. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ πλέων ἐπὶ τριηρῶν . . . . εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα . . . . κἀκεῖθεν ἀπὸ Κερκύρας ἐπ' ἄκραν Ἰαπυγίαν, ὅθεν ἤδη κατὰ γῆν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν. Joseph, B. J. vii. 2. 1.

[2] "Nata suspicio est, quasi descisceret a patre . . . . Quam suspicionem auxit, postquam Alexandriam petens . . . . diadema gestavit. . . Quare *festinans in Italiam, cum Rhegium, deinde Puteolos oneraria nave appulisset, Romam inde contendit.*" Suet. Tit. c. 5.

[3] Joseph, Vit. c. 3.

[4] Rom. xv. 23.

[5] Acts xix. 21, xxiii. 11. See xxvii. 24.

The vessel in which he sailed, with certain other state-prisoners, was "a ship of Adramyttium" apparently engaged in the coasting trade[1] and at that time (probably the end of summer or the beginning of autumn[2]) bound on her homeward voyage. Whatever might be the harbours at which she intended to touch, her course lay along the coast of the province of Asia.[3] Adramyttium was itself a seaport in Mysia, which (as we have seen) was a subdivision of that province: and we have already described it as situated in the deep gulf which recedes beyond the base of Mount Ida, over against the island of Lesbos, and as connected by good roads with Pergamus and Troas on the coast, and the various marts in the interior of the peninsula.[4] Since St. Paul never reached the place, no description of it is required.[5] It is only needful to observe that when the vessel reached the coast of "Asia," the travellers would be brought some considerable distance on their way to Rome; and there would be a good prospect of finding some other westward-bound vessel, in which they might complete their voyage,—more especially since the Alexandrian corn-ships (as we shall see) often touched at the harbours in that neighbourhood.

[1] The words *μέλλοντι πλεῖν τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τόπους* seem to imply that she was about to touch at several places on her way to Adramyttium. Probably she was a small coaster similar to those of the modern Greeks in the same seas: and doubtless the Alexandrian corn-ship mentioned afterwards was much larger. The reading *μέλλοντι* rests on better authority than *μέλλοντες*.

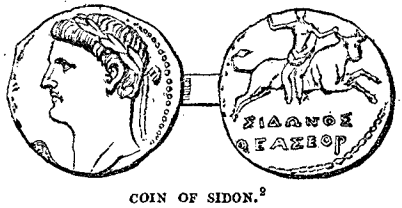
[2] This we infer, partly because it is reasonable to suppose that they expected to reach Italy before the winter, partly because of the delays which are expressly mentioned before the consultation at Fair Havens. See p. 332.

[3] For the meaning of the word "Asia" in the New Testament, we need only refer again to Vol. I. p. 255, &c. It is of the utmost consequence to bear this in mind. If the *continent of Asia* were intended, the passage would be almost unmeaning. Yet Falconer says (Diss. on St. Paul's Voyage, on the wind Euroclydon and the Apostle's shipwreck on the island Melita, by a layman. Oxf. 1817), "They who conducted the ship, meant to sail on their return by the coasts of Asia; *accordingly*, the next day after they set sail, they touched at Sidon," p. 4. Nor are we to suppose *Asia Minor* intended, which seems to be the supposition even of Meyer and De Wette. As to the text, the general sense is unaltered, whether we read *μέλλοντες* or *μέλλοντι*.

[4] Vol. I. p. 299. See Vol. II. p. 217. n. 2. We need hardly allude to the error of Grotius, who supposed Adrumetum, on the African coast, to be meant. Mr. Lewin assumes that the intention of Julius was to proceed (like those who afterwards took Ignatius to his martyrdom) by the Via Egnatia through Macedonia: but the narrative gives no indication of such a plan: and indeed the hypothesis is contradicted by the word *ἀποπλεῖν*.

[5] A short notice of it is given by Sir C. Fellows (A. M. p. 39.). Mr. Weston, in his MS. journal, describes it as a filthy town, of about 1500 houses, 150 of which are inhabited by Greeks, and he saw no remains of antiquity. It was a flourishing seaport in the time of the kings of Pergamus; and Pliny mentions it as the seat of a *conventus juridicus*. In Pococke's Travels (II. ii. 16.), it is stated that there is much boat-building still at Adramyti.

St. Paul's two companions — besides the soldiers, with Julius their commanding officer, the sailors, the other prisoners, and such occasional passengers as may have taken advantage of this opportunity of leaving Cæsarea, — were two Christians already familiar to us, Luke the Evangelist, whose name, like that of Timotheus, is almost inseparable from the Apostle, and whom we may conclude to have been with him since his arrival in Jerusalem[1], — and "Aristarchus the Macedonian, of Thessalonica," whose native country and native city have been separately mentioned before (Acts xix. 29. xx. 4.), and who seems, from the manner in which he is spoken of in the Epistles written from Rome (Philem. 24. Col. iv. 10.), to have been, like St. Paul himself, a prisoner in the cause of the Gospel.



COIN OF SIDON.[2]

On the day after sailing from Cæsarea the vessel put into Sidon (v. 2.). This may be readily accounted for, by supposing that she touched there for the purposes of trade, or to land some passengers. Or another hypothesis is equally allowable. Westerly and north-westerly winds prevail in the Levant at the end of summer and the beginning of autumn[3]; and we find that it did actually blow from these quarters soon afterwards, in the course of St. Paul's voyage. Such a wind would be sufficiently fair for a passage to Sidon: and the seamen might proceed to that port in the hope of the weather becoming more favourable, and be detained there by the wind continuing in the same quarter.[4] The passage from Cæsarea to Sidon is sixty-seven miles, a distance easily accomplished,

[1] See above.

[2] From the British Museum.

[3] See the quotation already given from Norie's Sailing Directions in this volume, p. 227. n. 4. A similar statement will be found in Purdy, p. 59. Mr. Smith (pp. 22, 23. 27. 41.) gives very copious illustrations of this point, from the journal written by Lord De Saumarez, on his return from Aboukir, in the months of August and September, 1798. He stood to the north towards Cyprus, and was compelled to run to the south of Crete. "The wind continues to the westward. I am sorry to find it almost as prevailing as the trade-winds (July 4.). . . . We have just gained sight of Cyprus, nearly the track we followed six weeks ago; so invariably do the westerly winds prevail at this season (Aug. 19.). . . . We are still off the island of Rhodes. Our present route is to the northward of Candia (Aug. 28.). . . . After contending three days against the adverse winds which are almost invariably encountered here, and getting sufficiently to the northward to have weathered the small islands that lie more immediately between the Archipelago and Candia, the wind set in so strong from the westward that I was compelled to desist from that passage, and to bear up between Scarpanto and Saxo."

[4] "They probably stopped at Sidon for the purposes of trade." Smith, p. 23. "It may be concluded that they put in, because of contrary winds." Penrose MS.

under favourable circumstances, in less than twenty-four hours. In the course of the night they would pass by Ptolemais and Tyre, where St. Paul had visited the Christians two years before.[1] Sidon is the last city on the Phœnician shore in which the Apostle's presence can be traced. It is a city associated, from the earliest times, with patriarchal and Jewish History: The limit of "the border of the Canaanites" in the description of the peopling of the earth after the Flood (Gen. x. 19.),—"the haven of the sea, the haven of ships" in the dim vision of the dying Patriarch (Ib. xlix. 13.),—the "great Sidon" of the wars of Joshua (Josh. xi. 8.),—the city that never was conquered by the Israelites (Judg. i. 31.),—the home of the merchants that "passed over the sea" (Isa. xiii.),—its history was linked with all the annals of the Hebrew race. Nor is it less familiarly known in the records of heathen antiquity. Its name is celebrated both in the Iliad and the Odyssey[2], and Herodotus[3] says that its sailors were the most expert of all the Phœnicians. Its strong and massive fortifications were pulled down, when this coast fell under the sway of the Persians[4]; but its harbour remained uninjured till a far later period. The prince of the Druses, with whose strange and brilliant career its more recent history is most closely connected, threw masses of stone and earth into the port, in order to protect himself from the Turks[5]:—and houses are now standing on the spot where the ships of King Louis anchored in the last Crusade[6], and which was crowded with merchandize in that age, when the Geographer of the Roman Empire spoke of Sidon as the best harbour of Phœnicia.[7]

Nor is the history of Sidon without a close connection with those years in which Christianity was founded. Not only did its inhabitants, with those of Tyre, follow the footsteps of JESUS, to hear His words, and to be healed of their diseases (Luke vi. 17.): but the Son of David Himself visited those coasts, and rewarded the importunate faith of a Gentile suppliant (Mat. xv. Mark vii.); and soon the prophecy which lay, as it were, involved in this miracle, was fulfilled by the preaching of Evangelists and Apostles. Those who had been converted during the dispersion which followed the martyrdom of Stephen were presently visited by Barnabas and Saul (Acts x.). Again, Paul with Barnabas passed through these cities on their return from the first victorious

[1] See what has been said above on these two cities, Ch. xx. p. 237., &c.

[2] Il. vi. 290. &c. Od. iv. 84.

[3] Herod. vii. 89. 96.

[4] See Diod. Sic. xvi. 44. Arrian. ii. 15.

[5] A compendious account of Fakrid-din will be found in the "Modern Traveller."

[6] For the history of Sidon during the Middle Ages, see Dr. Robinson's third volume.

[7] Strabo, xvi. See Joseph, Ant. v., also Scylax and Ach. Tat. i. 1.

journey among the Gentiles (Ib. xi. 3.). Nor were these the only journeys which the Apostle had taken through Phœnicia[1]; so that he well knew, on his arrival from Cæsarea, that Christian brethren were to be found in Sidon. He, doubtless, told Julius that he had "friends" there, whom he wished to visit, and, either from special commands which had been given by Festus in favour of St. Paul, or through an influence which the Apostle had already gained over the centurion's mind, the desired permission was granted. If we bear in our remembrance that St. Paul's health was naturally delicate, and that he must have suffered much during his long detention at Cæsarea, a new interest is given to the touching incident, with which the narrative of this voyage opens, that the Roman officer treated this one prisoner "courteously, and gave him liberty to go unto his friends to refresh himself." We have already considered the military position of this centurion, and seen that there are good grounds for identifying him with an officer mentioned by a heathen historian.[2] It gives an additional pleasure to such investigations, when we can record our grateful recollection of kindness shown by him to that Apostle, from whom we have received our chief knowledge of the Gospel.

On going to sea from Sidon, the wind was unfavourable. Hence, whatever the weather had been before, it certainly blew from the westward now. The direct course from Sidon to the "coasts of Asia" would have been to the southward of Cyprus, across the sea over which the Apostle had sailed so prosperously two years before.[3] Thus when St. Luke says, that "they sailed *under the lee*[4] of Cyprus, *because the winds were contrary*," he means that they

[1] See Vol. I. p. 456.

[2] See the preceding chapter.

[3] See Chap. XX.

[4] Ὑπεπλεύσαμεν. So the word is used below, v. 7., and ὑποδραμεῖν, v. 16. It is a confusion of geographical ideas to suppose that a south shore is necessarily meant. Falconer, who imagines the south coast of Cyprus to be intended, was misled by his view of the meaning of the word Asia. Hemsen thinks the same, and adds that the vessel was afterwards driven northwards into the sea of Cilicia and Pamphylia. De Wette gives the correct interpretation:—"Schifften wir unter (der Küste von) Cypern hin, so das dieses links (westlich) liegen blieb," i. e. *sailed under the lee of this island*, or so that the wind blew from the island towards the ship. The idea of sailing *near* the coast (the explanation of Meyer and Kuinoel) is no doubt included: but the two things are distinct. Humphry seems to blend the two—"sailed under the lee of Cyprus,—not leaving it at a distance, as they had done in their former voyage, xxi. 3." The best note is that of Wetstein; and we should expect a Dutch commentator to be better acquainted with the sea than the Germans. "Si ventus favisset alto se commisissent, et Cyprum ad dextram partem reliquissent, ut Act. xxi. 3. Nunc autem coguntur legere littus Ciliciæ, inter Cyprum et Asiam [Minorem]. Hoc fit vento adverso, cum navis non possit ἀντοφθαλμεῖν (*onder ein zeekere plaats zeylen: laveeren*). Ubi navis vento contrario cogitur à recto cursu recedere, ita ut tunc insula sit interposita inter ventum et navem, dicitur *ferri infra insulam*." See Hackett.

sailed to the north-east and north of the island. If there were any doubt concerning his meaning, it would be made clear by what is said afterwards, that they "*sailed through*[1] *the sea which is over against Cilicia and Pamphylia.*" The reasons why this course was taken will be easily understood by those who have navigated those seas in modern times. By standing to the north, the vessel would fall in with the current which sets in a north-westerly direction past the eastern extremity of Cyprus, and then westerly along the southern coast of Asia Minor, till it is lost at the opening of the Archipelago.[2] And besides this, as the land was neared, the wind would draw off the shore, and the water would be smoother; and both these advantages would aid the progress of the vessel.[3] Hence she would easily work to windward[4], under the mountains of Cilicia, and through the bay of Pamphylia,—to Lycia, which was the first district in the province of Asia.[5] Thus we follow the Apostle once more across the sea over which he had first sailed with Barnabas from Antioch to Salamis, — and within sight of the summits of Taurus, which rise above his native city, — and close by Perga and Attaleia, — till he came to a Lycian harbour not far from Patara, the last point at which he had touched on his return from the third Missionary journey.

The Lycian harbour, in which the Adramyttian ship came to anchor on

[1] Διαπλεύσαντες, i. e. sailed *through* or *across*. So διαφερομένων, v. 27. We should observe the order in which the following words occur. Cilicia is mentioned first.

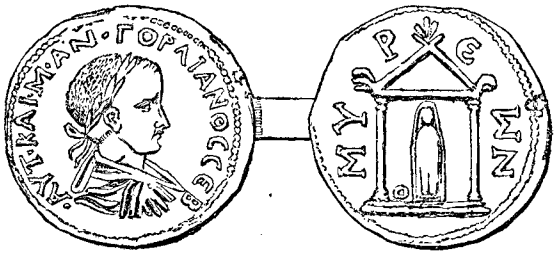
[2] "From Syria to the Archipelago there is a constant current to the westward, slightly felt at sea, but very perceptible near the shore, along this part of which [Lycia] it runs with considerable but irregular velocity: between Adratchan Cape and the small adjacent island we found it one day almost three miles an hour. . . . . The great body of water, as it moves to the westward, is intercepted by the western coast of the gulf of Adalia; thus pent up and accumulated, it rushes with augmented violence towards Cape Khelidonia, where, diffusing itself in the open sea, it again becomes equalized." Beaufort's Karamania, p. 41. See Vol. I. p. 150., II. p. 228. [Of two persons engaged in the merchant-service, one says that he has often "tricked other fruit-vessels" in sailing westward, by standing to the north to get this current, while they took the mid-channel course; the other, that the current is sometimes so strong between Cyprus and the main, that he has known "a steamer jammed" there, in going to the East.]

[3] It is said in the Sailing Directory (p. 243.), that "at night the great northern valley conducts the land-wind from the cold mountains of the interior to the sea;" and again (p. 241.), that "Capt. Beaufort, on rounding Cape Khelidonia, found the land-breezes, which had generally been from the west, or south-west, coming down the Gulf of Adalia from the northward."

[4] The vessel would have to beat up to Myra. This is indicated in the map. The wind is assumed to be N.W.: and the alternate courses marked are about N.N.E. on the larboard tack, and W.S.W. on the starboard tack.

[5] Lycia was once actually part of the province of Asia (Vol. I. p. 257.); but shortly before the time of St. Paul's voyage to Rome it seems to have been united under one jurisdiction with Pamphylia (Ib. p. 261.). The period when it was a separate province, with Myra for its metropolis, was much later.

this occasion, after her voyage from Sidon, was Myra, a city which has been fully illustrated by some of those travellers, whose researches have, within these few years, for the first time provided materials for a detailed geographical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles.[1] Its situation was at the opening of a long and wonderful gorge, which conducts the traveller from the interior of the mountain-region of Lycia to the sea.[2] A wide space of plain intervened between the city and the port. Strabo says that the distance was twenty stadia, or more than two miles.[3] If we draw a natural inference from the magnitude of the theatre[5], which remains at the base of the cliffs, and the traces of ruins to some distance across the plain, we should conclude that Myra once held a considerable population: while the Lycian tombs, still conspicuous in the rocks, seem to connect it with a remote period of Asiatic history.[6] We trace it, on the other hand, in a later though hardly less obscure period of history: for in the middle ages it was called the port of the Adriatic, and was visited by Anglo-Saxon travellers.[7] This was the period when St. Nicholas, the saint of the modern Greek sailors,—born at Patara, and buried at Myra,—had usurped the honour which those two cities might more naturally have given to the Apostle who anchored in their harbours.[8] In the seclusion of the deep gorge of



COIN OF MYRA.[4]

[1] The two best accounts of Myra will be found in Fellows's Asia Minor, pp. 194. &c. and Spratt and Forbes's Lycia, vol. i. ch. iii. In the former work is a view: in the latter sketches of sculpture, &c. A view is also given in Texier's Asie Mineure. The port was visited by Admiral Beaufort (Karamania, pp. 26—31.), but he did not explore the ruins of Myra itself.

[2] This gorge is described in striking language, both by Sir C. Fellows and by Spratt and Forbes.

[3] See note 7.

[4] From the British Museum.

[5] Mr. Cockerell remarks that we may infer something in reference to the population of an ancient city from the size of its theatre. A plan of this theatre is given in Leake's Asia Minor, and also in Texier's Asie Mineure.

[6] It is well known that there is much difference of opinion concerning the history of Lycian civilisation, and the date of the existing remains.

[7] Early Travels in Palestine, quoted by Mr. Lewin, vol. ii. p. 716. It is erroneously said there that Myra was *at that time* the metropolis of Lycia, on the authority of the Synecdemus (Μητρόπολις τῆς Λυκίας Μύρα), which belongs to a period much later. The river Andriaki is also incorrectly identified with the Limyrus, though Strabo's own words are quoted: Εἶτα Μύρα ἐν εἴκοσι σταδίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ἐπὶ μετεώρου λόφου. Εἶθ' ἡ ἐκβόλη τοῦ Λιμυροῦ ποταμοῦ, xiv. 3.

[8] The relics of St. Nicholas were taken to St. Petersburg by a Russian frigate during the Greek revolution, and a gaudy picture sent instead. Sp. & F. Compare Fellows.

Dembra is a magnificent Byzantine church[1], — probably the cathedral of the diocese, when Myra was the ecclesiastical and political metropolis of Lycia.[2] Another building, hardly less conspicuous, is a granary erected by Trajan near the mouth of the little river Andraki.[3] This is the ancient Andriace, which Pliny mentions as the port of Myra, and which is described to us by Appian, in his narrative of the civil wars of Rome, as closed and protected by a chain.[4]

Andriace, the port of Myra, was one of the many excellent harbours which abound in the south-western part of Asia Minor. From this circumstance, and from the fact that the coast is high and visible to a great distance, — in addition to the local advantages which we have mentioned above, the westerly current and the off-shore wind, — it was common for ships bound from Egypt to the westward to be found in this neighbourhood when the winds were contrary.[5] It was therefore a natural occurrence, and one which could have caused no surprise, when the centurion met in the harbour at Myra with an Alexandrian corn-ship on her voyage to Italy (v. 6.). Even if business had not brought her to this coast, she was not really out of her track in a harbour in the same meridian as that of her own port.[6] It is probable that the same westerly winds which had hindered St. Paul's progress from Cæsarea to Myra, had caused the Alexandrian ship to stand to the North.

Thus the expectation was fulfilled, which had induced the centurion to place his prisoners on board the vessel of Adramyttium.[7] That vessel proceeded on her homeward route up the coast of the Ægean, if the weather permitted: and we now follow the Apostle through a more eventful part of his voyage, in a ship which was probably much larger than those that were simply

[1] See the description of this grand and solitary building, and the vignette, in Spratt and Forbes. They remark that "as Myra was the capital of the bishopric of Lycia for many centuries afterwards, and as there are no remains at Myra itself indicating the existence of a cathedral, we probably behold in this ruin the head-church of the diocese, planted here from motives of seclusion and security," vol. i. p. 107.

[2] Hierocl. Synecd. See Wesseling's note, p. 684.

[3] The inscription on the granary is given by Beaufort.

[4] App. B. C. iv. 82. Λέντλος, ἐπιπεμφθεὶς Ἀνδριάκῃ, Μυρέων ἐπινείῳ, τήν τε ἄλυσιν, ἔρρηξε τοῦ λιμένος, καὶ ἐς Μύρα ἀνῆιει. See above, p. 231. n. 6.

[5] See the references to Socrates, Sozomen, and Philo, in Wetstein. It is possible, as Kuinoel suggests, that the ship might have brought goods from Alexandria to Lycia, and then taken in a fresh cargo for Italy: but not very probable, since she was full of wheat when the gale caught her. [A captain in the merchant service told the writer that in coming *from Alexandria in August* he has stood to the north towards Asia Minor, for the sake of the current, and that this is a very common course.]

[6] Mr. Lewin supposes that the plan of Julius was changed, in consequence of this ship being found in harbour here. "At Myra the centurion most unluckily changed his plan," &c., vol. ii. p. 716.

[7] See above, p. 319.

engaged in the coasting trade. From the total number of souls on board (v. 37.), and the known fact that the Egyptian merchantmen were among the largest in the Mediterranean[1], we conclude that she was a vessel of considerable size. Everything that relates to her construction is interesting to us, from the minute account which is given of her misfortunes, from the moment of her leaving Myra. The weather was unfavourable from the first. They were "*many days*" before reaching Cnidus (v. 7.): and since the distance from Myra to this place is only a hundred and thirty miles, it is certain that they must have sailed "*slowly*" (ib.). The delay was of course occasioned by one of two causes, by calms or by contrary winds. There can be no doubt that the latter was the real cause, not only because the sacred narrative states that they reached Cnidus[2] "*with difficulty*," but because we are informed that, when Cnidus was reached, they could not make good their course[3] any further, "*the wind not suffering them*" (ibid.). At this point they lost the advantages of a favouring current, a weather shore and smooth water, and were met by all the force of the sea from the westward: and it was judged the most prudent course, instead of contending with a head sea and contrary winds, to run down to the southward, and, after rounding Cape Salmone, the easternmost point of Crete, to pursue the voyage under the lee[4] of that island.

Knowing, as we do, the consequences which followed this step, we are inclined to blame it as imprudent, unless indeed it was absolutely necessary. For while the south coast of Crete was deficient in good harbours, that of

[1] See the Scholiast on Aristides, quoted by Wetstein. Αἱ νῆες τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μείζους εἰσι τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς ἄπειρον πλῆθος χωρεῖν.

[2] The Greek word is μόλις, which is only imperfectly rendered by "scarce" in the English version. It is the same word which is translated "hardly" in v. 8., and it occurs again in v. 16.

[3] Their direct course was about W. by S.: and, when they opened the point, they were under very unfavourable circumstances even for beating. The words μὴ προσεῶντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἀνέμου Mr. Smith understands to mean that the wind would not allow the vessel to hold on her course towards Italy, after Cnidus was passed. So Sir C. Penrose, in whose MS. we find the following: "The course from Myra towards Italy was to pass close to the Island of Cythera (Cerigo), or the south point of the Morea; the island of Rhodes lying in the direct track. It appears that the ship passed to the northward of that island, having sailed slowly many days from the light and baffling winds, usual in those seas and at that season. Having at last got over against Cnidus (C. Crio.), *the wind not suffering them to get on in the direct course*, it having become steady from the west or north-west, they sailed southwards, till, coming near to the east end of Crete, they passed, &c."

The words may, however, mean that the wind would not allow them *to put in to the harbour of Cnidus*. So they are understood by Meyer, De Wette, Humphry, and Hackett; and it must be confessed that this seems the most natural view. But even if this be the correct interpretation, it is equally evident that the wind must have been nearly north-west.

[4] Ὑπεπλεύσαμεν.

Cnidus was excellent,—well sheltered from the north-westerly winds, fully supplied with all kinds of stores, and in every way commodious, if needful, for wintering.[1]

And here, according to our custom, we pause again in the narrative, that we may devote a few lines to the history and description of the place. In early times it was the metropolis of the Asiatic Dorians, who worshipped Apollo, their national Deity, on the rugged headland[2], called the Triopian[3] promontory (the modern Cape Crio), which juts out beyond the city to the West. From these heights the people of Cnidus saw that engagement between the fleets of Pisander and Conon, which resulted in the maritime supremacy of Athens.[4] To the north-west is seen the island of Cos (p. 226.): to the south-east, across a wider reach of sea, is the larger island of Rhodes (p. 229.), with which, in their weaker and more voluptuous days[5], Cnidus was united in alliance with Rome, at the beginning of the struggle between Italy and the East.[6] The position of the city of Cnidus is to the east of the Triopian headland, where a narrow isthmus unites the promontory with the continent, and separates the two harbours which Strabo has described.[7] "Few places bear more incontestable proofs of former magnificence; and fewer still of the ruffian industry of their destroyers. The whole area of the city is one promiscuous mass of ruins; among which may be traced streets and gateways, porticoes and theatres."[8] But the remains which are the most worthy to arrest our attention are those of the harbours: not only because

[1] If the words *μὴ προσεῶντος τοῦ ἀνέμου* really mean that the wind would not allow them to enter the harbour of Cnidus, these remarks become unnecessary.

[2] Herod, i. 174.

[3] For a view of this remarkable promontory, which is the more worthy of notice, since St. Paul passed it twice (Acts, xxi. 1., xxvii. 7.), see the engraving in the Admiralty Chart, No. 1604.

[4] Xen. Hell. iv. 3. 6. See above, p. 228.

[5] We can hardly avoid making some allusion here to the celebrated Venus of Praxiteles (quam ut viderent multi navigaverunt Cnidum. Plin. H. N. xxxvi. 5. 4.). This object of universal admiration was there when St. Paul passed by; for it is mentioned by Lucian (Amor. c. 11.), and by Philostratus, in the life of Apollonius of Tyana.

[6] Dio. xxvii. 6. It was afterwards made "a free city." Plin. H. N. v. 38.

[7] Strabo xiv. 6. The ruins are chiefly on the east side of the Isthmus (see Hamilton, as referred to below). Pausanias says that the city was divided into two parts by an *Euripus*, over which a bridge was thrown; one half being towards the Triopian promontory, the other towards the east. Eliac. i. 24. Arcad. 30.

[8] Beaufort's Karamania, p. 81. The fullest account of the ruins will be found in the third volume of the Transactions of the Dilettanti Society, and in Hamilton's Asia Minor, vol. i. pp. 39—45.

Cnidus was a city peculiarly associated with maritime enterprise[1], but because these remains have been less obliterated by violence or decay. "The smallest harbour has a narrow entrance between high piers, and was evidently the closed basin for triremes, which Strabo mentions." But it was the southern and larger port which lay in St. Paul's course from Myra, and in which the Alexandrian ship must necessarily have come to anchor, if she had touched at Cnidus. "This port is formed by two transverse moles; these noble works were carried into the sea to a depth of nearly a hundred feet; one of them is almost perfect; the other, which is more exposed to the south-west swell, can only be seen under water."[2] And we may conclude our description, by quoting from another traveller, who speaks of "the remains of an ancient quay on the S.W., supported by Cyclopian walls, and in some places cut out of the steep limestone rocks, which rise abruptly from the water's edge."[3]

This excellent harbour then, from choice or from necessity, was left behind by the seamen of the Alexandrian vessel. Instead of putting back there for shelter, they yielded to the expectation of being able to pursue their voyage under the lee of Crete, and ran down to Cape Salmone: after rounding which, the same "difficulty" would indeed recur (v. 8.), but still with the advantage of a weathered shore. The statements at this particular point of St. Luke's narrative enable us to ascertain, with singular minuteness, the direction of the wind: and it is deeply interesting to observe how this direction, once ascertained, harmonizes all the inferences which we should naturally draw from other parts of the context. But the argument has been so well stated by the first writer who has called attention to this question, that we will present it in his words rather than our own.[4] "The course of a ship on her voyage from Myra to Italy, after she has reached Cnidus, is by the north side of Crete, through the Archipelago, W. by S. Hence a ship which can make good a course of less than seven points from the wind, would not have been prevented from proceeding on her course, unless

[1] It was Sostratus of Cnidus who built the Pharos of Alexandria. The same place gave birth to Ctesias and Agatharchides, and others who have contributed much to geographical knowledge.

[2] Here and above we quote from Beaufort. See his Sketch of the Harbour. The same may be seen in the Admiralty chart, No. 1533. Another chart gives a larger plan of the ruins, &c. For a similar plan, with views on a large scale, see the third volume of the Trans. of the Dilettanti Society. See also the illustrated works of Laborde and Texier. A rude plan is given in Clarke's Travels, ii. 216. Perhaps there is no city in Asia Minor which has been more clearly displayed, both by description and engravings.

[3] Hamilton, p. 39.

[4] For what may be necessary to explain the nautical terms, see the compass on p. 313.

the wind had been to the west of N.N.W. But we are told that she 'ran under Crete, over against Salmone,' which implies that she was able to fetch that cape, which bears about S.W. by S. from Cnidus; but, unless the wind had been to the north of W.N.W., she could not have done so. The middle point between N.N.W. and W.N.W. is north-west, which cannot be more than two points, and is probably not more than one, from the true direction. The wind, therefore, would in common language have been termed north-west."[1] And then the author proceeds to quote, what we have quoted elsewhere (Vol. II. p. 227. n. 4.), a statement from the English Sailing Directions regarding the prevalence of north-westerly winds in these seas during the summer months; and to point out that the statement is in complete harmony with what Pliny says of the Etesian monsoons.[2]

Under these circumstances of weather, a reconsideration of what has been said above, with the chart of Crete before us, will show that the voyage could have been continued some distance from Cape Salmone under the lee of the island, as it had been from Myra to Cnidus[3], —but that at a certain point (now called Cape Matala), where the coast trends suddenly to the

FAIR HAVENS.[4]

[1] Smith, p. 35.

[2] H. N. ii. 4. See Aristot. De Mundo, c. 4.

[3] See above. It is of importance to observe here that the pronoun in μόλις παραλεγόμενοι αὐτὴν refers, not to Salmone, but to *Crete*. With the wind from the N.W. they would easily round the point: but after this they would "beat up with difficulty along the coast" to the neighbourhood of Cape Matala.

[4] From the lithograph in Mr. Smith's work, p. 45. The artist is Signor Schranz.

north, and where the full force of the wind and sea from the westward must have been met, this possibility must have ceased once more, as it had ceased at the south-western corner of the Peninsula. At a short distance to the east of Cape Matala is a roadstead, which was then called "Fair Havens," and still retains the same name[1], and which the voyagers successfully reached and came to anchor. There seems to have been no town at Fair Havens: but there was a town near it called Lasæa[2], a circumstance which St. Luke mentions, (if we may presume to say so) not with any view of fixing the locality of the roadstead, but simply because the fact was impressed on his memory.[3] If the vessel was detained long at this anchorage, the sailors must have had frequent intercourse with Lasæa, and the soldiers too might obtain leave to visit it; and possibly also the prisoners, each with a soldier chained to his arm. We are not informed of the length of the delay at Fair Havens: but before they left the place, a "considerable time" had elapsed since they had sailed from Cæsarea[4] (v. 9.); and they had arrived at that season of the year when it was considered imprudent to try the open sea. This is expressed by St. Luke by saying that "the fast was already past;" a proverbial phrase among the Jews, employed as we should employ the phrase "about Michaelmas," and indicating precisely that period of the year.[5] The fast of expiation was on the tenth of Tisri, and corresponded to the close of September or the beginning of October[6]; and is exactly the time when seafaring is pronounced to be dangerous by Greek and

[1] It is no doubt the same place which is mentioned by Pococke (ii. 250.) under the name of Λιμένες Κάλους, and also the *Calismene* spoken of in the voyage of Rauwolf (in Ray's Collection), and the *Calis Miniones* of Fynes Morison. In ancient sailing directions, Dutch and French, it is described as "een schoone bay, une belle baie." See all these references in Smith, pp. 30. 38. 44. The place was visited by Mr. Pashley, but is not described by him. Meyer considers the name euphemistic. As regards wintering, the place was certainly ἀνεύθετος; but as regards shelter from some winds (including N.W.), it was a good anchorage.

[2] Mr. Smith says that Lasæa is not mentioned by any ancient writer. It is, however, probably the Lasia of the Peutingerian Tables, stated there to be sixteen miles to the east of Gortyna. [See the short Appendix on the "Paraplus des Ap. Paulus," at the end of the first volume of Hoeck's Kreta, p. 439., and compare p. 412.] Some MSS. have Lasea, others Alassa. The Vulgate has Thalassa, and Cramer mentions coins of a Cretan town so called.—Ancient Greece, iii. 374.

[3] The allusion is, in truth, an instance of the autoptic style of St. Luke, on which we have remarked in the narrative of what took place at Philippi.

[4] Ἱκανοῦ δὲ χρόνου διαγενομένου καὶ ὄντος ἤδη, κ. τ. λ. When they left Cæsarea they had every reasonable prospect of reaching Italy before the stormy season.

[5] Just so Theophrastus reckons from a Heathen festival, when he says τὴν θάλατταν ἐκ Διονυσίων πλώϊμον εἶναι.

[6] Levit. xvi. 29., xxiii. 27. See Philo. Vit. Mos. ii. 657. c.

Roman writers.[1] It became then a very serious matter of consultation whether they should remain at Fair Havens for the winter, or seek some better harbour. St. Paul's advice was very strongly given that they should remain where they were. He warned them that if they ventured to pursue their voyage, they would meet with violent weather[2], with great injury to the cargo and the ship, and much risk to the lives of those on board. It is sufficient if we trace in this warning rather the natural prudence and judgment of St. Paul than the result of any supernatural revelation: though it is possible that a prophetic power was acting[3] in combination with the insight derived from long experience of "perils in the sea" (2 Cor. xi. 26.). He addressed such arguments to his fellow-voyagers as would be likely to influence all: the master[4] would naturally avoid what might endanger the ship: the owner[5] (who was also on board) would be anxious for the cargo: to the centurion and to all, the risk of perilling their lives was a prospect that could not lightly be regarded. That St. Paul was allowed to give advice at all, implies that he was already held in a consideration very unusual for a prisoner in the custody of soldiers; and the time came when his words held a commanding sway over the whole crew: yet we cannot be surprised that on this occasion the centurion was more influenced[6] by the words of the owner and the master than those of the Apostle. There could be no doubt that their present anchorage was "incommodious to winter in" (v. 12.), and the decision of "the majority" was to leave it, so soon as the weather should permit.

On the south coast of the island, somewhat further to the west, was a harbour called Phœnix[7], with which it seems that some of the sailors were

[1] See what the Alexandrian Philo says: Διαγγελείσης οὖν τῆς ὅτι νοσεῖ φήμης, ἔτι πλοίμων ὄντων· ἀρχὴ γὰρ ἦν μετοπώρου, τελευταῖος πλοῦς τοῖς θαλαττεύουσιν, ἀπὸ τῶν πανταχόθεν ἐμπορίων εἰς τοὺς οἰκείους λιμένας καὶ ὑποδρόμους ἐπανιοῦσι, καὶ μάλιστα οἷς πρόνοια τοῦ μὴ διαχειμάζειν ἐπὶ ξένην ἐστίν. De Virtut. Opp. ii. 548. 14. Compare Hesiod. Op. et Di. 671., and Aristoph. Av. 709. (καὶ πηδάλιον τότε ναυκλήρῳ φράζει κρεμάσαντι καθεύδειν), and Vegetius (v. 9.), as quoted by Mr. Smith, "Ex die tertio Iduum Novembris, usque in diem sextum iduum Martiarum, maria clauduntur. Nam lux minima noxque prolixa, nubium densitas, aëris obscuritas, ventorum imbrium vel nivium geminata sævitia."

[2] Ὑβρεως, v. 10. See again, v. 21. Compare Hor. Od. I. xi. 14. Ventis debes ludibrium.

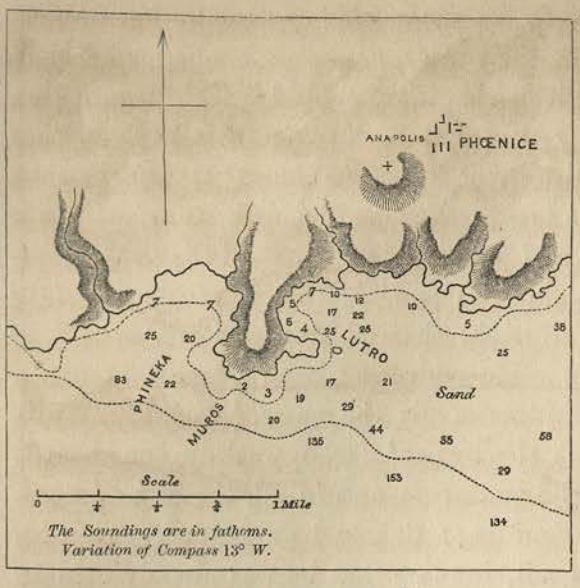
[3] Observe the vagueness of the words νήσιον τι.

[4] Κυβερνήτης, translated "shipmaster" in Rev. xviii. 17.

[5] Ναύκληρος. He might be the skipper, or little more than supercargo. For the proper relation of the κυβερνήτης to the ναύκληρος, see Xen. Mem. II. vi. 8.; III. ix. 11.

[6] Ἐπείθετο. Imperf.

[7] Φοῖνιξ. So the name is written by St. Luke and by Strabo. See below. The name was probably derived from the palm-trees, which are said by Theophrastus and Pliny to be indigenous in Crete. See Hoeck's Kreta, i. 38. 388.



SOUNDINGS, ETC. OF LUTRO.[1]

familiar. They spoke of it in their conversation, during the delay at Fair Havens, and they described it as "looking[2] toward the south-west wind and north-west wind." If they meant to recommend a harbour, into which these winds blew dead on shore, it would appear to have been unsailorlike advice: and we are tempted to examine more closely whether the expression really means what at first sight it appears to mean, and then to inquire further whether we can identify this description with any existing harbour. This might indeed be considered a question of mere curiosity, — since the vessel never reached Phœnix, — and since the description of the place is evidently not that of St. Luke, but of the sailors, whose conversation he heard.[3] But everything has a deep interest for us which tends to elucidate this voyage. And, first, we think there cannot be a doubt, both from the notices in ancient writers and the continuance of ancient

[1] The writer was kindly permitted to trace this portion of the south coast of Crete from the drawing by Capt. Spratt, R. N., just arrived at the Admiralty (April, 1852). On comparing it with what is said by Mr. Smith, p. 50., it will be seen to bear out his conclusions in all main points. At the time when his work was published, our information regarding the coast of Crete was very imperfect: and he found it to be the general impression of several officers acquainted with the navigation of those seas [and the writer of this note may add that he has received the same impression from persons engaged in the merchant service, and familiar with that part of the Levant], that there are no ship-harbours on the south side of the island. The soundings, however, of Lutro, as here exhibited, settle the question.

In further confirmation of the point, Mr. Smith allows us to quote part of a letter he received, after the publication of his work, from Mr. Urquhart, M.P., who is alluding to what occurred to him, when on board a Greek ship of war and chasing a pirate. "Lutro is an admirable harbour. You open it like a box; unexpectedly, the rocks stand apart, and the town appears within. . . . . We thought we had cut him off, and that we were driving him right upon the rocks. Suddenly he disappeared; — and, rounding in after him, like a change of scenery, the little basin, its shipping and the town, presented themselves. . . . Excepting Lutro, all the roadsteads looking to the southward are perfectly exposed to the south or east." For a view of Lutro, see Pashley's Travels in Crete.

[2] Βλέποντα, which is inadequately translated in the English version.

[3] Observe the parenthetic way in which the description of Phœnix is introduced, v. 12.

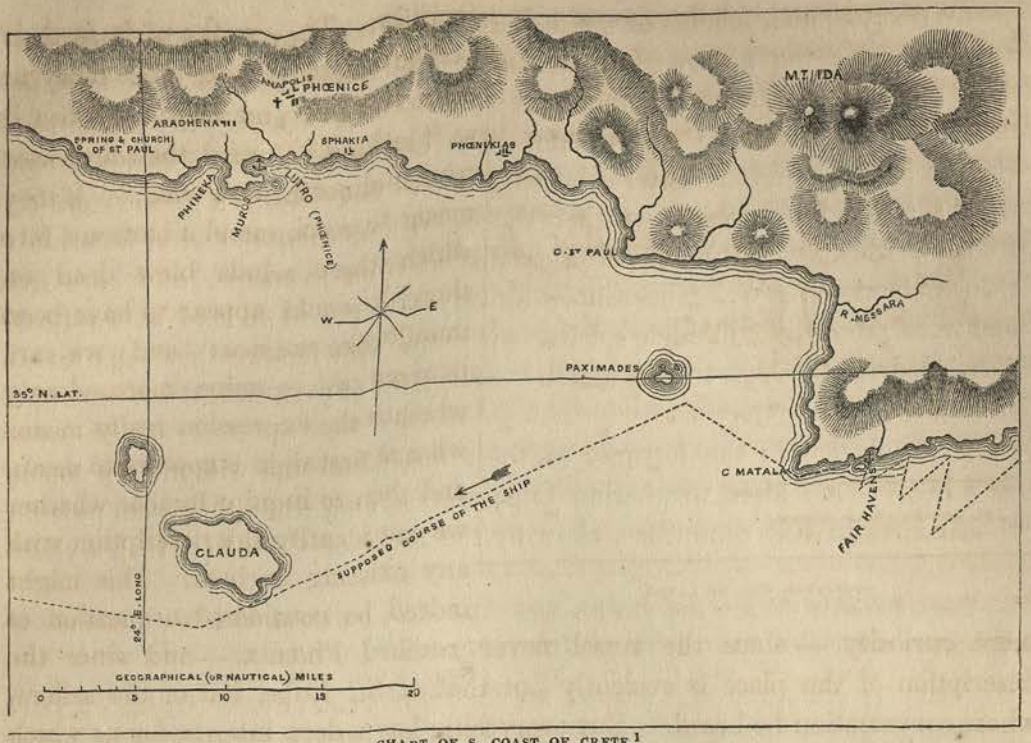


CHART OF S. COAST OF CRETE.[1]

names upon the spot, that Phœnix is to be identified with the modern Lutro.[2] This is a harbour which is *sheltered* from the winds above-mentioned: and, without entering fully into the discussions which have arisen from this subject, we give it as our opinion that the difficulty is to be explained, simply by remembering that sailors speak of everything from their own point of view, and that such a harbour does "look"—*from the water towards the land which encloses it*—in the direction of "south-west and north-west."[3]

[1] This chart is taken from Mr. Smith's work, with some modifications. The part near Lutro is corrected from the tracing mentioned above. The spot marked "Spring and Church of St. Paul" is from the English Admiralty survey. The cape marked "C. St. Paul" is so named on the authority of Lapie's map and last French government chart of the eastern part of the Mediterranean. The physical features are after Lapie and Pashley.

[2] Hierocles, in the Synecdemus, identifies Phœnice with Aradena; and says that the island Claudos was near it. Φοινίκη ἤτοι Ἀράδενα· νῆσος Κλαῦδος (Wess. p. 651.), and Stephanus Byzantinus identifies Aradena with Anopolis. Ἀράδην πόλις Κρήτης· ἡ δὲ Ἀνώπολις λέγεται, διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἄνω. And the co-existence of the names *Phineka*, *Aradhena*, and *Anopolis*, on the modern chart, in the immediate neighbourhood of the harbour of Lutro, establish the point beyond a doubt. Moreover Strabo says (x. 4.), that Phœnix is in the narrowest part of Crete, which is precisely true of Lutro; and the longitudes of Ptolemy (iii. 17.) harmonise with the same result. See Smith, p. 51., and Pashley's Travels in Crete, ii. 257.

[3] It seems strange that this view should not have occurred to the commentators. So far as

With a sudden change of weather, the north-westerly wind ceasing, and a light air springing up from the south, the sanguine sailors "thought that their purpose was already accomplished" (v. 13.). They weighed anchor: and the vessel bore round Cape Matala. The distance to this point from Fair Havens is four or five miles: the bearing is W. by S. With a gentle southerly wind she would be able to weather the cape: and then the wind was fair to Phœnix, which was thirty-five miles distant from the cape, and bore from thence about W.N.W. The sailors already saw the high land above Lutro, and were proceeding in high spirits,—perhaps with fair-weather sails set[1],—certainly with the boat towing astern[2]—forgetful of past difficulties, and blind to impending dangers.

The change in the fortunes of these mariners came without a moment's warning.[3] Soon after weathering Cape Matala, and, while they were pursuing their course in full confidence, close by the coast of Crete[4] (v. 13.), a violent

we know, Meyer is the only one who has suggested anything similar. "Der Hafen bildete eine solche Krümmung, dass sich *ein Ufer* nach Nordwest und *das andere* nach Südwest hin erstreckte." Such a harbour would have been very "commodious to winter in;" and it agrees perfectly with Lutro, as delineated in the recent survey. To have recommended a harbour *because* the south-west and north-west winds blew into it would have been folly. But whether the commentators felt this or not, they have generally assumed that the harbour was open to these winds.

In controverting the common opinion, Mr. Smith takes another view of κατά. He looks from the land and regards κατ' ἄνεμον as equivalent to "*down the wind*," or "*in the direction of the wind*," and fortifies his view by Herod. iv. 110., and Arrian. Peripl. Eux. p. 3. We think this criticism is quite tenable, though unnecessary. Hackett strongly controverts it, and quotes Prof. Felton's authority to shew that the passage from Arrian is inconclusive. Thus he abandons the identification of Phœnix with Lutro (p. 359.), and yet he seems to assume their identity in the following page.

It appears to us that κατὰ κῦμα καὶ ἄνεμον in Herod. iv. 110. is not decisive. Again, in the passage adduced from Arrian, it is evidently possible to translate νεφέλη ἐπανάστασα ἐξερράγη κατ' εὖρον, "a cloud towards the east rose and broke." There is a passage in Thucydides which seems at first sight entirely to harmonise with Mr. Smith's view of κατά. Gylippus is said to have been driven out to sea, in the neighbourhood of Tarentum, ὑπ' ἀνέμου, ὃς ἐκπλεῖ ταύτῃ μέγας κατὰ βοραν ἑστηκώς. vi. 104. Yet even here there is a doubt. See Mr. Grote's remarks, Hist. vol. vii. p. 359. The passage, however, which has been quoted above from Josephus in the description of Cæsarea (p. 288. n. 1.) is quite conclusive.

[1] See what is said below in reference to χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος, v. 17.

[2] This is certain, from v. 16.

[3] Their experience, however, might have taught them that there was some cause for fear. Capt. J. Stewart, R.N. (as quoted by Mr. Smith, p. 60.) observes, in his remarks on the Archipelago: "It is always safe to anchor under the lee of an island with a northerly wind, as it dies away gradually; but it would be extremely dangerous *with southerly winds, as they almost invariably shift to a violent northerly wind.*"

[4] Ἄσσον παρελέγοντο (Imperf.). See below. We need hardly notice the ancient opinion that we have here a proper name. Thus the Vulgate has "cum sustulissent de Asson," and Luther translates as though a place called Assos were the point toward which they were sailing. In one

wind came down[1] from the mountains, and struck the ship (seizing her, according to the Greek expression[2], and whirling her round), so that it was impossible for the helmsman to make her keep her course.[3] The character of the wind is described in terms expressive of the utmost violence. It came with all the appearance of a hurricane[4]: and the name "Euroclydon," which was given to it by the sailors, indicates the commotion in the sea which presently resulted.[5] The consequence was, that, in the first instance, they were compelled to scud before the gale.[6]

If we wish to understand the events which followed, it is of the utmost consequence that we should ascertain, in the first place, the direction of this gale. Though there is a great weight of opinion in favour of the reading *Euro-aquilo*, in place of *Euroclydon*[7], — a view which would determine, on critical grounds, that the wind was E.N.E., — we need not consider ourselves compelled to yield absolutely to this authority: and the mere context of the narrative enables us to determine the question with great exactitude. The wind came *down from the island* and drove the vessel *off the island:* whence it is evident that it could not have been southerly.[8] If we consider further that the

of the old maps of Crete mentioned in Mr. Smith's preface (p. viii.) the town of Assos is actually inserted on a promontory in the Gulf of Messara.

[1] Here we must venture to controvert the view of Mr. Smith. Κατ' αὐτῆς refers to the preceding word Κρήτην, and it is said of the wind, as it is said of the gods in Homer, Βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμποιο, κ. τ. λ. The land of Crete is very high, and indeed the ship was nearly close under Mount Ida (see the chart), and the wind came down one of the gullies on the flanks of this mountain. Mr. Smith's criticism indeed is just, that a pronoun may refer to what is uppermost in the writer's mind, whether expressed or not. Yet we must observe that the word used for the ship hitherto has been πλοῖον, not ναῦς. [Sir C. Penrose, without reference to the Greek, speaks of the wind as "*descending from the lofty hills* in heavy squalls and eddies, and driving the now almost helpless ship far from the shore, with which her pilots vainly attempted to close."]

[2] Συναρπασθέντος.

[3] Ἀντοφθαλμεῖν τῷ ἀνέμῳ, "to look at the wind." See above, p. 314. We see the additional emphasis in the expression, if we remember that an eye was painted on each side of the bow, as we have mentioned above. Even now the "*eyes*" of a ship is a phrase used by English sailors for the bow.

[4] Ἄνεμος τυφωνικός.

[5] Whatever we may determine as to the etymology of the word εὐροκλύδων, it seems clear that the term implies a violent agitation of the water.

[6] Ἐπιδόντες ἐφερόμεθα.

[7] Mr. Smith argues in favour of the reading Εὐρακύλων (Euro-Aquilo. Vulg.), and quotes in his Appendix the Dissertations of Bentley and Granville Penn. But we have a strong impression that Εὐροκλύδων is the correct reading. The addition of the words ὁ καλούμενος seems to us to show that it was a name popularly given by the sailors to the wind: and nothing is more natural than that St. Luke should use the word which he heard the seamen employ on the occasion. Besides it is the more difficult reading. Tischendorf retains it.

[8] Falconer supposes that the wind came from

wind struck the vessel when she was *not far*[1] from Cape Matala (v. 14.),—that it drove her *towards Clauda*[2] (v. 16.), which is an island about twenty miles to the S.W. of that point,—and that the sailors "feared" lest it should drive them *into the Syrtis*[3] on the African coast (v. 17.),—all which facts are mentioned in rapid succession,—an inspection of the chart will suffice to show us that the point from which the storm came must have been N.E., or rather to the East of N.E.,—and thus we may safely speak of it as coming from the E.N.E.[4]

We proceed now to inquire what was done with the vessel under these perilous circumstances. She was compelled at first (as we have seen) to scud before the gale. But three things are mentioned in close connection with her coming near to Clauda, and *running under the lee of it.*[5] Here they would have the advantage of a temporary lull and of comparatively smooth water for a few miles[6]: and the most urgent necessity was attended to first.

the southward, and clumsily attempts to explain why (on this supposition) the vessel was not driven on the Cretan coast.

[1] Ἄσσον παρελέγοντο. The use of the imperfect shows that they were sailing near the shore when the gale seized the vessel. Thus we do not agree with Mr. Smith in referring μετ' οὐ πολὺ to the time when they were passing round Cape Matala, but to the time of leaving Fair Havens. The general result, however, is the same.

[2] There is no difficulty in identifying Clauda. It is the Κλαῦδος of Ptolemy and the Synecdemus, and the Gaudus of Pomponius Mela. Hence the modern Greek *Gaudonesi*, and the Italian corruption into *Gozo*.

[3] We may observe here, once for all, that the English version, "the quicksands," does not convey the accurate meaning of τὴν Σύρτιν, which means the notoriously dangerous bay between Tunis and Tripoli.

[4] These arguments are exhibited with the utmost clearness by Mr. Smith. Adopting the reading Εὐρακύλων, he has three independent arguments in proof that the wind was E.N.E.$\frac{1}{4}$N; (1) the etymological meaning of the word; (2) the fact that the vessel was driven to Clauda, from a point a little west of C. Matala; (3) the fear of the sailors lest they might be driven into the Syrtis.

The view of Admiral Penrose is slightly different. He supposes that the wind began from some of the northern points, and drew gradually to the eastward, as the ship gained an offing; and continued nearly at East, varying occasionally a point or two to the North or South. He adds that a Levanter, when it blows with peculiar violence some points to the North of East, is called a Gregalia [cf. ὁ καλούμενος Εὐροκλύδων], and that he had seen many such.

[5] See Vv. 16, 17.

[6] "The ship, still with her boat towing at her stern, was however enabled to run under the lee of Clauda, a small island about twenty miles from the south coast of Crete, and, with some rocks adjacent, affording the advantage of smooth water for about twelve or fifteen miles, while the ship continued under their lee. Advantage was taken of this comparative smooth water, with some difficulty to hoist the boat into the ship, and also to take the further precaution of undergirding her by passing cables or other large ropes under the keel and over the gunwales, and then drawing them tight by means of pullies and levers." Penrose, MS. It is interesting to observe the coincidence of this passage with what is said by Mr. Smith.

Sir C. Penrose proceeds to mention another reason for the vessel being undergirded. "This

The boat was hoisted on board: but after towing so long, it must have been nearly filled with water: and under any circumstances the hoisting of a boat on board in a gale of wind is a work accomplished "*with difficulty.*" So it was in this instance, as St. Luke informs us. To effect it at all, it would be necessary for the vessel to be rounded-to, with her head brought towards the wind[1]; a circumstance which, for other reasons (as we shall see presently) it is important to bear in mind. The next precaution that was adopted betrays an apprehension lest the vessel should spring a leak, and so be in danger of foundering at sea.[2] They used the tackling, which we have described above, and which provided "helps" in such an emergency. They "*undergirded*" the ship with ropes passed round her frame and tightly secured on deck.[3] And after this, or rather simultaneously (for, as there were many hands on board, these operations might all be proceeding together), they "*lowered the gear.*" This is the most literal translation of the Greek expression.[4] In itself it is indeterminate: but it doubtless implies careful preparation for weathering out the storm. What precise change was made we are not able to determine, in our ignorance of the exact state of the ship's gear at the moment. It might mean that the

wise precaution was taken, not only because the ship, less strongly built than those in modern days, might strain her planks and timbers and become leaky, but from the fears, that if the gale continued from the north-east, as it probably began, they might be driven into the deep bight on the coast of Africa, where were situated the greater and lesser Syrtis, so much dreaded by the ancients, and by these means of security be enabled to keep together longer, should they be involved in the quicksands."

[1] Smith, p. 64.

[2] Frapping would be of little use in stopping a leak. It was rather a precaution to prevent the working of the planks and timbers: and thus, since the extensive application of iron in modern ship-building, this contrivance has rarely been resorted to. Besides the modern instances adduced by Mr. Smith, the writer has heard of the following: (1) A Canadian timber vessel in the year 1846 came frapped to Aberdeen. (2) In 1809 or 1810, a frigate (the Venus ?) came home from India with hawsers round her. (3) The same happened to a merchant vessel which came from India, apparently in the same convoy. (4) Lord Exmouth (then Captain Pellew) brought home the Arethusa in this state from Newfoundland. (5) At the battle of Navarin, the Albion man-of-war received so much damage during the action, that it became necessary to have recourse to frapping, and the vessel had chain cables passed round her under the keel, which were tightened by others passed horizontally along the sides interlacing them; and she was brought home in this state to Portsmouth. See the next note.

[3] To the classical instances mentioned above we may add Thucyd. i. 29., where the Corcyreans are spoken of as *ζεύξαντες τὰς παλαιὰς ναῦς ὥστε πλωΐμους εἶναι.* Dr. Arnold says, in his note, that "the Russian ships taken in the Tagus in 1808 were kept together in this manner, in consequence of their age and unsound condition." Poppo, however, understands the term *ζεύξαντες* differently.

[4] *Χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος.* The same verb is used below (v. 30.) in reference to lowering the boat into the water.

mainsail was reefed and set[1]; or that the great yard[2] was lowered upon deck and a small storm sail hoisted. It is certain that what English seamen call the top-hamper[3] would be sent down on deck. As to those fair-weather sails themselves, which may have been too hastily used on leaving Fair Havens, if not taken in at the beginning of the gale they must have been already blown to pieces.

But the mention of one particular apprehension, as the motive of this last precaution, informs us of something further. It was because they "*feared lest they should be driven into the Syrtis*," that they "lowered the gear." Now to avoid this danger, the head of the vessel must necessarily have been turned away from the African coast, in the direction (more or less) from which the wind came. To have scudded before the gale under bare poles, or under storm-sails, would infallibly have stranded them in the Syrtis,—not to mention the danger of pooping, or being swamped by the sea breaking over her stern. To have anchored was evidently impossible. Only one other course remained: and this what is technically called by sailors *lying-to*. To effect this arrangement, the head of the vessel is brought as near to the wind as possible: a small amount of canvass is set, and so adjusted, as to prevent the vessel from falling off into the trough of the sea.[4] This plan (as is well known to all who have

[1] This suggestion is partly due to a criticism in the English Review (June, 1850, Notice of Mr. Smith's work), based on Isaiah xxxiii. 23. (LXX.). Ἐῤῥάγησαν τὰ σχοινία σου, ὅτι οὐκ ἐνίσχυσαν· ὁ ἱστός σου ἔκλινεν, οὐ χαλάσει τὰ ἱστία, οὐκ ἀρεῖ σημεῖον. In reference to this passage, we may remark that χαλάω is equally applicable to the spreading of a sail which is lowered from a yard, and to the lowering of a yard with whatever belongs to it. The reviewer lays stress on the circumstance that St. Paul's ship had probably no sail set when she reached Clauda; and, as he justly remarks, the Alexandrian origin of the Septuagint version should be recollected.

[2] Such is Mr. Smith's view.

[3] *i. e.* the gear connected with the fair-weather sails. See Smith, p. 69. We are here allowed to quote from a letter addressed to Mr. Smith by Capt. Spratt, R.N. After saying that the translation of σκεύη into "gear" is borne out by its application among the modern Greek sailors to the ropes, &c., he proceeds: "Ships so rigged as those of the ancients, with only one large square sail, would require very heavy mast-head gear; *i. e.*, very large σκεύη, or ropes rove there, to support the yard and sail; so that, even when the latter was lowered, considerable top-weight would remain, to produce much uneasiness of motion as well as resistance to the wind. Two such combined evils would not be overlooked by sailors, who had a thought about drifting on a lee shore. Presuming the main-sail and yard to be down, and the vessel snug under a storm-sail, the heavy σκεύη, or ropes being no longer of use aloft would naturally be unrove or lowered, to prevent drift, as a final resource, when the sailors saw that the gale was likely to be strong and lasting."

[4] *i. e.* the hull of the vessel is in a direction oblique to the length of the waves. The following extract from Falconer's Marine Dictionary, under the article *Trying* (an equivalent term), may be useful to those who are not familiar with sea-phrases:—"The intent of spreading a sail at this time is to keep the ship more steady; and, by pressing her side down in the water, to prevent her from rolling violently; and also to turn her bow towards the direction of the wind,

made long voyages) is constantly resorted to when the object is not so much to make progress, as to weather out a gale.

We are here brought to the critical point of the whole nautical difficulty in the narrative of St. Paul's voyage and shipwreck, and it is desirable to notice very carefully both the ship's position in reference to the wind and its consequent motion through the water. Assuming that the vessel was *laid-to*, the questions to be answered in reference to its position are these. How near the wind did she lie? and which side did she present to the wind? The first question is answered in some degree by a reference to what was said in the early part of this Chapter.[1] If an ancient merchantman could go ahead in moderate weather, when within seven points of the wind, we may assume that she would make about the same angle with it when lying-to in a gale.[2] The second question would be practically determined by the circumstances of the case and the judgment of the sailors. It will be seen very clearly by what follows that if the ship had been laid-to with her left or port side to the wind, she must have been driven far out of her course, and also in the direction of another part of the African coast. In order to make sure of sea-room, and at the same time to drift to the westward, she must have been laid-to with her right side to the wind, or *on the starboard tack*, — the position which she was probably made to assume at the moment of taking the boat on board.[3]

We have hitherto considered only the ship's position in reference to the wind. We must now consider its motion. When a vessel is laid-to, she does not remain stationary, but *drifts:* and our inquiries of course have reference to the rate and direction of the drift. The *rate* of drift may vary, within certain limits, according to the build of the vessel and the intensity of the gale:

so that the shock of the waves may fall more obliquely on her flank, than when she lies along the trough of the sea. . . . . In this position she advances very little according to the line of her length, but is driven considerably to leeward."

[1] See p. 313.

[2] It is not to be understood, however, that the same absolute position in reference to the wind is continually maintained. When a ship is laid to in a gale, a kind of vibration takes place. To use the technical expression, *she comes up and falls off*—oscillating perhaps between five points and nine points.

[3] See Smith, pp. 64. 68., and compare the following: "I ought to assign the reason why I consider the ship to have drifted with her starboard side toward the wind, or on the starboard tack, as a sailor expresses it. When the south wind blew softly, the ship was slowly sailing along the coast of Crete, with her starboard side towards the land, or to the North . . . . . The storm came on her starboard side, and in this manner, with her head to the Westward, she drifted, first to the South West under Clauda, and as the wind drew more to the Eastward her head pointed more towards the North, the proper tack to keep farther from the quicksands, whether adopted from necessity or from choice." Penrose MS.

but all seamen would agree, that, under the circumstances before us, a mile and a half in the hour, or thirty-six miles in twenty-four hours, may be taken as a fair average.[1] The *direction* in which she drifts is not that in which she appears to sail, or towards which her bows are turned: but she falls off to leeward: and to the angle formed by the line of the ship's keel and the line in which the wind blows we must add another, to include what the sailors call *lee-way*[2]: and this may be estimated on an average at six points (67°). Thus we come to the conclusion that the direction of drift would make an angle of thirteen points (147°) with the direction of the wind. If the wind was E.N.E., the course of the vessel would be W. by N.[3]

We have been minute in describing the circumstances of the ship at this moment; for it is the point upon which all our subsequent conclusions must turn.[4] Assuming now that the vessel was, as we have said, laid-to on the starboard tack, with the boat on board and the hull undergirded, drifting from Clauda in a direction W. by N. at the rate of thirty-six miles in twenty-four hours, we pursue the narrative of the voyage, without anticipating the results to which we shall be brought. The more marked incidents of the second

[1] See the two naval authorities quoted by Mr. Smith, p. 84. The same estimate is given in the MS. of Admiral Penrose. "Allowing the degree of strength of the gale to vary a little occasionally, I consider that a ship would drift at the rate of about a mile and a half per hour."

[2] A reference to the compass on p. 313. with the following extracts from Falconer's Marine Dictionary, will make the meaning clear. "LEE-WAY is the lateral movement of a ship to leeward of her course, or the angle which the line of her way makes with the keel, when she is closehauled. This movement is produced by the mutual effort of the wind and sea upon her side, forcing her to leeward of the line on which she appears to sail." "CLOSEHAULED (*au plus près*, Fr.). The general arrangement of a ship's sails, when she endeavours to make a progress in the nearest direction possible towards that point of the compass from which the wind bloweth. . . . . In this manner of sailing the keel commonly makes an angle of six points with the line of the wind. The angle of leeway, however, enlarges in proportion to the increase of the wind and sea."

[3] Again, our two authorities are in substantial agreement. "Supposing the Levanter (as is most probable, it being most usual) after the heavy Gregalia, which first drove the ship off the coast of Crete, and under the lee of Clauda, took upon the average the direction of East,—the mean direction of the drift of such a ship, lying to, as before described, would be between W.N.W. and W. by N.; and such is nearly the bearing of the North coast of Malta from the South side of Clauda." Penrose MS. Compare Smith.

[4] It is at this point especially that we feel the importance of having St. Paul's voyage examined in the light of practical seamanship. The two investigators, who have so examined it, have now enabled us to understand it clearly, though all previous commentators were at fault, and while the ordinary charts are still full of error and confusion. The sinuosities in this part of the voyage, as exhibited in the common maps of St. Paul's Travels, are only an indication of the perplexity of the compilers. The course from Clauda to Malta did not deviate far from a straight line.

and third days of the gale are related to us (vv. 18, 19.). The violence of the storm continued without any intermission.[1] On "the day after" they left Clauda, "they began to lighten[2] the ship" by throwing overboard whatever could be most easily spared. From this we should infer that the precaution of undergirding had been only partially successful, and that the vessel had already sprung a leak. This is made still more probable by what occurred on the "third day." Both sailors and passengers united[3] in throwing out all the "spare gear" into the sea.[4] Then followed "several days" of continued hardship and anxiety.[5] No one who has never been in a leaking ship in a long continued gale[6] can know what is suffered under such circumstances. The strain both of mind and body — the incessant demand for the labour of all the crew — the terror of the passengers — the hopeless working at the pumps — the labouring of the ship's frame and cordage — the driving of the storm — the benumbing effect of the cold and wet, — make up a scene of no ordinary confusion, anxiety, and fatigue. But in the present case these evils were much aggravated by the continued overclouding of the sky (a circumstance not unusual during a Levanter) which prevented the navigators from taking the necessary observations of the heavenly bodies. In a modern ship, however dark the weather might be, there would always be a light in the binnacle, and the

[1] Σφοδρῶς χειμαζομένων ἡμῶν.

[2] Observe the imperfect ἐκβολὴν ἐποιοῦντο, as contrasted with the aorist ἐῤῥίψαμεν in the next verse.

[3] Αὐτόχειρες ἐῤῥίψαμεν. Observe the change from the third person to the first. St. Luke's hands, and probably St. Paul's, aided in this work.

[4] We cannot determine precisely what is meant here by τὴν σκευὴν τοῦ πλοίου. Mr. Smith thinks the mainyard is meant, "an immense spar, probably as long as the ship, and which would require the united efforts of passengers and crew to launch overboard," — adding that "the relief which a ship would experience by this, would be of the same kind as in a modern ship when the guns are thrown overboard." But would sailors in danger of foundering willingly lose sight of such a spar as this, which would be capable of supporting thirty or forty men in the water?

[5] The narrative of the loss of the Ramillies supplies a very good illustration of the state of things on board St. Paul's vessel during these two days. "At this time she had six feet of water in the hold, and the pumps would not free her, the water having worked out all the oakum. The admiral therefore gave orders for all the buckets to be remanned, and *every officer to help* towards freeing the ship: this enabled her to sail on..... *In the evening* it was found necessary to dispose of the forecastle and aftermost quarter-deck guns, together with some of the shot and other articles of very great weight; and *the frame of the ship having opened during the night*, the admiral was next morning prevailed upon, by the renewed and pressing remonstrances of his officers, to allow *ten guns more* to be thrown overboard. The ship still continuing to open very much, the admiral ordered tarred canvass and hides to be nailed fore and aft, from under the cills of the ports on the main deck and on the lower deck. *Her increasing damage requiring still more to be done*, the admiral directed all the guns on the upper deck, the shot, both on that and the lower deck, *with various heavy stores*, to be thrown overboard."

[6] Χειμῶνος οὐκ ὀλίγου ἐπικειμένου.

ship's course would always be known: but in an ancient vessel, "when neither sun nor stars were seen for many days," the case would be far more hopeless. It was impossible to know how near they might be to the most dangerous coast. And yet the worst danger was that which arose from the leaky state of the vessel. This was so bad, that at length they gave up all hope of being saved, thinking that nothing could prevent her foundering.[1] To this despair was added a further suffering from want of food[2], in consequence of the injury done to the provisions, and the impossibility of preparing any regular meal. Hence we see the force of the phrase[3] which alludes to what a casual reader might suppose an unimportant part of the suffering, the fact that there was "much abstinence." It was in this time of utter weariness and despair that to the Apostle there rose up "light in the darkness:" and that light was made the means of encouraging and saving the rest. While the heathen sailors were vainly struggling to subdue the leak, Paul was praying; and God granted to him the lives of all who sailed with him. A vision was vouchsafed

[1] Λοιπὸν περιῃρεῖτο ἐλπὶς πᾶσα τοῦ σώζεσθαι ἡμᾶς.

[2] Mr. Smith illustrates this by several examples. We may quote an instance from a very ordinary modern voyage between Alexandria and Malta, which presents some points of close resemblance in a very mitigated form.

"The commander came down, saying* the night was pitch dark and rainy, with symptoms of a regular gale of wind. This prediction was very speedily verified. A violent shower of hail was the precursor, followed by loud peals of thunder, with vivid flashes of forked lightning, which played up and down the iron rigging with fearful rapidity..... She presently was struck by a sea which came over the paddle-boxes, soon followed by another, which, coming over the forecastle, effected an entrance through the skylights, and left four feet of water in the officers' cabin. *The vessel seemed disabled by this stunning blow;* the bowsprit and fore part of the ship were for some moments under water, and the officer stationed at that part of the ship described her as appearing during that time to be evidently sinking, and declared that for many seconds he saw only sea. The natural buoyancy of the ship at last allowed her to right herself, and *during the short lull* (of three minutes) *her head was turned, to avoid the danger of running too near the coast of Lybia, which to the more experienced was the principal cause of alarm;* for had the wheels given way, which was not improbable from the strain they had undergone, nothing could have saved us, though we had been spared all other causes for apprehension. ..... With daylight the fearful part of the hurricane gave way, and we were now in the direction of Candia, no longer indeed contending against the wind, but the sea still surging and impetuous, and no lull taking place during twelve hours, to afford the opportunity of regaining our tack, from which we had deviated about 150 miles. *The sea had so completely deluged the lower part of the ship, that it was with difficulty that sufficient fire could be made to afford us even coffee for breakfast. Dinner was not to be thought of.*" — Mrs. Damer's Diary in the Holy Land, vol. ii.

[3] Πολλῆς ἀσιτίας ὑπαρχούσης. See below, the narrative of the meal at daybreak, vv. 33, 34. The commentators have done little to elucidate this, which is in fact no difficulty to those who are acquainted with sea-voyages. The strangest comment is in a book, which devotionally is very useful,—Lectures on St. Paul, by the late Rev. H. Blunt, of Chelsea, — who supposes that a *religious fast* was observed by the crew during the storm.

to him in the night, as formerly, when he was on the eve of conveying the Gospel from Asia to Europe, and more recently in the midst of those harassing events, which resulted in his voyage from Jerusalem to Rome. When the cheerless day came, he gathered the sailors round him[1] on the deck of the labouring vessel, and, raising his voice above the storm, said;

> Sirs, ye should have hearkened to my counsel, and not have set sail from Crete: thus would you have been spared[2] this harm[3] and loss.
>
> And now I exhort you to be of good cheer: for there shall be no loss of any man's life among you, but only of the ship. For there stood by me this night an angel of God, whose I am, and whom I serve[4], saying, "*Fear not, Paul; thou must stand before Cæsar: and, lo! God hath given thee all who sail with thee.*" Wherefore, Sirs, be of good cheer: for I believe God, that what hath been declared unto me shall come to pass. Nevertheless, we must be cast upon a certain island.

We are not told how this address was received. But sailors, however reckless they may be in the absence of danger, are peculiarly open to religious impressions: and we cannot doubt that they gathered anxiously round the Apostle, and heard his words as an admonition and encouragement from the other world; that they were nerved for the toil and difficulty which was immediately before them, and prepared thenceforward to listen to the Jewish prisoner as to a teacher sent with a divine commission.

The gale still continued without abatement. Day and night succeeded, and the danger seemed only to increase: till fourteen days had elapsed, during which they had been "drifting through the sea of Adria"[5] (v. 27.). A gale

[1] Σταθεὶς ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν.

[2] Κερδῆσαι means "*to be spared*," not "*to gain*." (A. V.) We should observe that St. Paul's object in alluding to the correctness of his former advice, is not to taunt those who had rejected it, but to induce them to give credit to his present assertions.

[3] The ὕβριν was to their persons, the ζημίαν to their property.

[4] Λατρεύω. Compare Rom. i. 9. and note.

[5] By this is meant, as we shall see presently, that division of the Mediterranean which lies between Sicily and Malta on the west, and Greece with Crete on the east. See above, p. 311. n 3. and p. 315. n. 1.

of such duration, though not very frequent, is by no means unprecedented in that part of the Mediterranean, especially towards winter.[1] At the close of the fourteenth day, about the middle of the night the sailors suspected that they were nearing land.[2] There is little doubt as to what were the indications of land. The roar of breakers is a peculiar sound, which can be detected by a practised ear[3], though not distinguishable from the other sounds of a storm by those who have not "their senses exercised" by experience of the sea. When it was reported that this sound was heard by some of the crew, orders were immediately given to heave the lead, and they found that the depth of the water was "twenty fathoms." After a short interval, they sounded again, and found "fifteen fathoms." Though the vicinity of land could not but inspire some hope, as holding out the prospect of running the ship ashore[4] and so being saved, yet the alarm of the sailors was great when they perceived how rapidly they were shoaling the water. It seems also that they now heard breakers ahead.[5] However this might be, there was the utmost danger lest the vessel should strike and go to pieces. No time was to be lost. Orders were immediately given to clear the anchors. But, if they had anchored by the

[1] The writer has heard of easterly and north-easterly gales lasting for a still longer period, both in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar and to the eastward of Malta. A captain in the merchant service mentions a fruit vessel near Smyrna hindered for a fortnight from loading by a gale from the N.E. She was two days in beating up a little bay a mile deep. He adds, that such gales are prevalent there towards winter. Another case is that of a vessel bound for Odessa, which was kept three weeks at Milo with an easterly gale. This, also, was late in the year (October). A naval officer writes thus: "About the same time of the year, in 1839, I left Malta for the Levant in the 'Hydra,' a powerful steam-frigate, and encountered *Euroclydon* (or, as we call it, a Levanter) in full force. I think we were four days without being able to sit down at table to a meal; during which time we saw 'neither sun nor stars.' Happily she was a powerful vessel, and we forced her through it, being charged with dispatches, though with much injury to the vessel. Had we been a mere log on the water, like St. Paul's ship, we should have drifted many days."

[2] Ὑπενοοῦν οἱ ναῦται προσάγειν τινὰ αὐτοῖς χώραν. Mr. Smith (p. 78.) truly remarks, that this is an instance of "the graphic language of seamen, to whom the ship is the principal object."

[3] It is hardly likely that they *saw* the breakers. To suppose that they became aware of the land by the smell of fragrant gardens (an error found in a recent work) is absurd; for the wind blew from the ship towards the land.

[4] "They can now adopt the last resource for a sinking ship and run her ashore: but to do so before it was day would have been to have rushed on certain destruction: they must bring the ship, if it be possible, to anchor, and hold on till day-break, &c."—Smith, p. 88.

[5] Mr. Smith (p. 91.) seems to infer this from the words φοβούμενοι μήπως εἰς τραχεῖς τόπους ἐκπέσωσιν. But the word μήπως (or μήπου, according to Tischendorf's reading) would rather imply that the fear was a general one. We should observe that the correct reading (and the more natural one) is ἐκπέσωμεν.

bow, there was good ground for apprehending that the vessel would have swung round and gone upon the rocks. They therefore let go "four anchors *by the stern*." For a time, the vessel's way was arrested: but there was too much reason to fear that she might part from her anchors and go ashore, if indeed she did not founder in the night: and "they waited anxiously for the day."

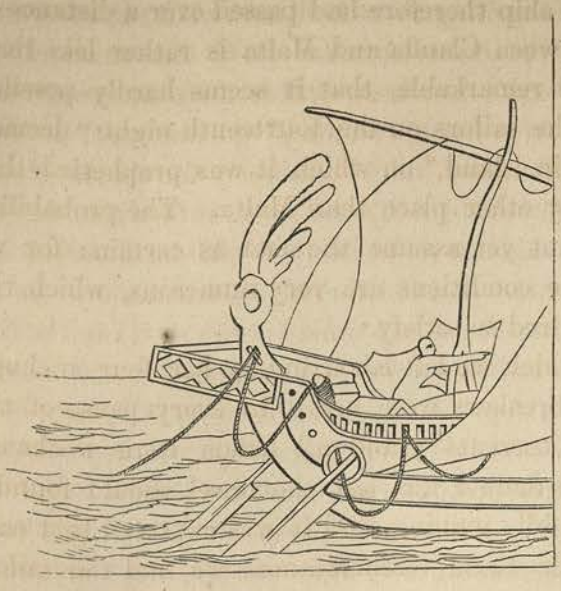
The reasons are obvious why she anchored by the stern, rather than in the usual way. Besides what has been said above, her way would be more easily arrested, and she would be in a better position for being run ashore[1] next day. But since this mode of anchoring has raised some questions, it may be desirable, in passing, to make a remark on the subject. That a vessel *can* anchor by the stern is sufficiently proved (if proof were needed) by the history of some of our own naval engagements. So it was at the battle of the Nile. And when ships are about to attack batteries, it is customary for them to go into action prepared to anchor in this way. This was the case at Algiers. There is still greater interest in quoting the instance of Copenhagen, not only from the accounts we have of the precision with which each ship let go her anchors astern as she arrived nearly opposite her appointed station[2], but because it is said that Nelson stated after the battle, that he had that morning been reading the twenty-seventh chapter of the Acts of the Apostles.[3] But, though it will be granted that this manœuvre is possible with due preparation, it may be doubted whether it could be accomplished in a gale of wind on a lee shore, without any previous notice. The question in fact is, whether ancient ships in the Mediterranean were always *prepared* to anchor in this way. Some answer to this doubt is supplied by the present practice of the Levantine caiques, which preserve in great measure the traditionary build and rig of ancient merchantmen. These modern Greek vessels may still be seen anchoring by the stern in the Golden Horn at Constantinople, or on the coast of Patmos.[4] But the best illustration is afforded by one of the paintings of Herculaneum, which

[1] We must carefully observe that, in anchoring, — besides the proximate cause, viz. the fear of falling on rocks to leeward, — "they had also an ulterior object in view, which was to run the ship ashore as soon as daylight enabled them to select a spot where it could be done with a prospect of safety: for this purpose the very best position in which the ship could be was to be anchored by the stern."— Smith, p. 92.

[2] See Southey's Life of Nelson: "All the line-of-battle ships were to anchor by the stern, abreast of the different vessels composing the enemy's line; and for this purpose they had already prepared themselves with cables out of their stern-ports."

[3] This anecdote is from a private source, and does not appear in any of the printed narratives of the battle.

[4] The first of these instances is supplied by a naval officer; the second by a captain who has spent a long life in the merchant service.



represents "a ship so strictly contemporaneous with that of St. Paul, that there is nothing impossible in the supposition, that the artist had taken his subject from that very ship, on loosing from the pier at Puteoli."[1] There is this additional advantage to be obtained from an inspection of this rude drawing, that we see very clearly how the rudders would be in danger of interfering with this mode of anchoring, — a subject to which our attention will presently be required.[2] Our supposed objector, if he had a keen sense of practical difficulties, might still insist that to have anchored in this way (or indeed in the ordinary way) would have been of little avail in St. Paul's ship: since it could not be supposed that the anchors would have held in such a gale of wind. To this we can only reply, that this course was adopted to meet a dangerous emergency. The sailors could not have been certain of the result. They might indeed have had confidence in their cables: but they could not be sure of their holding ground.

This is one of the circumstances which must be taken into account, when we sum up the evidence in proof that the place of shipwreck was Malta. At present we make no such assumption. We will not anticipate the conclusion, till we have proceeded somewhat farther with the narrative. We may, however, ask the reader to pause for a moment, and reconsider what was said of the circumstances of the vessel, when we described what was done under the lee of Clauda. We then saw that the direction in which she was drifting was W. by N. Now an inspection of the chart will show us that this is exactly the bearing of the northern part of Malta from the south of Clauda. We saw, moreover, that she was drifting at the rate of about a mile and a half in every hour, or thirty-six miles in the twenty-four hours. Since that time thirteen days had elapsed: for the first of the "fourteen days" would be taken up on the way

[1] Smith, p. 94.

[2] See v. 40.

from Fair Havens to Clauda.[1] The ship therefore had passed over a distance of about 468 miles. The distance between Clauda and Malta is rather less than 480 miles. The coincidence[2] is so remarkable, that it seems hardly possible to believe that the land, to which the sailors on the fourteenth night "deemed that they drew nigh," — the "certain island," on which it was prophesied that they should be cast, — could be any other place than Malta. The probability is overwhelming. But we must not yet assume the fact as certain: for we shall find, as we proceed, that the conditions are very numerous, which the true place of shipwreck will be required to satisfy.

We return then to the ship, which we left labouring at her four anchors. The coast was invisible, but the breakers were heard in every pause of the storm. The rain was falling in torrents[3]; and all hands were weakened by want of food. But the greatest danger was lest the vessel should founder before daybreak. The leak was rapidly gaining, and it was expected that each moment might be the last. Under these circumstances we find the sailors making a selfish attempt to save themselves, and leave the ship and the passengers to their fate. Under the pretence of carrying out some anchors from the bow, they lowered the boat over the ship's side (v. 30.). The excuse was very plausible, for there is no doubt that the vessel would have been more steady if this had been done; and, in order to effect it, it would be necessary to take out anchors in the boat. But their real intention was to save their own lives and leave the passengers.[4] St. Paul penetrated their design, and either from some divine intimation of the instruments which were to be providentially employed for the safety of all on board, — or from an intuitive judgment, which shewed him that those who would be thus left behind, the passengers and soldiers, would not be able to work the ship in any emergency that might arise,

[1] All that happened after leaving Fair Havens before the ship was undergirded and laid-to, must evidently have occupied a great part of a day.

[2] In the general calculation Mr. Smith and Sir C. Penrose agree with one another; and the argument derives great force from the slight difference between them. Mr. Smith (pp. 83—89.) makes the distance 476·6 miles, and the time occupied thirteen days one hour and twenty-one minutes. With this compare the following: "Now, with respect to the distance, allowing the degree of strength of the gale to vary a little occasionally, I consider that a ship would drift at the rate of about one mile and a half per hour, which, at the end of fourteen complete days, would amount to 504 miles; but it does not appear that the calculation is to be made for fourteen entire days: it was on the fourteenth night the anchors were cast off the shores of Melita. The distance from the S. of Clauda to the N. of Malta, measured on the best chart I have, is about 490 miles; and is it possible for coincident calculations, of such a nature, to be more exact? In fact, on one chart, after I had calculated the supposed drift, as a seaman, to be 504 miles, I measured the distance to be 503."

[3] See xxviii. 2. *διὰ τον ὑετὸν τὸν ἐφεστῶτα.*

[4] *Ζητούντων φυγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου.*

—he saw that, if the sailors accomplished their purpose, all hope of being saved would be gone.[1] With his usual tact, he addressed not a word to the sailors, but spoke to the soldiers and his friend the centurion[2]; and they, with military promptitude held no discussion on the subject, but decided the question by immediate action. With that short sword, with which the Roman legions cleft their way through every obstacle to universal victory, they "cut the ropes;" and the boat fell off[3], and, if not instantly swamped, drifted off to leeward into the darkness, and was dashed to pieces on the rocks.

Thus the prudent counsel of the Apostle, seconded by the prompt action of the soldiers, had been the means of saving all on board. Each successive incident tended to raise him, more and more, into a position of overpowering influence.[4] Not the captain or the ship's crew, but the passenger and the prisoner, is looked to now as the source of wisdom and safety. We find him using this influence for the renewal of their bodily strength, while at the same time he turned their thoughts to the providential care of God. By this time the dawn of day was approaching.[5] A faint light shewed more of the terrors of the storm, and the objects on board the ship began to be more distinctly visible. Still, towards the land, all was darkness, and their eyes followed the spray in vain as it drifted off to leeward. A slight effort of imagination suffices to bring before us an impressive spectacle, as we think of the dim light just shewing the haggard faces of the 276 persons[6], clustered on the deck, and holding on by the bulwarks of the sinking vessel. In this hour of anxiety the Apostle stands forward to give them courage. He reminds them that they had "eaten nothing" for fourteen days; and exhorts them now to partake of a hearty meal, pointing out to them that this was indeed essential to their safety[7], and encouraging them by the assurance that "not a hair[8] of their head" should perish.

[1] Ἐὰν μὴ οὗτοι μείνωσιν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ, ὑμεῖς σωθῆναι οὐ δύνασθε. We observe that in ὑμεῖς the soldiers are judiciously appealed to on the score of their own safety. Much has been very unnecessarily written on the mode in which this verse is to be harmonised with the unconditional assurance of safety in ver. 22—24. The same difficulty is connected with every action of our lives. The only difference is, that, in the narrative before us, the Divine purpose is more clearly indicated, whereas we usually see only the instrumentality employed.

[2] Τῷ ἑκατοντάρχῃ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις.

[3] Ἔιασαν αὐτὴν ἐκπεσεῖν. In the words above (χαλασάντων τὴν σκάφην εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν) it is clear that the boat, which was hoisted on deck at the beginning of the gale, had been half lowered from the davits.

[4] The commanding attitude of St. Paul in this and other scenes of the narrative is forcibly pointed out by the Review of Mr. Smith's work in the North British Review for May 1849.

[5] Ἄχρι οὗ ἤμελλεν ἡμέρα γένεσθαι, v. 33. See v. 39.

[6] It is at this point of the narrative that the total number of souls on board is mentioned.

[7] Τοῦτο γὰρ πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὑπάρχει.

[8] Our Lord uses the same proverbial expression. Luke xxi. 18.

So speaking, he set the example of the cheerful use of God's gifts and grateful acknowledgment of the Giver, by taking bread, "giving thanks to God before all," and beginning to eat. Thus encouraged by his calm and religious example, they felt their spirits revive[1], and "they also partook of food," and made themselves ready for the labour which awaited them.[2]

Instead of abandoning themselves to despair, they proceeded actively to adopt the last means for relieving the still sinking vessel. The cargo of wheat was now of no use. It was probably spoilt by the salt water. And however this might be, it was not worth a thought; since it was well known that the vessel would be lost. Their hope now was to run her on shore and so escape to land. Besides this, it is probable that, the ship having been so long in one position, the wheat had shifted over to the port side, and prevented the vessel from keeping that upright position, which would be most advantageous when they came to steer her towards the shore.[3] The hatchways were therefore opened, and they proceeded to throw the grain into the sea. This work would occupy some time; and when it was accomplished, the day had dawned, and the land was visible.[4]

The sailors looked hard at the shore, but they could not recognize it.[5] Though ignorant, however, of the name of the coast, off which they were anchored, they saw one feature in it which gave them a hope that they might

[1] Εὔθυμοι γενόμενοι πάντες.

[2] "All hands now, crew and passengers, bond or free, are assembled on the deck, anxiously wishing for day, when Paul, taking advantage of a smaller degree of motion [would this necessarily be the case?] in the ship than when drifting with her side to the waves, recommends to them to make use of this time, before the dawn would require fresh exertions, in making a regular and comfortable meal, in order to refresh them after having so long taken their precarious repasts, probably without fire or any kind of cooking. He begins by example, but first, by giving God thanks for their preservation hitherto, and hopes of speedy relief. Having thus refreshed themselves, they cast out as much of the remaining part of the cargo (wheat) as they could, to enable them by a lighter draft of water either to run into any small harbour, or at least closer in with dry land, should they be obliged to run the ship on the rocks or beach." —Penrose, MS.

[3] The following extract from Sir C. Penrose's papers supplies an addition to Mr. Smith's remarks: "With respect to throwing the wheat into the sea after anchoring, it may be remarked, that it was not likely that, while drifting, the hatchways could have been opened for that purpose; and, when anchored by the stern, I doubt not that it was found, that, from the ship having been so long pressed down on one side the cargo had shifted, *i. e.* the wheat had pressed over towards the larboard side, so that the ship, instead of being upright, heeled to the larboard, and made it useful to throw out as much of the wheat as time allowed, not only to make her specifically lighter, but to bring her upright, and enable her to be more accurately steered and navigated towards the land at daybreak."

[4] Ὅτε δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο.

[5] Τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἐπεγίνωσκον. Observe the tense, and compare ἐπέγνωμεν below (xxviii. 1.), from which it appears that the island was recognised immediately on landing.

accomplish their purpose of running the ship aground. They perceived a small bay or indentation, with a sandy or pebbly beach[1]: and their object was, "if possible," so to steer the vessel that she might take the ground at that point. To effect this, every necessary step was carefully taken. While cutting the anchors adrift, they unloosed the lashings with which the rudders had been secured[2], and hoisted the foresail.[3] These three things would be done simultaneously[4], as indeed is implied by St. Luke, and there were a sufficient number of hands on board for the purpose. The free use of the rudders would be absolutely necessary: nor would this be sufficient without the employment of some sail.[5] It does not appear quite certain whether they exactly hit the point at which they aimed.[6] We are told that they fell into "a place between two seas" (a feature of the coast, which will require our consideration presently) and then stranded the ship. The bow stuck fast in the shore and remained unmoved; but the stern began immediately to go to pieces[7] under the action of the sea.

And now another characteristic incident is related. The soldiers, who were answerable with their lives for the detention of their prisoners, were afraid lest some of them should swim out and escape: and therefore, in the spirit of true Roman cruelty, they proposed to kill them at once. Now again the influence of St. Paul over the centurion's mind[8] was made the means of saving both his own life and that of his fellow-prisoners. For the rest he might care but little; but he was determined to secure Paul's safety.[9] He therefore prevented the soldiers from accomplishing their heartless intention, and directed[10] those who could swim to "cast themselves into the sea" first, while the rest

[1] Κόλπον τινα κατενόουν ἔχοντα αἰγιαλόν. In illustration of the last word (as opposed to ἀκτή) see Mat. xiii. 2.; Acts xxi. 5.

[2] When they anchored, no doubt the paddle rudders had been hoisted up and lashed, lest they should foul the anchors.

[3] For the proof that ἀρτεμών is the foresail, we must refer to the able and thorough investigation in Mr. Smith's dissertation on ancient ships, pp. 153—162. The word does not occur in any other Greek writer, but it is found in the old nautical phraseology of the Venetians and Genoese, and it is used by Dante and Ariosto. The French still employ the word, but with them it has become the mizensail, while the mizen has become the foresail.

[4] Ἅμα.

[5] "The mainsail [foresail] being hoisted shewed good judgment, though the distance was so small, as it would not only enable them to steer more correctly than without it, but would press the ship further on upon the land, and thus enable them the more easily to get to the shore."—Penrose, MS.

[6] See below.

[7] Ἐλύετο.

[8] Ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης βουλομενος, κ. τ. λ.

[9] Διασῶσαι τὸν Παῦλον.

[10] Ἐκέλευσεν. The military officer gives the order. The ship's company are not mentioned. Are we to infer that they fell into the background, in consequence of their cowardly attempt to save themselves?

made use of spars and broken pieces of the wreck. Thus it came to pass that all escaped safely [1] through the breakers to the shore.

When the land was safely reached, it was ascertained that the island on which they were wrecked was Melita. The mere word does not absolutely establish the identity of the place: for two islands were anciently called alike by this name. This, therefore, is the proper place for summing up the evidence which has been gradually accumulating in proof that it was the modern Malta. We have already seen (p. 345.) the almost irresistible inference which follows from the consideration of the direction and rate of drift since the vessel was laid-to under the lee of Clauda. But we shall find that every succeeding indication not only tends to bring us to the shore of this island, but to the very bay (the Cala di San Paolo) which has always been the traditionary scene of the wreck.

In the first place we are told that they became aware of land *by the presence of breakers, and yet without striking.* Now an inspection of the chart will shew us that a ship drifting W. by N. might approach Koura point, the eastern boundary of St. Paul's Bay, without having fallen in previously with any other part of the coast: for, towards the neighbourhood of Valetta, the shore trends rapidly to the southward.[2] Again, the character of this point, as described in the Sailing Directions, is such that there must infallibly have been violent breakers upon it that night.[3] Yet a vessel drifting W. by N. might pass it, within a quarter of a mile, without striking on the rocks. But what are the soundings at this point? They are now *twenty fathoms.* If we proceed a little further we find *fifteen fathoms.* It may be said that this, in itself, is nothing remarkable. But if we add, that the fifteen fathom depth is *in the direction of the vessel's drift* (W. by N.) from the twenty fathom depth, the coincidence is startling.[4] But at this point we observe, on looking at the chart, that now there would be *breakers ahead,*—and yet at such a distance ahead, that there would be *time for the vessel to anchor,* before actually striking on the rocks.[5] All these conditions must necessarily be fulfilled; and we see that they are fulfilled without any attempt at ingenious explanation. But we may proceed farther. The character of the coast on the farther side of the bay is such, that

[1] Διασωθῆναι, xxvii. 44.; διασωθέντες, xxviii. 1.; διασωθέντα, xxviii. 4.

[2] See the Chart.

[3] Smith, p. 79. 89. "With north-easterly gales, the sea breaks upon this point with such violence, that Capt. Smyth, in his view of the headland, has made the breakers its distinctive character."

[4] Smith, p. 91.

[5] Ibid.

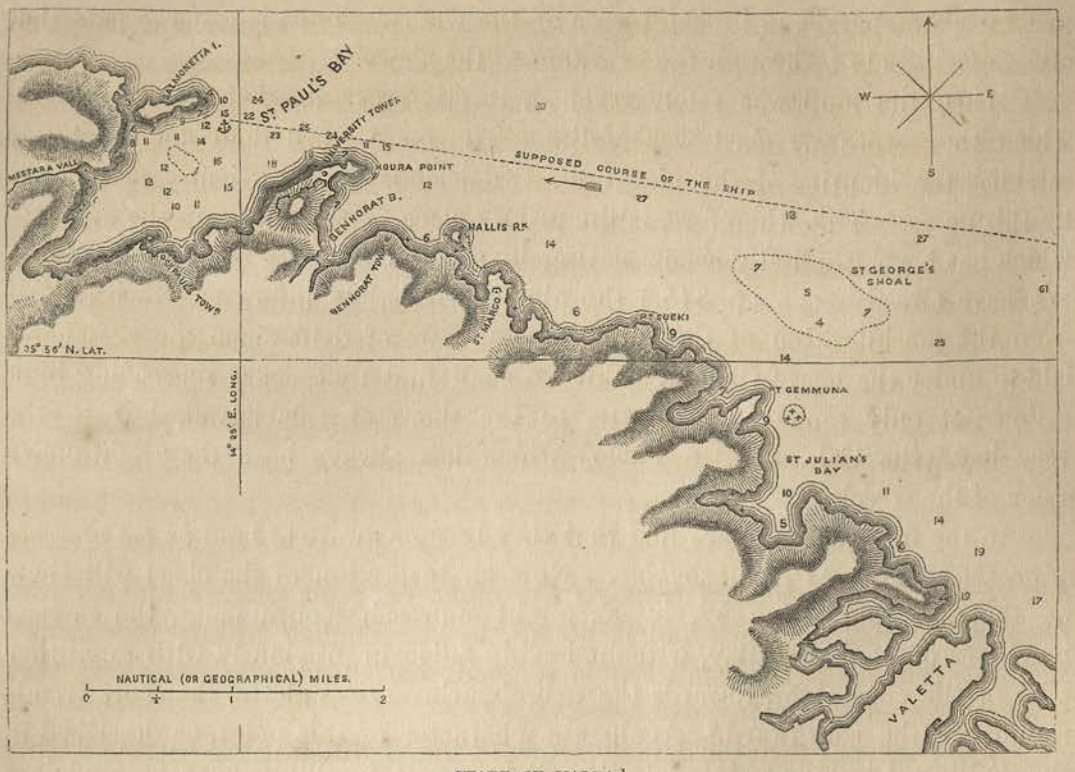


CHART OF MALTA.[1]

though the greater part of it is fronted with mural precipices, there are one or two indentations[2], which exhibit the appearance of "*a creek with a* [*sandy or pebbly*] *shore.*" And again we observe that the island of Salmonetta is so placed, that the sailors, looking from the deck when the vessel was at anchor, could not possibly be aware that it was not a continuous part of the mainland; whereas, while they were running her aground, they could not help observing the opening of the channel, which would thus appear (like the Bosphorus[3]), "*a place between two seas,*" and would be more likely to attract their attention, if some current resulting from this juxtaposition of the island and the coast interfered with the accuracy of their steering.[4] And finally, to revert to the

[1] Reduced from the Admiralty Chart.

[2] One place, at the opening of the Mestara Valley (see Chart) has still this character. At another place there has been a beach, though it is now obliterated. See the remarks of Mr. Smith, who has carefully examined the bay, and whose authority in any question relating to the geology of coasts is of great weight.

[3] This illustration is from Strabo, who uses the very word διθάλασσος of the Bosphorus. It would, of course, be equally applicable to a neck of land between two seas, like the Isthmus of Corinth.

[4] Though we are not to suppose that by "two seas" two moving bodies of water, or two opposite currents, are meant, yet it is very possible

ST. PAUL'S BAY.[1]

fact of the anchors holding through the night (a result which could not confidently be predicted), we find it stated, in our English Sailing Directions[2], that the ground in St. Paul's Bay is so good, that, "*while the cables hold, there is no danger, as the anchors will never start.*"

Malta was not then the densely crowded island which it has become during the last half century.[3] Though it was well-known to the Romans as a dependency of the province of Sicily[4], and though the harbour now called Valetta must have been familiar to the Greek mariners who traded between the East and the West[5], — much of the island was doubtless uncultivated and overrun with wood.

that there might be a current between Salmonetta and the coast, and that this affected the steering of the vessel.

[1] From a sketch taken by Jas. Smith, Esq. of Jordanhill.

[2] Purdy, p. 180. In reference to what happened to the ship when she came aground (ver. 4.), Mr. Smith lays stress upon the character of the deposits on the Maltese coast. The ship "would strike a bottom of mud, graduating into tenacious clay, into which the fore-part would fix itself, and be held fast, whilst the stern was exposed to the force of the waves."—p. 104.

[3] The density of the Maltese population, at the present day, is extraordinary; but this state of things is quite recent. In Boisgelin (Ancient and Modern Malta, 1805) we find it stated that in 1530 the island did not contain quite 15,000 inhabitants, and that they were reduced to 10,000 at the raising of the siege in the grand mastership of La Valetta. Notwithstanding the subsequent wars, and the plagues of 1592 and 1676, the numbers in 1798 were 90,000. (Vol. I. pp. 107, 108.) Similar statements are in Miège, Histoire de Malte.

[4] The mention of it in Cicero's Verrine orations (II. iv. 46.) is well known.

[5] Diodorus Siculus (v. 12.) speaks of the manufactures of Malta, of the wealth of its inhabitants, and of its handsome buildings, such as those which are now characteristic of the place. As to the ancient manufactures, see Cicero, as quoted above, and Sil. Ital. Punic. xiv. 251. Compare Ov. Fast. iii. 567.

Its population was of Phœnician origin, — speaking a language which, as regards social intercourse, had the same relation to Latin and Greek, which modern Maltese has to English and Italian. The inhabitants, however, though in this sense[1] "barbarians," were favourably contrasted with many Christian wreckers in their reception of those who had been cast on their coast. They shewed them no "ordinary kindness;" for they lighted a fire and welcomed them all to the warmth, drenched and shivering as they were in the rain and the cold. The whole scene is brought very vividly before us in the sacred narrative. One incident has become a picture in St. Paul's life, with which every Christian child is familiar. The Apostle had gathered with his own hand a heap of sticks and placed them on the fire, when a viper came "out of the heat" and fastened on his hand. The poor superstitious people, when they saw this, said to one another, "This man must be a murderer: he has escaped from the sea: but still vengeance suffers him not to live." But Paul threw off the animal into the fire and suffered no harm. Then they watched him, expecting that his body would become swollen, or that he would suddenly fall down dead. At length, after they had watched for a long time in vain, and saw nothing happen to him, their feelings changed as violently as those of the Lystrians had done in an opposite direction[2]; and they said that he was a God. We are not told of the results to which this occurrence led, but we cannot doubt that while Paul repudiated, as formerly at Lystra[3], all the homage which idolatry would pay to him, he would make use of the influence acquired by this miracle, for making the Saviour known to his uncivilised benefactors.

St. Paul was enabled to work many miracles during his stay in Malta. The first which is recorded is the healing of the father of Publius, the governor of the island[4], who had some possessions[5] near the place where the vessel was lost, and who had given a hospitable reception to the shipwrecked strangers, and supplied their wants for three days. The disease under which the father of Publius was suffering was dysentery in an aggravated form.[6] St. Paul went in

[1] It is sufficient to refer to Rom. i. 14., 1 Cor. xiv. 11., Col. iii. 11. for the meaning of the word in the N. T.

[2] Vol. I. p. 209.

[3] Ib. p. 206.

[4] We observe that the name is Roman. In the phrase *τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς νήσου* there is every appearance of an official title, more especially as the father of the person called "first of the island" was alive. A Greek and Latin inscription, with the words ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ and MEL. PRIMUS, are adduced by Ciantar; but Mr. Smith was unable to find them.

[5] *Ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον ὑπῆρχε χώρια τῷ π. τῆς. ν.* These possessions must therefore have been very near the present country residence of the English governor, near Citta Vecchia.

[6] *Πυρετοῖς καὶ δυσεντερίᾳ συνεχόμενον.*

to him and prayed, and laid his hands on him: and he recovered. This being noised through the island, other sufferers came to the Apostle and were healed. Thus was he empowered to repay the kindness of these islanders by temporal services intended to lead their minds to blessings of a still higher kind. And they were not wanting in gratitude to those, whose unexpected visit had brought so much good among them. They loaded them with every honour in their power, and, when they put to sea again, supplied them with everything that was needful for their wants (ver. 10.).

Before we pursue the concluding part of the voyage, which was so prosperous that hardly any incident in the course of it is recorded, it may be useful to complete the argument by which Malta is proved to be the scene of St. Paul's shipwreck, by briefly noticing some objections which have been brought against this view. It is true that the positive evidence already adduced is the strongest refutation of mere objections; but it is desirable not to leave unnoticed any of the arguments which appear to have weight on the other side. Some of them have been carelessly brought together by a great writer, to whom, on many subjects, we might be glad to yield our assent.[1] Thus it is argued, that, because the vessel is said to have been drifting in the Adriatic, the place of shipwreck must have been, not Malta to the south of Sicily, but Meleda in the Gulf of Venice. It is no wonder that the Benedictine of Ragusa[2] should have been jealous of the honour of his order, which had a convent on that small

[1] "The belief that Malta is the island on which St. Paul was wrecked is so rooted in the common Maltese, and is cherished with such a superstitious nationality, that the government would run the chance of exciting a tumult, if it, or its representatives, unwarily ridiculed it. The supposition itself is quite absurd. Not to argue the matter at length, consider these few conclusive facts:—The narrative speaks of the 'barbarous people,' and 'barbarians,' of the island. Now, our Malta was at that time fully peopled and highly civilised, as we may surely infer from Cicero and other writers. A viper comes out from the sticks upon the fire being lighted: the men are not surprised at the appearance of the snake, but imagine first a murderer, and then a god, from the harmless attack. Now, in our Malta, there are, I may say, no snakes at all; which, to be sure, the Maltese attribute to St. Paul's having cursed them away. Melita in the Adriatic was a perfectly barbarous island as to its native population, and was, and is now, infested with serpents. Besides, the context shews that the scene is in the Adriatic."—Coleridge's Table Talk, pp. 185.

[2] We have not been able to see the treatise of Padre Georgi. It is entitled "Paulus Apostolus in mari, quod nunc Venetus sinus dicitur, naufragus." Ven. 1730. Other treatises followed, on the two sides of the question by Ciantar 1738, S. Caspare 1739, Sciugliaga 1757, and De Soldanis 1758, all published at Venice. Georgi, however, was not the first who suggested that the Apostle was wrecked on Melida in the Adriatic. We find in Const. Porphyrog. de Adm. imp. c. 36. mentioned among the islands of this gulf, Νῆσος ἑτέρα μεγάλη τὰ Μέλετα ἤτοι τὸ Μαλοζείται, ἣν ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ ἅγιος Λούκας μέμνηται, Μελίτην ταύτην προσαγορεύων. ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἔχις τὸν ἅγιον Παῦλον ἀπὸ τοῦ δακτύλου προσήψατο, ἣν καὶ τῷ πύρι ὁ ἅγιος Παῦλος κατέφλεξε: III. p. 164. ed. Bonn. Compare p. 146.

island. But it is more surprising that the view should have been maintained by other writers since.[1] For not only do the classical poets[2] use the name "Adria" for all that natural division of the Mediterranean which lies between Sicily and Greece, but the same phraseology is found in historians and geographers. Thus Ptolemy[3] distinguishes clearly between the Adriatic Sea and the Adriatic Gulf. Pausanias[4] says that the Straits of Messene unite the Tyrrhene Sea with the Adriatic Sea; and Procopius[5] considers Malta as lying on the boundary of the latter. Nor are the other objections more successful. It is argued that Alexandrian sailors could not possibly have been ignorant of an island so well known as Malta was then. But surely they might have been very familiar with the harbour of Valetta, without being able to recognise that part of the coast on which they came during the storm. A modern sailor who had made many passages between New York and Liverpool might yet be perplexed if he found himself in hazy weather on some part of the coast of Wales.[6] Besides, we are told that the seamen did recognise the island as soon as they were ashore.[7] It is contended also that the people of Malta would not have been called barbarians. But, if the sailors were Greeks (as they probably were), they would have employed this term, as a matter of course, of those who spoke a different language from their own.[8] Again it is argued that there are no vipers — that there is hardly any wood — in Malta. But who does not recognise here the natural changes which result from the increase of inhabitants[9] and cultivation? Within a very few years there was wood close to St. Paul's Bay[10]; and it is well known how the Fauna of any country varies with the vegetation.[11] An argument has even been built on the supposed fact, that the

[1] Mr. Smith has effectually disposed of all Bryant's arguments, if such they can be called. See especially his dissertation on the island Melita. Among those who have adopted Bryant's view, we have referred by name only to Falconer.

[2] See Ovid, Fast. iv.; Trist. i..12.; Hor. Ep.

[3] See various passages in the third book.

[4] Eliac. v.

[5] The passage from the Vandal War has been quoted above. See again the Gothic War, iii. 40. Thucydides speaks of the Adriatic sea in the same way. We should also bear in mind the shipwreck of Josephus, which took place in "Adria." Some (e. g. Mr. Sharpe, the author of the History of Egypt) have identified the two shipwrecks: but it is difficult to harmonise the narratives.

[6] Even with charts he might have a difficulty in recognising a part of the coast, which he had never seen before. And we must recollect that the ancient mariner had no charts.

[7] xxviii. 1. [8] See above.

[9] See above, note on the population of Malta. Sir C. Penrose adds a circumstance, which it is important to take into account in considering this question, viz. that, in the time of the Knights, the bulk of the population was at the east end of the island, and that the neighbourhood of St. Paul's Bay was separated off by a line of fortification, built for fear of descents from Barbary cruizers.

[10] This statement rests on the authority of an English resident on the island.

[11] Some instances are given by Mr. Smith.

disease of Publius is unknown in the island. To this it is sufficient to reply by a simple denial.[1] Nor can we close this rapid survey of objections without noticing the insuperable difficulties which lie against the hypothesis of the Venetian Meleda, from the impossibility of reaching it, except by a miracle, under the above-related circumstances of weather[2], — from the disagreement of its soundings with what is required by the narrative of the shipwreck[3], — and by the inconsistency of its position with what is related of the subsequent voyage.[4]

COIN OF SYRACUSE.[6]

To this part of the voyage we must now proceed. After three months they sailed again for Italy in a ship called the Castor and Pollux.[5] Syracuse was in their track, and the ship put into that famous harbour,

[1] It happens that the writer once spent an anxious night in Malta with a fellow-traveller, who was suffering precisely in the same way.

[2] "If Euroclydon blew in such a direction as to make the pilots afraid of being driven on the quicksands (and there were no such dangers but to the south-west of them), how could it be supposed that they could be driven north towards the Adriatic? In truth, it is very difficult for a well appointed ship of modern days to get from Crete into and up the Adriatic at the season named in the narrative, the north winds being then prevalent, and strong. We find the ship certainly driven from the south coast of Crete, from the Fair Havens towards Clauda (now Gozzi), on the south-west, and during the fourteen days' continuance of the gale, we are never told that Euroclydon ceased to blow, and with either a Gregalia or Levanter blowing hard, St. Paul's ship could not possibly have proceeded up the Adriatic." — Penrose, MS. He says again: "How is it possible that a ship at that time, and so circumstanced, could have got up the difficult navigation of the Adriatic? To have *drifted* up the Adriatic to the island of Melita or Melida, in the requisite curve, and to have passed so many islands and other dangers in the route, would, humanly speaking, have been impossible. The distance from Clauda to this Melita is not less than 780 geographical miles, and the wind must have long been from the south to make this voyage in fourteen days. Now, from Clauda to Malta, there is not any one danger in a direct line, and we see that the distance and direction of drift will both agree."

[3] This is clearly shewn on the Austrian chart of that part of the Adriatic.

[4] From the Adriatic Melida it would have been more natural to have gone to Brundusium or Ancona, and thence by land to Rome; and, even in going by sea, Syracuse would have been out of the course, whereas it is in the direct track from Malta.

[5] It is natural to assume that such was its name, if such was its παράσημον, *i. e.* the sculptured or painted figures at the prow. It was natural to dedicate ships to the Dioscuri, who were the hero-patrons of sailors. They were supposed to appear in those lights which are called by modern sailors the fires of St. Elmo; and in art they are represented as stars. See these stars (lucida sidera, Hor. Od. i. iii. 2.; alba stella, ib. viii. 27.) on the coin of Rhegium engraved below.

[6] From the British Museum. In earlier types of this magnificent coin, the fish are seen moving

and staid there three days. Thus St. Paul was in a great historic city of the West, after spending much time in those of greatest note in the East. We are able to associate the Apostle of the Gentiles and the thoughts of Christianity with the scenes of that disastrous expedition which closed the progress of the Athenians towards our part of Europe, — and with those Punic Wars, which ended in bringing Africa under the yoke of Rome. We are not told whether St. Paul was permitted to go on shore at Syracuse; but from the courtesy shewn him by Julius, it is probable that this permission was not refused. If he landed, he would doubtless find Jews and Jewish proselytes in abundance, in so great a mercantile emporium; and would announce to them the glad tidings which he was commissioned to proclaim "to the Jew first and also to the Gentile." Hence we may without difficulty give credit to the local tradition, which regards St. Paul as the first founder of the Sicilian church.

Sailing out of that beautiful land-locked basin, and past Ortygia, once an island[1], but then united in one continuous town with the buildings under the ridge of Epipolæ, — the ship which carried St. Paul to Rome shaped her course northwards towards the straits of Messina. The weather was not favourable at first: they were compelled to take an indirect course[2], and they put into Rhegium, a city whose patron divinities were, by a curious coincidence, the same hero-protectors of seafaring men, "the Great Twin Brethren," to whom the ship itself was dedicated.[3]

Here they remained one day (ver. 13.), evidently waiting for a fair wind to take them through the Faro; for the springing up of a wind from the south is expressly mentioned in the following words. This wind would be favourable, not only for carrying the ship through the straits, but for all the remainder of the voyage. If the vessel was single masted[4], this wind was the best that

in the same direction round the head. An ingenious theory suggests that this was the case so long as the old city on Ortygia was an island, and that the change in the coins symbolised the joining of Ortygia to the mainland.

[1] See note on the coin. The city has now shrunk to its old limit, as may be clearly seen in the engraved view.

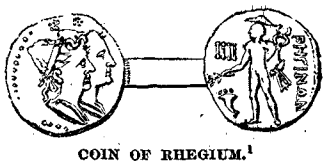
[2] Mr. Smith's view that περιελθόντες means simply "beating" is more likely to be correct than that of Mr. Lewin, who supposes that "as the wind was westerly, and they were under shelter of the high mountainous range of Etna on their left, they were obliged to stand out to sea in order to fill their sails, and so come to Rhegium by a circuitous sweep." He adds in a note, that he "was informed by a friend that when he made the voyage from Syracuse to Rhegium, the vessel in which he sailed took a similar circuit for a similar reason."

[3] Macaulay's Lays of Rome (Battle of Lake Regillus). See the coin, which exhibits the heads of the twin-divinities with the stars.

[4] We cannot assume this to have been the case, but it is highly probable. See above. We may refer here to the representation of the harbour of Ostia on the coin of Nero, given below. It will be observed that all the ships in the harbour are single-masted.

SYRACUSE.

STRAITS OF MESSINA.



COIN OF RHEGIUM.[1]

could blow: for to such a vessel the most advantageous point of sailing is to run right before the wind[2]; and Puteoli lies nearly due north from Rhegium. The distance is about 182 miles. If then we assume, in accordance with what has been stated above (p. 315.), that she sailed at the rate of seven knots an hour[3], the passage would be accomplished in about twenty-six hours, which agrees perfectly with the account of St. Luke, who says that, after leaving Rhegium, they came "*the next day*" to Puteoli.

Before the close of the first day they would see on the left the volcanic cone and smoke of Stromboli[4], the nearest of the Liparian islands. In the course of the night they would have neared that projecting part of the mainland, which forms the southern limit of the bay of Salerno.[5] Sailing across the wide opening of this gulf, they would, in a few hours, enter that other bay, the bay of Naples, in the northern part of which Puteoli was situated. No long description need be given of that bay, which has been made familiar, by every kind of illustration, even to those who have never seen it. Its south-eastern limit is the promontory of Minerva[6], with the island of Capreæ opposite, which is so associated with the memory of Tiberius, that its cliffs still seem to rise from the blue waters as a monument of hideous vice in the midst of the fairest scenes of nature. The opposite boundary was the promontory of Misenum, where one of the imperial fleets[7] lay at anchor under the shelter of the islands of Ischia and Procida. In the intermediate space the Campanian coast curves round in the loveliest forms, with Vesuvius as the prominent feature of the view. But here one difference must be marked between St. Paul's day and our own. The angry neighbour of Naples was not then an unsleeping volcano, but a green and sunny background to the bay, with its westward slope covered with vines.[8] No one could have suspected that the time was so near,

[1] From the British Museum.

[2] Smith, p. 180.

[3] We cannot agree with the N. Brit. Reviewer in doubting the correctness of Mr. Smith's conclusion on this point.

[4] The ancient Στρογγυλη, the most conspicuous island of the Liparian islands, called also the Vulcanian and Æolian islands. "The sea about them is frequently agitated by sudden storms." —Purdy, p. 134. They are described in Captain Smyth's work on Sicily.

[5] See the Sailing Directions, 129—133. with the Admiralty charts, for the appearance of the coast between Cape Spartivento (Pr. Palinurum) and Cape Campanella (Pr. Minervæ).

[6] See the quotation from Seneca's letters below. The early writers say that Ulysses raised there a temple to the goddess. Strabo, v. The point was also called the Cape of Surrentum and the Cape of the Sirens. The beauty of this part of the coast is described by Satius. Sylv. ii. 12.

[7] The fleet of the "Upper Sea" was stationed at Ravenna, of the "Lower" at Misenum.

[8] "Hic est pampineis viridis modo Vesuvius

when the admiral of the fleet at Misenum would be lost in its fiery eruption[1]; and little did the Apostle dream, when he looked from the vessel's deck across the bay to the right, that a ruin, like that of Sodom and Gomorrah, hung over the fair cities at the base of the mountain, and that the Jewish princess, who had so lately conversed with him in his prison at Cæsarea, would find her tomb in that ruin, with the child she had borne to Felix.[2]

By this time the vessel was well within the island of Capreæ and the promontory of Minerva, and the idlers of Puteoli were already crowding to the pier to watch the arrival of the Alexandrian corn-ship. So we may safely infer from a vivid and descriptive letter preserved among the correspondence of the philosopher Seneca.[3] He says that all ships, on rounding into the bay within the above-mentioned island and promontory, were obliged to strike their topsail, with the exception of the Alexandrian corn-vessels, which were thus easily recognised, as soon as they hove in sight; and then he proceeds to moralise on the gathering and crowding of the people of Puteoli, to watch these vessels coming in. Thus we are furnished with new circumstances to aid our efforts to realise the arrival of the Castor and Pollux, on the coast of Italy, with St. Paul on board. And if we wish still further to associate this event with the history and the feeling of the times, we may turn to an anecdote of the Emperor Augustus, which is preserved to us by Suetonius.[4] The Emperor had been seized with a feverish attack — it was the beginning of his last illness — and was cruising about the bay for the benefit of his health, when an

umbris."—Mart. iv. 44. "Vesvia rura."—Colum. x. "Vineta Vesevi."—Auson. Idyll. x. See Lucr. vi. 747. Virg. Georg. ii. 224. Strabo (v. 24.) describes the mountain as very fertile at its base, though its summit was barren, and full of apertures, which shewed the traces of earlier volcanic action.

[1] See the younger Pliny's description of his uncle's death. Ep. vi. 16.

[2] Josephus. See above, p. 281.

[3] "Subito hodie nobis Alexandrinæ naves apparuerunt, quæ præmitti solent et nuntiare secuturæ classis adventum. Tabellarias vocant. Gratus illarum Campaniæ adspectus est. Omnis in pilis Puteolorum turba consistit, et ex ipso genere velorum Alexandrinas, quamvis in magna turba navium, intelligit. Solis enim licet supparum intendere, quod in alto omnes habent naves. . . . . Cum intravere Capreas et promontorium, ex quo

Alta procelloso speculatur vertice Pallas,

ceteræ velo jubentur esse contentæ: supparum Alexandrinarum insigne est. In hoc omnium discursu properantium ad litus, magnam ex pigritia mea sensi voluptatem," &c. — Senec. Ep. 77.

[4] "Forte Puteolanum sinum prætervehenti, vectores nautæque de navi Alexandrina, quæ tantum quod appulerat, candidati, coronatique et thura libantur, fausta omina et eximias laudes congesserant: *Per illum vivere: per illum navigare: libertate atque fortunis per illum frui.* Qua re admodum exhilaratus, quadragenos aureos comitibus divisit, jusquejurandum et cautionem exegit a singulis, non alio datam summam, quam in emptionem Alexandrinarum mercium absumpturos."—Suet. Aug. 98.

Alexandrian corn-ship was coming to her moorings, and passed close by. The sailors recognised the old man, whom the civilised world obeyed as master, and was learning to worship as God: and they brought forth garlands and incense, that they might pay him divine honours, saying that it was by his providence that their voyages were made safe and that their trade was prosperous. Augustus was so gratified by this worship, that he immediately distributed an immense sum of gold among his suite, exacting from them the promise that they would expend it all in the purchase of Alexandrian goods. Such was the interest connected in the first century with the trade between Alexandria and Puteoli. Such was the idolatrous homage paid to the Roman Emperor. The only difference, when the Apostle of Christ came, was that the vice and corruption of the Empire had increased with the growth of its trade, and that the Emperor now was not Augustus but Nero.

In this wide and sunny expanse of blue waters, no part was calmer or more beautiful than the recess in the northern part of the bay, between Baiæ and Puteoli. It was naturally sheltered by the surrounding coasts, and seemed of itself to invite both the gratification of luxurious ease, and the formation of a mercantile harbour. Baiæ was devoted to the former purpose: it was to the invalids and fashionable idlers of Rome like a combination of Brighton and Cheltenham. Puteoli, on the opposite side of this inner bay, was the Liverpool of Italy. Between them was that inclosed reach of water, called the Lucrine Lake, which contained the oyster-beds for the luxurious tables of Rome, and on the surface of which the small yachts of fashionable visitors displayed their coloured sails. Still further inland was that other calm basin, the Lacus Avernus, which an artificial passage connected with the former, and thus converted into a harbour. Not far beyond was Cumæ, once a flourishing Greek city, but when the Apostle visited this coast, a decayed country town, famous only for the recollections of the Sibyl.[1]

We must return to Puteoli. We have seen above (p. 317.) how it divided with Ostia[2] the chief commerce by sea between Rome and the provinces. Its early name, when the Campanian shore was Greek rather than Italian, was Dicæarchia. Under its new appellation (which seems to have had reference to the mineral springs of the neighbourhood[3]) it first began

[1] "Quamvis digressu veteris confusus amici
Laudo tamen *vacuis* quod sedem figere *Cumis*
Destinet, atque *unum civem donare Sibyllæ*." Juv. iii. 1.

[2] See Suet. Claud. 25. for a notice of the troops quartered at Ostia and Puteoli.

[3] It was named either from the springs (*a puteis*), or from their stench (*a putendo*). Strabo says, after describing Baiæ: Ἐξῆς δ' εἰσὶν αἱ περὶ

to have an important connection with Rome in the second Punic war.[1] It was the place of embarkation for armies proceeding to Spain, and the landng-place of ambassadors from Carthage. Ever afterwards it was an Italian town of the first rank. In the time of Vespasian it became the Flavian Colony[2], like the city in Palestine from which St. Paul had sailed[3]: but even from an earlier period it had colonial privileges, and these had just been renewed under Nero.[4] It was intimately associated both with this emperor and with two others who preceded him in power and in crime. Close by Baiæ, across the bay, was Bauli, where the plot was laid for the murder of Agrippina.[5] Across these waters Caligula built his fantastic bridge; and the remains of it were probably visible when St. Paul landed.[6] Tiberius had a more honourable monument in a statue (of which a fragment is still seen by English travellers at Pozzuoli), erected during St. Paul's life to commemorate the restitution of the Asiatic cities overthrown by an earthquake.[7] But the ruins which are the most interesting to us are the seventeen piers of the ancient mole, on which the lighthouse[8] stood, and within which the merchantmen were moored. Such is the proverbial tenacity of the concrete which was used in this structure[9], that it is the most perfect ruin existing of any ancient Roman harbour. In the early part of this chapter, we spoke of the close mercantile relationship which subsisted between Egypt and this city. And this remains on our minds as the prominent and significant fact of its history, —

Δικαιαρχίαν ἀκραὶ, καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ πόλις. Ἦν δὲ πρότερον μὲν ἐπίνειον Κυμαίων, ἐπ' ὄφρυος ἱδρυμένον· κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀννίβα στρατείαν, συνῴκισαν Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ μετονόμασαν Ποτιόλους, ἀπὸ τῶν φρεάτων· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς δυσωδίας τῶν ὑδάτων, ἅπαν τὸ χώριον ἐκεῖ μέχρι Βαΐων, καὶ τῆς Κυμαίας, ὅτι θείου πλῆρές ἐστι καὶ πυρὸς, καὶ θερμῶν ὑδάτων.—v. iv.

[1] Liv. xxiv.

[2] See Orelli's Inscriptions, No. 3698.

[3] See above on Cæsarea, p. 287. n. 3.

[4] "In Italia vetus oppidum Puteoli jus coloniæ et cognomentum a Nerone apiscuntur."—Tac. Hist. xiv. 27. It appears, however, that this was a renewed privilege. See Liv. xxxiv. 42. Vell. Pat. i. 15. Val. Max. ix. 3. 8.

[5] Nero had murdered his mother about two years before St. Paul's coming. Tac. Ann. xiv. 1—9.

[6] Some travellers have mistaken the remains of the mole for those of Caligula's bridge. But that was only a wooden structure. See Suet. Calig. 19.

[7] The pedestal of this statue, with the allegorical representations of the towns, is still extant. This "Marmorea basis" is described in the seventh volume of Gronovius, pp. 433—503.

[8] See Cramer. There is, however, some inaccuracy in his reference to Pliny.

[9] The well-known *Pozzolana*, which is mentioned also by Pliny, H. N. xxxv. 13. 47. See Strabo, l. c. *Ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐμπορεῖον γεγένηται μέγιστον, χειροποιήτους ἔχουσα ὅρμους διὰ τὴν εὐφυΐαν τοῦ ἄμμου· σύμμετρος γάρ ἐστι τῇ τιτάνῳ, καὶ κόλλησιν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ πῆξιν λαμβάνει. διόπερ τῇ χάλικι καταμίξαντες τὴν ἀμμοκονίαν, προβάλλουσι χώματα ἐς τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ κολποῦσι τὰς ἀναπεπταμένας ἠϊόνας, ὥστ' ἀσφαλῶς ἐνορμίζεσθαι τᾶς μεγίστας ὁλκάδας.*

whether we look upon the ruins of the mole[1] and think of such voyages as those of Titus and Vespasian[2], or wander among the broken columns of the Temple of Serapis[3], or read the account which Philo gives of the singular interview of the Emperor Caligula with the Jewish ambassadors from Alexandria.[4]

Puteoli, from its trade with Alexandria and the East, must necessarily have contained a colony of Jews, and they must have had a close connection with the Jews of Rome. What was true of the Jews, would probably find its parallel in the Christians. St. Paul met with disciples here[5]; and, as soon as he was among them, they were in prompt communication on the subject with their brethren in Rome.[6] The Italian Christians had long been looking for a visit from the famous Apostle, though they had not expected to see him arrive thus, a prisoner in chains, hardly saved from shipwreck. But these sufferings would only draw their hearts more closely towards him. They earnestly besought him to stay some days with them, and Julius was able to allow this request to be complied with.[7] Even when the voyage began, we saw that he was courteous and kind towards his prisoner; and, after all the varied and impressive incidents which have been recounted in this chapter, we should indeed be surprised if we found him unwilling to contribute to the comfort of one by whom his own life had been preserved.

[1] See the vignette in the title page of this volume.

[2] See p. 318.

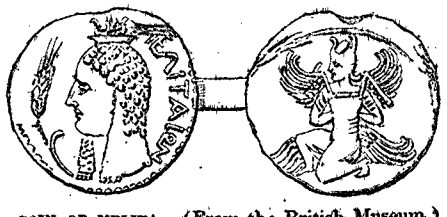
[3] This is one of the most remarkable ruins at Pozzuoli. It is described in the guide books.

[4] Philo Leg. ad Caium.

[5] Οὗ εὑρόντες ἀδελφοὺς. κ. τ. λ.

[6] See ver. 15. Κἀκεῖθεν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἀκούσαντες.

[7] Παρεκλήθημεν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιμεῖναι ἡμέρας ἑπτά. It is not clearly stated who urged this stay. Possibly it was Julius himself. It is at all events evident from ver. 15. that they did stay; otherwise there would not have been time for the intelligence of St. Paul's landing to reach Rome so long before his own arrival there.



COIN OF MELITA. (From the British Museum.)

CHAPTER XXIV.

In Tiberim defluxit Orontes. — Juv. iii. 62.

THE APPIAN WAY. — APPII FORUM AND THE THREE TAVERNS. — ENTRANCE INTO ROME. — THE PRÆTORIAN PRÆFECT. — DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY. — ITS POPULATION. — THE JEWS IN ROME. — THE ROMAN CHURCH. — ST. PAUL'S INTERVIEW WITH THE JEWS. — HIS RESIDENCE IN ROME.

THE last chapter began with a description of the facilities possessed by the ancients for travelling by sea: this must begin with a reference to their best opportunities of travelling by land. We have before spoken of some of the most important roads through the provinces of the Empire [1]: now we are about to trace the Apostle's footsteps along that road, which was at once the oldest and most frequented in Italy [2], and which was called, in comparison with all others, the "Queen of Roads." We are no longer following the narrow line of compact pavement across Macedonian plains and mountains [3], or through the varied scenery in the interior of Asia Minor [4]: but we are on the most crowded approach to the metropolis of the world, in the midst of prætors and proconsuls, embassies, legions, and turms of horse, "to their provinces hasting or on return," which Milton [5], — in his description of the City enriched with the spoils of nations, — has called us to behold "in various habits on the Appian road."

Leaving then all consideration of Puteoli, as it was related to the sea, and to the various places on the coast, we proceed to consider its communications by land with the towns of Campania and Latium. The great line of communication between Rome and the southern part of the peninsula was the

[1] An animated description of one of the post stations on one of the roads in Asia Minor is given by Gregory of Nazianzus. (De Vitâ suâ, 32.) He is describing his own parish, and says:

Κόνις τὰ πάντα, καὶ ψόφοι σὺν ἅρμασι,
Θρῆνοι, στεναγμοὶ, πράκτορες, στρέβλαι, πέδαι.
Λαὸς δ' ὅσοι ξένοι τε καὶ πλανώμενοι.
Αὕτη Σασίμων τῶν ἐμῶν ἐκκλησία.

[2] "*Appia* longarum teritur *Regina viarum*." Stat. Silv. ii. 2. See below.

[3] For the Via Egnatia, see Vol. I. pp. 338, 339.

[4] In making our last allusion to Asia Minor, we may refer to the description which Basil gives of the scenery round his residence, a little to the east of the inland region thrice traversed by St. Paul. See Humboldt's Kosmos, vol. ii. p. 26. (Sabine's Eng. Trans.)

[5] Paradise Regained, book iv.

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE
ST. PAUL'S JOURNEY
FROM
PUTEOLI TO ROME.
By W. Hughes.
Sabine Mountns
LATIUM
CAMPANIA
MARE INFERUM
ROME
Albau Hills
Volscian Mounts
Pomptine Marshes
Appian Way
Latin Way
Valerian Way
Flaminian Way
Aurelian Way
Ostian Way
Campanian or Consular Way
Cumanus Sinus
(Bay of Naples)
Mt. Vesuvius
Neapolis
PUTEOLI
Capua
Venafrum
Fundi
Cæcuban Hills
Three Taverns
Appii Forum
Muxur. or Terracina
Tibur
Fidenæ
Ad. Rubras
Baccanæ
Ostia
Lavinium
Lanuvium
Velitræ
Anagnium
Ferentinum
Frusinum
Fregellæ
Arpinum
Aquinum
Casinum
Teanum
Cales
Telesia
Allifæ
Minturnæ
Formiæ
Caieta
Temp. Feroniæ
Circeii
Circeii Pr.
Antium
Tentia
Palmaria
Pandataria
Prochyta
Arnaria, or Pithecusa
(Ischia)
Capreæ
Surrentum
Herculanum
Pompeii
Nola
Atella
Literum
Cumæ
Gallinaria Silva
Vulturnum
Massic Hills
Sinuessa
Fabrica
Fregenæ
Ad. Rubras
Bovillæ
Aricia
Lanuvium
Privernum
Setia
Fidenæ
Baccanæ
M. Sarracte
L. Fucinus
R. Tiber
R. Anio
R. Trerus
R. Liris
R. Melfes
R. Tumarus
R. Vulturnus
R. Clanis
R. Sava
R. Amasenus
R. Ufens
To Beneventum
Roman Miles, 75·5 to a Degree.
English Miles 69·15 to a Degree.

Way constructed by Appius Claudius, which passed through Capua[1], and thence to Brundusium on the shore of the Adriatic.[2] Puteoli and its neighbourhood lay some miles to the westward of this main road: but communicated with it easily by well-travelled cross-roads. One of them followed the coast from Puteoli northwards, till it joined the Appian Way at Sinuessa, on the borders of Latium and Campania.[3] It appears, however, that this road was not constructed till the reign of Domitian.[4] Our attention, therefore, is called to the other cross-road which led directly to Capua. One branch of it left the coast at Cumæ, another at Puteoli. It was called the "Campanian Way,"[5] and also the "Consular Way."[6] It seems to have been constructed during the Republic, and was doubtless the road which is mentioned, in an animated passage of Horace's Epistles, as communicating with the baths and villas of Baiæ.[7]

The first part then of the route which Julius took with his prisoners was probably from Puteoli to Capua. All the region near the coast, however transformed in the course of ages by the volcanic forces, which are still at work, is recognised as the scene of the earliest Italian mythology, and must ever be impressive from the poetic images, partly of this world and partly of the next,

[1] The Via Appia, the oldest and most celebrated of Roman roads, was constructed as far as Capua, A. U. C. 442, by the censor Appius Claudius. (Liv.ix. 29.) Eight hundred years afterwards, Procopius was astonished at its appearance. He describes it as broad enough for two carriages to pass each other, and as made of stones brought from some distant quarry, and so fitted to each other, that they seemed to be thus formed by nature, rather than cemented by art. He adds that, notwithstanding the traffic of so many ages, the stones were not displaced, nor had they lost their original smoothness. (Bell. Got. i. 14.) There is great doubt as to the date of the continuation by Beneventum to Brundusium, nor is the course of it absolutely ascertained. Bergier, in his great work on Roman roads (in the tenth volume of Grævius) makes little reference to the Appian Way. We have used chiefly Romanelli and Pratilli, as referred to below, with Cramer's Ancient Italy.

[2] Here it came to the customary ferry between the Greek and Italian peninsulas, and was succeeded on the other side by the Via Egnatia. Strabo, v. 3.; vi. 3. Compare Vol. I. p. 339.

[3] The stages of this road from Sinuessa appear as follows in the Peutingerian Table:—Savonem Fl. III.; Vulturnum, VII.; Liternum, VII.; Cumas, VI.; Lacum Avernum, II.; Puteolos, III. Thence it proceeds by Naples to Herculaneum, Pompeii, Stabiæ, and Surrentum. In the Antonine Itinerary it is entitled, "Iter a Terracinâ Neapolim," and the distances are slightly different. A direct road from Capua to Neapolis, by Atella, is mentioned in the Tab. Peut.

[4] This is the road which is the subject of the pompous yet very interesting poem of Statius, Silv. iv.

[5] Suet. Aug. 94.

[6] Pliny says, after speaking of the district called Laboriæ," "Finiuntur Laboriæ *via* ab utroque latere *consulari*, quæ a Puteolis et quæ a Cumis Capuam ducit." H. N. xviii. 29.

[7] See the vivid passage in the beginning of Ep. I. xv., where we see that the road was well-travelled at that period, and where its turning out of the Via Appia is clearly indicated:

"Mutandus locus est, et *diversoria nota*
Præteragendus eques. Quo tendis? Non mihi Baias
Est iter aut Cumas, *læva* stomachosus *habena*
Dicet eques."

with which Virgil has filled it. From Cumæ to Capua, the road traverses a more prosaic district[1]: the "Phlegræan fields" are left behind, and we pass from the scene of Italy's dim mythology to the theatre of the most exciting passages of her history. The whole line of the road[2] can be traced at intervals, not only in the close neighbourhood of Puteoli and Capua, but through the intermediate villages, by fragments of pavement, tombs, and ancient milestones.[3]

Capua, after a time of disgrace had expiated its friendship with Hannibal[4], was raised by Julius Cæsar to the rank of a colony[5]: in the reign of Augustus it had resumed all its former splendour[6]: and about the very time of which we are writing, it received accessions of dignity from the emperor Nero.[7] It was the most important city on the whole line of the Appian Way, between Rome and Brundusium. That part of the line with which we are concerned, is the northerly and most ancient portion. The distance is about 125 miles; and it may be naturally divided into two equal parts. The division is appropriate, whether in regard to the physical configuration of the country, or the modern political boundaries. The point of division is where Terracina is built at the base of those cliffs[8], on which the city of Anxur was of old proudly situated, and where a narrow pass, between the mountain and the sea, unites the Papal states to the kingdom of Naples.

The distance from Capua to Terracina[9] is about seventy Roman miles. At the third mile, the road crossed the river Vulturnus at Casilinum, a town

[1] On the left was a district of pine woods, notorious for banditti (*Gallinaria pinus*), Juv. iii. 305.; now Pineta di Castel Volturno.

[2] This road is noticed by Romanelli in the Diatriba Seconda on the Appian Way and its branches, at the end of the second volume of his Antica Topografia istorica del Regno di Napoli (1819). But the fullest details are given by Pratilli, in book ii. ch. viii. of his work Della Via Appia (1745). After mentioning some of the milestones found at Giugliano and Aversa, he says: "Per questa strada l'Apostolo S. Paolo, dappoichè fu approdato in Pozzuoli, dovette con centurione suo custode passare a Capoa, e di là poi a Roma."

[3] The road seems to have left Puteoli by the Solfatara, where Romanelli says that the old pavement is visible.

[4] Liv. xxii.

[5] Cæs. B. C. i. 14.; Vell. Pat. ii. 44.

[6] Appian, B. C. iv. 3.; Dio Cass. xlix.; Strabo, v.

[7] Plin. H. N. xiv. 6.; Tac. Ann. xiii. 31.

[8] The modern Terracina is by the sea at the base of the cliffs, and the present road passes that way. The ancient road ascended to Anxur, which was on the summit. ("*Subimus* impositum saxis Anxur."—Hor. Ep. I. v. 25.) A characteristic view is given in Milman's Horace. See below.

[9] The stages are as follows (reckoning from Terracina) in the Antonine Itinerary. FUNDIS. XVI. FORMIS. XIII. MINTURNIS. IX. SINUESSA. IX. CAPUA. XXVI. The distances are rather smaller in the Jerusalem Itinerary, where a *mutatio Ponte Campano* and a *mutatio ad octavum* are inserted between Sinuessa and Capua. *Casilinum* is mentioned only in the Peutingerian Table.

then falling into decay.[1] Fifteen miles further it crossed the river Savo, by what was then called the Campanian Bridge.[2] Thence, after three miles, it came to Sinuessa on the sea[3], which in St. Paul's day was reckoned the first town in Latium. But the old rich Campania extended further to the northward, including the vine-clad hills of the famous Falernian district through which we pass, after crossing the Savo.[4] The last of these hills (where the vines may be seen trained on elms, as of old) is the range of Massicus, which stretches from the coast towards the Apennines, and finally shuts out from the traveller, as he descends on the farther side, all the prospect of Vesuvius and the coast near Puteoli.[5] At that season, both vines and elms would have a winterly appearance. But the traces of spring would be visible in the willows[6]; among which the Liris[7] flows in many silent windings—from the birthplace of Marius in the mountains[8]—to the city and the swamps by the sea, which the ferocity of his mature life has rendered illustrious.[9] After leaving Minturnæ, the Appian Way passes on to another place, which has different associations with the later years of the republic. We speak of Formiæ, with its long street by the shore of its beautiful bay, and with its villas on the sea side and above it; among which was one of Cicero's favourite retreats from the turmoil of the political world, and where at last he fell by the hand of assassins.[10] Many a *lectica*[11], or palanquin, such as that in which he was reclining when overtaken by

[1] "Morientis Casilini reliquiæ." (Plin. iii. 5.) For notices of its more eminent days see Liv. xxii. 15.; xxiii. 17, 18, &c. Casilinum is "New Capua," which rose on its ruins in the ninth century, and which appears under the name of Casilino in mediæval chronicles. (Romanelli, iii. 586.)

[2] Campano Ponti. Hor. Sat. I. v. 45.

[3] "Plotius et Varius Sinuessæ, Virgiliusque
Occurrunt."—Ib. 40.

[4] Pliny extends Campania to the Liris. "Hinc felix illa Campania est. Ab hoc sinu incipiunt vitiferi colles, et temulentia nobilis succo per omnes terras inclyto, atque ut veteres dixere: Summum Liberi patris cum Cerere certamen." (H. N. iii. 5.) It is difficult to fix the limits of the *Falernus ager*, which extended from the Massic Hills towards the Volturnus. See Virg. Georg. ii. 95.; Hor. Od. I. xx.; Propert. iv. 6.; Sil. Ital. vii. 159.

[5] See Eustace. The ancient road, however, seems to have followed the coast.

[6] "*March* 22. We cross the *Liris* by a suspension bridge. It is a large stream—truly a *taciturnus amnis*—winding like the Trent among willow-trees, which showed nearly the first symptoms of spring we had seen." (Extract from a private journal.) We have already seen that St. Paul's journey through Campania and Latium was very early in spring.

[7] "——Rura, quæ Liris quieta
Mordet aqua taciturnus amnis."
Hor. Od. I. 31.
"——Liris nutritus aquis, qui fonte quieto
Dissimulat cursum."—Sil. Ital. iv. 350.
No description of the Garigliano could be more exact.

[8] The Garigliano rises near Arpinum, which was also the birthplace of Horace.

[9] The Mamurrarum urbs of Horace, Sat. I. v. 37.

[10] See Plutarch's description of his death.

[11] The *lecticæ*, or couches carried by bearers, were in constant use both for men and women;

his murderers, may have been met by St. Paul in his progress,—with other carriages, with which the road would become more and more crowded,—the *cisium*[1], or light cabriolet, of some gay reveller, on his way to Baiæ,—or the four-wheeled *rheda*[2], full of the family of some wealthy senator quitting the town for the country. At no great distance from Formiæ the road left the sea again, and passed, where the substructions of it still remain, through the defiles[3] of the Cæcuban hills, with their stony but productive vineyards. Thence the traveller looked down upon the plain of Fundi, which retreats like a bay into the mountains, with the low lake of Amyclæ between the town and the sea. Through the capricious care, with which time has preserved in one place what is lost in another, the pavement of the ancient way is still the street of this, the most northerly town of the Neapolitan kingdom in this direction. We have now in front of us the mountain line, which is both the frontier of the Papal states, and the natural division of the Apostle's journey from Capua to Rome. Where it reaches the coast, in bold limestone precipices, there Anxur was situated, with its houses and temples high above the sea.[4]

After leaving Anxur[5], the traveller observes the high land retreating again

and a traveller could hardly go from Puteoli to Rome without seeing many of them. For a description of the lectica and other Roman carriages see the Excursus in Becker's Gallus, English Trans. p. 257.

[1] For the *cisium* see two passages in Cicero: "Inde cisio celeriter ad urbem advectus domum venit capite involuto." (Phil. ii. 31.) "Decem horis nocturnis sex et quinquaginta millia passuum cisiis pervolavit." (Rosc. Am. 7.) From what Seneca says ("Quædam sunt, quæ possis et in cisio scribere." Ep. 72.), we must infer that such carriages were often as comfortable as those of modern times. See Ginzrot, Wägen u. Fahrwerke der Griechen u. Romer, i. p. 218.

[2] "Tota domus *rheda* componitur una." (Juv. iii. 10.) Cf. Mart. iii. 47. The remark just made on the cisium is equally applicable to the larger carriage. Cicero says in one of his Cilician letters (Att. v. 17.): "Hanc epistolam dictavi sedens in rhedâ." Ginzrot gives, from a painting at Constantinople, a representation of a state-carriage or rheda containing prisoners. [Did Julius and his prisoners travel in this way from Puteoli?] The *rheda meritoria* used by Horace (Sat. i. v. 36.) was the common hack-carriage. We may allude to another well-known scene on the Appian Way, where the rheda is mentioned, Cic. Mil. 10.

[3] Itri is in one of these defiles. The substructions of the ancient way shew that it nearly followed the line of the modern road between Rome and Naples.

[4] "Impositum saxis late candentibus Anxur." (Hor. Sat. i. v. 26.) "Superbus Anxur." (Mart. vi. 42.) "Arces superbi Anxuris." (Stat. Silv. i. 3.) "Præcipites Anxuris arces." (Lucan, iii. 64.) "Scopulosi verticis Anxur." (Sil. Ital. viii. 392.) There are still the substructions of large temples, one of them probably that of Jupiter, to whom the town was dedicated.

[5] The stages during the latter half of the journey, reckoning from Rome, appear thus in the Antonine Itinerary: ARICIAM. XVI. TRES TABERNAS. XVII. APPI FORO. X. TARRACINA. XVIII. In the Peutingerian Table *Bovillæ* intervenes between Rome and Aricia, and *Sublanuvio* between Aricia and Tres Tabernæ. The Jerusalem Itinerary has a *Mutatio ad nono* corresponding nearly to Bovillæ, and a *Mutatio ad medias* between Appii Forum and Terracina: it makes no mention of Tres Tabernæ, but has instead a *Mutatio sponsas*, for which Wesseling and Romanelli would read *ad pontes*.

from the coast, and presently finds himself in a wide and remarkable plain, enclosed towards the interior by the sweep of the blue Volscian mountains, and separated by a belt of forest from the sea. Here are the Pomptine marshes, — "the only marshes ever dignified by classic celebrity." The descriptive lines of the Roman satirist have wonderfully concurred with the continued unhealthiness of the half-drained morass, in preserving a living commentary on that fifteenth verse in the last chapter of the Acts, which exhibits to us one of the most touching passages in the Apostle's life. A few miles beyond Terracina, where a fountain, grateful to travellers, welled up near the sanctuary of Feronia[1], was the termination of a canal, which was formed by Augustus for the purpose of draining the marshes, and which continued for twenty miles by the side of the road.[2] Over this distance, travellers had their choice, whether to proceed by barges dragged by mules, or on the pavement of the way itself.[3] It is impossible to know which plan was adopted by Julius and his prisoners. If we suppose the former to have been chosen, we have the aid of Horace's Epistle to enable us to imagine the incidents and the company, in the midst of which the Apostle came, unknown and unfriended, to the corrupt metropolis of the world. And yet he was not so unfriended as he may possibly have thought himself that day, in his progress from Anxur across the watery, unhealthy plain. On the arrival of the party at Appii Forum, which was a town where the mules were unfastened, at the other end of the canal, and is described by the satirist as full of low tavern-keepers and bargemen[4], — at that meeting-place where travellers from all parts of the empire had often crossed one another's path, — on that day, in the motley and vulgar crowd, some of the few Christians who were then in the world, suddenly recognised one another, and emotions of holy joy and thanksgiving sanctified the place of coarse vice and vulgar traffic. The disciples at Rome had heard of the Apostle's arrival at

[1] "Ora manusque tua lavimus Feronia lympha,
Millia tum pransi tria repimus," &c.
Hor. Sat. I. 24.

[2] "Qua Pomptinas via dividit uda paludes." (Lucan, iii. 85.) The length of the canal was nineteen miles. See Procop. de Bell. Got. i. 11.: Πεδία πολλὰ ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ἱππόβοτα· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς, ὃν Δεκαννόβιον (Decennovium) τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, ὅτι δὴ ἐννεακαίδεκα περιών σημεῖα (milliaria), ὅπερ ξύνεισιν ἐς τρεῖς καὶ δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους, οὕτω δὴ ἐκβάλλει ἐς θάλασσαν ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ταρακίνην.

[3] With Horace's account of his night-journey on the canal, compare Strabo, v. 3. Πλησίον τῆς Ταῤῥακινῆς βαδίζοντι ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης παραβέβληται τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ Ἀππίᾳ διῶρυξ ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τόπους πληρουμένη τοῖς ἑλείοις τε καὶ τοῖς ποταμίοις ὕδασι, πλεῖται δὲ μάλιστα νύκτωρ, ὥστ' ἐμβάντας ἐφ' ἑσπέρας ἐκβαίνειν πρωΐας καὶ βαδίζειν τὸ λοιπὸν τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ Ἀππίᾳ· ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ῥεμουλκεῖται δι' ἡμιόνων.

[4] "Inde Forum Appî,
Differtum nautis cauponibus atque malignis."

This place is also mentioned by Cicero ad Div. ii. 10. Its situation was near the present Treponti.

Puteoli, and hastened to meet him on the way; and the prisoner was startled to recognise some of those among whom he had laboured, and whom he had loved, in the distant cities of the East. Whether Aquila and Priscilla were there it is needless to speculate. Whoever might be the persons, they were brethren in Christ, and their presence would be an instantaneous source of comfort and strength. We have already seen, on other occasions of his life[1], how the Apostle's heart was lightened by the presence of his friends.

About ten miles farther he received a second welcome from a similar group of Christian brethren. Two independent companies had gone to meet him; or the zeal and strength of one party had outstripped the other. At a place called the Three Taverns[2], where a cross road from the coast at Antium came in from the left, another party of Christians was waiting to welcome and to honour "the ambassador in bonds." With a lighter heart, and a more cheerful countenance he travelled the remaining seventeen miles, which brought him along the base of the Alban Hills, in the midst of places well known and famous in early Roman legends, to the town of Aricia. The Great Apostle had the sympathies of human nature; he was dejected and encouraged by the same causes which act on our spirits; he too saw all outward objects in "hues borrowed from the heart." The diminution of fatigue—the more hopeful prospect of the future—the renewed elasticity of religious trust—the sense of a brighter light on all the scenery round him—on the foliage which overshadowed the road—on the wide expanse of the plain to the left—on the high summit of the Alban Mount,—all this, and more than this, is involved in St. Luke's sentence,—"*when Paul saw the brethren, he thanked God, and took courage.*"

The mention of the Alban Mount reminds us that we are approaching the end of our journey. The isolated group of hills, which is called by this collective name, stands between the plain which has just been traversed and that other plain which is the Campagna of Rome. All the bases of the mountain were then (as indeed they are partially now) clustered round with the villas and gardens of wealthy citizens. The Appian Way climbs and then descends along its southern slope. After passing Lanuvium[3] it crossed a crater-like valley on immense substructions, which still remain.[4] Here is Aricia, an easy stage from

[1] See especially Vol. I. p. 388.

[2] This place is mentioned by Cicero when on a journey from Antium to Rome. Att. ii. 12. From the distances in the Itineraries it seems to have been not very far from the modern Cisterna.

[3] Sub Lanuvio is one of the stations in the Tab. Peut. (See above.) The ancient Lanuvium was on a hill on the left, near where the Via Appia (which can be traced here, by means of the tombs, as it ascends from the plain) strikes the modern road by Velletri.

[4] The present road is carried through the modern town of Laricia, which occupies the site

Rome.[1] The town was above the road; and on the hill side swarms of beggars beset travellers as they passed.[2] On the summit of the next rise, Paul of Tarsus would obtain his first view of Rome. There is no doubt that the prospect was, in many respects, very different from the view which is now obtained from the same spot. It is true that the natural features of the scene are unaltered. The long wall of blue Sabine mountains, with Soracte in the distance, closed in the Campagna, which stretched far across to the sea and round the base of the Alban hills. But ancient Rome was not, like modern Rome, impressive from its solitude, standing alone, with its one conspicuous cupola, in the midst of a desolate though beautiful waste. St. Paul would see a vast city, covering the Campagna, and almost continuously connected by its suburbs with the villas on the hill where he stood, and with the bright towns which clustered on the sides of the mountains opposite. Over all the intermediate space were the houses and gardens, through which aqueducts and roads might be traced in converging lines towards the confused mass of edifices which formed the city of Rome. Here no conspicuous building, elevated above the rest, attracted the eye or the imagination. Ancient Rome had neither cupola[3] nor campanile. Still less had it any of those spires, which give life to all the landscapes of Northern Christendom. It was a wide-spread aggregate of buildings, which, though separated by narrow streets and open squares, appeared, when seen from near Aricia, blended into one indiscriminate mass: for distance concealed the contrasts which divided the crowded habitations of the poor and the dark haunts of filth and misery—from the theatres and colonnades, the baths, the temples and palaces with gilded roofs, flashing back the sun.

The road descended into the plain at Bovillæ, six miles from Aricia[4]: and thence it proceeded in a straight line[5], with the sepulchres of illustrious

of the citadel of ancient Aricia. The Appian Way went across the valley below. See Sir W. Gell's Campagna, under Aricia and Laricia: see also an article, entitled "Excursions from Rome in 1843," in the first volume of the Classical Museum, p. 322. The magnificent causeway or viaduct, mentioned in the text, is 700 feet long, and in some places 70 feet high. It is built of enormous squared blocks of peperino, with arches for the water of the torrents to pass through.

[1] "Egressum magna me excipit Aricia Roma." Compare Epictetus as quoted here by Orelli: οἰκοῦν ἐν Ἀρικίᾳ ἀριστήσομεν. The distance from Rome was sixteen miles.

[2] The *clivus Aricinus* is repeatedly mentioned as swarming with beggars. Juv. Sat. iv. 117.; Pers. Sat. vi. 56.; Mart. Epig. xii. 32.

[3] The Pantheon was indeed built; but the world had not seen any instance of an elevated dome, like that of St. Sophia, St. Peter's, or St. Paul's.

[4] Bovillæ (not far from Fratocchie) is memorable as the place where Clodius was killed.

[5] The modern road deviates slightly from the Via Appia; but by aid of the tombs the eye can easily trace the course of the ancient way, which was, as Nibby says, "Vandicalmente distrutta l'anno 1791 per resarcire la strada moderna, che à sinistra se vede." (Viaggio, p. 146.)

families on either hand.[1] One of these was the burial-place of the Julian gens[2], with which the centurion who had charge of the prisoners was in some way connected.[3] As they proceeded over the old pavement, among gardens and modern houses[4], and approached nearer the busy metropolis—the "conflux issuing forth or entering in"[5] in various costumes and on various errands,—vehicles, horsemen and foot-passengers, soldiers and labourers, Romans and foreigners,—became more crowded and confusing. The houses grew closer. They were already in Rome. It was impossible to define the commencement of the city. Its populous portions extended far beyond the limits marked out by Servius. The ancient wall, with its once sacred pomœrium, was rather an object for antiquarian interest, like the walls of York or Chester, than any protection against the enemies, who were kept far aloof by the legions on the frontier.

Yet the Porta Capena is a spot which we can hardly leave without lingering for a moment. Under this arch—which was perpetually dripping[6] with the water of the aqueduct[7] that went over it—had passed all those who, since a remote period of the republic, had travelled by the Appian Way,—victorious generals with their legions, returning from foreign service,—emperors and courtiers, vagrant representatives of every form of heathenism, Greeks and Asiatics, Jews and Christians.[8] From this point entering within the city, Julius and his prisoners moved on, with the Aventine on their left, close round the base of the

[1] The sentence in Cicero is well known: "An tu egressus porta Capena, cum Calatini, Scipionum, Serviliorum, Metellorum, sepulchra vides, miseros putes illos?" For an account of the tombs of the Scipios, see the Beschreibung Roms, iii. 612. That of Cecilia Metella is engraved on our map of Rome. Pompey's tomb was also on the Appian Way, but nearer to Aricia.

[2] Sir W. Gell, on what appears to be a memorial of the burying-place of the Gens Julia, near Bovillæ. See Tac. Ann. ii. 41., xv. 33.

[3] He might be a freeborn Italian (like Cornelius, see Vol. I. p. 126.), or he might be a freedman, or the descendant of a freedman, manumitted by some member of the Julian house.

[4] Much building must have been continually going on. Juvenal mentions the carrying of building materials as one of the annoyances of Rome.

[5] Paradise Regained, iv. 62.

[6] "Capena grandi porta quæ pluit gutta." (Mart. iii. 47.) Hence called the moist gate by Juvenal, iii. 10. Compare Mart. iv. 18. It was doubtless called Capena, as being the gate of Capua. Its position is fully ascertained to have been at the point of union of the valleys dividing the Aventine, Cœlian, and Palatine. See Becker's Römische Alterthümer, 167.; also 121. 210. Both the Via Latina and Via Appia issued from this gate. The first milestone on the latter was found in the first vineyard beyond the Porta S. Sebastiano (see map).

[7] This was a branch of the Marcian aqueduct. "Marcia autem parte sui post hortos Pallantianos in rivum, qui vocatur Herculaneus, dejecit se per Cœlium. Ductus ipsius montis usibus nihil ut inferior subministrans, finitur supra portam Capenam." (Frontinus de Aquæductibus, in the fourth volume of Grævius, 1644.)

[8] We must not forget that close by this gate was the old sanctuary of Egeria, which in Juvenal's time was occupied by Jewish beggars. See Sat. iii. 13., vi. 542., which we have already quoted (Vol. I. p. 159.).

Cœlian, and through the hollow ground which lay between this hill and the Palatine: thence over the low ridge called Velia[1], where afterwards was built the arch of Titus, to commemorate the destruction of Jerusalem; and then descending[2], by the *Sacra Via*[3], into that space which was the centre of imperial power and imperial magnificence, and associated also with the most glorious recollections of the republic. The Forum was to Rome, what the Acropolis[4] was to Athens, the heart of all the characteristic interest of the place.[5] Here was the *Milliarium Aureum*, to which the roads of all the provinces converged. All around were the stately buildings, which were raised in the closing years of the republic, and by the earlier emperors.[6] In front was the Capitoline Hill, illustrious long before the invasion of the Gauls. Close on the left, covering that hill, whose name is associated in every modern European language with the notion of imperial splendour[7], were the vast ranges of the *palace*—the "house of Cæsar" (Phil. iv. 22.). Here were the household troops quartered in a *prætorium*[8] attached to the palace. And here (unless, indeed, it was in the great *Prætorian camp*[9] outside the city wall) Julius gave up his prisoner to Burrus, the *Prætorian Præfect*[10], whose official duty it was to keep in custody all accused persons who were to be tried before the Emperor.[11]

[1] "The ridge, on which the arch of Titus stands, was much more considerable than the modern traveller would suppose: the pavement, which has been excavated at this point, is fifty-three feet above the level of the pavement in the Forum. This ridge ran from the Palatine to the Esquiline, dividing the basin in which the Colosseum stands, from that which contained the Forum: it was called Velia. Publicola excited popular suspicion and alarm by building his house on the elevated part of this ridge."—Companion-Volume to Mr. Cookesley's Map of Rome, p. 30. (See Liv. ii. 7.; Cic. de Rep. ii. 31.; Dionys. Hal. v. 19.)

[2] This slope, from the arch of Titus down to the Forum, was called the Sacer Clivus. Hor. Od. iv. ii. 33. Mart. i. lxxi. 5.; iv. lxxix. 7.

[3] So the name ought to be written. Becker, i. 219.

[4] See Vol. I. p. 382.

[5] See a fine passage on the Forum in Becker's Alterthümer, i. 215.

[6] We must not enter into any discussion concerning the relative positions of the Fora of Julius Cæsar and Augustus. See Chevalier Bunsen's Treatises, "Les Forum de Rome," 1837. His general plan is attached to the third of Mr. Bunbury's articles on the Topography of Rome, in the Classical Museum, vol. iv. p. 116.

[7] See Becker, i. 415.

[8] We think that Wieseler has proved that the πραιτώριον in Phil. i. 13. denotes the quarters of the household troops attached to the Emperor's residence on the Palatine.

[9] The establishment of this camp was the work of Tiberius. Its place is still clearly visible in the great rectangular projection in the walls, on the north of the city. In St. Paul's time it was strictly outside the city. The inner wall was pulled down by Constantine. Zos. ii. 17.

[10] This is the accurate translation of τῷ στρατοπεδάρχῃ (Acts, xxviii. 16.). The *Præfectus Prætorio* was already the most important subject of the Emperor, though he had not yet acquired all that extensive jurisdiction which was subsequently conferred upon him. At this time (A.D. 61) Burrus, one of the best of Nero's advisers, was Prætorian Præfect.

[11] Trajan says (Plin. Ep. x. 65.) of such a prisoner, "vinctus mitti ad Præfectos Prætorii

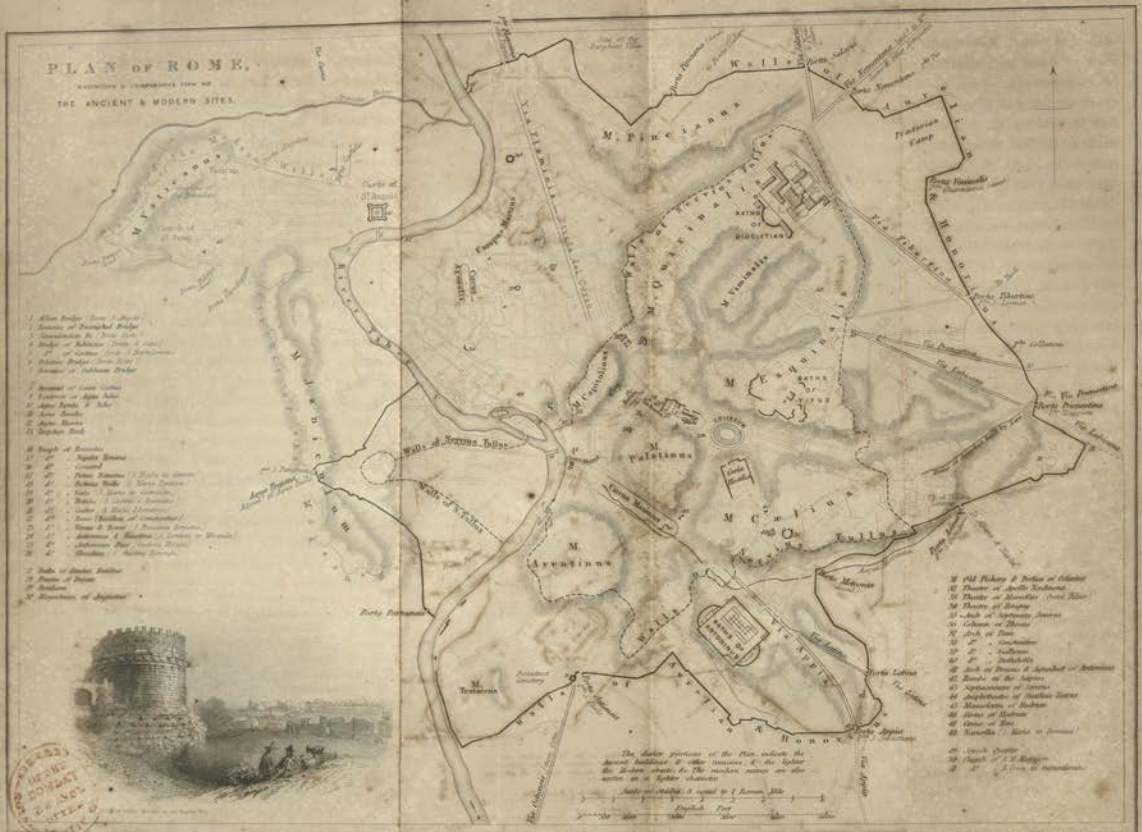
This doubt, which of two places, somewhat distant from each other, was the scene of St. Paul's meeting with the commander-in-chief of the Prætorian guards, gives us the occasion for entering on a general description of the different parts of the city of Rome. It would be nugatory to lay great stress, as is too often done, on its "seven hills:" for a great city at length obliterates the original features of the ground, especially where those features were naturally not very strongly marked. The description, which is easy in reference to Athens or Edinburgh, is hard in the instance of modern London or ancient Rome. Nor is it easy, in the case of one of the larger cities of the world, to draw any marked lines of distinction among the different classes of buildings. It is true, the contrasts are really great; but details are lost in a distant view of so vast an aggregate. The two scourges to which ancient Rome was most exposed, revealed very palpably the contrast, both of the natural ground and the human structures, which by the general observer might be unnoticed or forgotten. When the Tiber was flooded, and the muddy waters converted all the streets and open places of the lower part of the city into lakes and canals[1], it would be seen very clearly how much lower were the Forum and the Campus Martius, than those three detached hills (the Capitoline, the Palatine, and the Aventine) which rose near the river; and those four ridges (the Cœlian, the Esquiline, the Viminal, and the Quirinal) which ascended and united together in the higher ground on which the Prætorian camp was situated. And when fires swept rapidly from roof to roof[2], and vast ranges of buildings were buried in the ruins of one night, that contrast between the dwellings of the poor and the palaces of the rich, which has supplied the Apostle with one of his most forcible images, would be clearly revealed, — the difference between structures of "sumptuous marbles, with silver and gold," which abide after the fire, and the hovels of "wood, hay, stubble," which are burnt (1 Cor. iii. 10—15.).

If we look at a map of modern Rome, with a desire of realising to ourselves the appearance of the city of Augustus and Nero, we must in the first place

mei debet." Compare also Joseph. Ant. xviii. 6. quoted by Wieseler, p. 393.

[1] The writer has known visits paid in the Ripetta (in the Campus Martius) by means of boats brought to the windows of the first story. Dio Cassius makes three distinct references to a similar state of things. Ὁ Τίβερις πελαγίσας πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις Ῥώμην κατέλαβεν, ὥστε πλεῖσθαι, liii. 20. Compare liii. 33., lvii. 14.

[2] Suetonius mentions floods and fires together. "Urbem inundationibus incendiisque obnoxiam, excoluit adeo, ut jure sit *gloriatus*, marmoream se relinquere, quam latericiam accepisset." Aug. 29. "Adversus incendia excubias nocturnas vigilesque commentus est. Ad coercendas inundationes, alveum Tiberis laxavit et repurgavit." Ib. 30. The *fire-police* of Augustus seems to have been organized with great care. The care of the river, as we learn from inscriptions, was committed to a *Curator alvei Tiberis*.


PLAN OF ROME,
THE ANCIENT & MODERN SITES.
Walls
Porta Flaminia
Porta Pinciana
Porta Salaria
Porta Nomentana
Porta Tiburtina
Porta Maggiore
Porta Asinaria
Porta Latina
Porta Appia
Porta Ostiensis
Porta Portuensis
Porta Fontinalis
Porta Collina
Porta Viminalis
Porta Esquilina
Porta Querquetulana
Porta Capena
Porta Navalis
Porta Triumphalis
Porta Carmentalis
Porta Ratumena
Porta Sanqualis
Porta Lavernalis
Porta Trigemina
Porta Flumentana
Porta Libitinensis
Porta Metronia
Porta Raudusculana
Porta Naevia
Porta Mugonia
Porta Romanula
Porta Pandana
Porta Saturnia
Porta Janualis
Porta Ianiculensis
Porta Aurea
Porta Septimiana
Porta Settimiana
Porta Cavalleggieri
Porta Angelica
Porta Castello
Porta Viridaria
Porta Posterula
Porta Cornelia
Porta Lavernalis
Porta Ardeatina
Porta Ostiensis
Porta Portuensis
Porta Flaminia
Porta Pinciana
Porta Salaria
Porta Nomentana
Porta Tiburtina
Porta Maggiore
Porta Asinaria
Porta Latina
Porta Appia
Porta Ostiensis
Porta Portuensis
Porta Flaminia
Porta Pinciana
Porta Salaria
Porta Nomentana
Porta Tiburtina
Porta Maggiore
Porta Asinaria
Porta Latina
Porta Appia
Porta Ostiensis
Porta Portuensis
M. Pincianus
M. Quirinalis
M. Viminalis
M. Esquilinus
M. Caelius
M. Palatinus
M. Aventinus
M. Janiculus
M. Testaccio
Baths of Diocletian
Baths of Titus
Baths of Antoninus
Circus Maximus
Circus Flaminius
Circus of Nero
Circus of Caracalla
Forum Romanum
Forum Boarium
Forum Transitorium
Forum Augustum
Forum Pacis
Forum Nervae
Forum Trajani
Forum Julium
Forum Olitorium
Forum Piscarium
Forum Suarium
Forum Cuppedinis
Forum Vinarium
Forum Romanum
Forum Boarium
Forum Transitorium
Forum Augustum
Forum Pacis
Forum Nervae
Forum Trajani
Forum Julium
Forum Olitorium
Forum Piscarium
Forum Suarium
Forum Cuppedinis
Forum Vinarium
Via Flaminia
Via Salaria
Via Nomentana
Via Tiburtina
Via Labicana
Via Praenestina
Via Collatina
Via Gabina
Via Prenestina
Via Latina
Via Appia
Via Ostiensis
Via Portuensis
Via Aurelia
Via Cornelia
Via Triumphalis
Via Lavernalis
Via Ardeatina
Via Ostiensis
Via Portuensis
Via Flaminia
Via Pinciana

obliterate from our view that circuit of walls, which is due in various proportions, to Aurelian, Belisarius, and Pope Leo IV.[1] The wall, through which the Porta Capena gave admission, was the old Servian enclosure, which embraced a much smaller area: though we must bear in mind, as we have remarked above, that the city had extended itself beyond this limit, and spread through various suburbs, far into the country. In the next place we must observe that the hilly part of Rome, which is now half occupied by gardens, was then the most populous, while the Campus Martius, now covered with crowded streets, was comparatively open. It was only about the close of the republic that many buildings were raised on the Campus Martius, and these were chiefly of a public or decorative character. One of these, the Pantheon still remains, as a monument of the reign of Augustus. This, indeed, is the period from which we must trace the beginning of all the grandeur of Roman buildings. Till the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar, the private houses of the citizens had been mean, and the only public structures of note were the cloacæ and the aqueducts. But in proportion as the ancient fabric of the constitution broke down, and while successful generals brought home wealth from provinces conquered and plundered on every shore of the Mediterranean, the city began to assume the appearance of a new and imperial magnificence. To leave out of view the luxurious and splendid residences which wealthy citizens raised for their own uses[2], Pompey erected the first theatre of stone[3], and Julius Cæsar surrounded the great Circus with a portico.[4] From this time the change went on rapidly and incessantly. The increase of public business led to the erection of enormous Basilicas.[5] The Forum was embellished on all sides.[6] The Temple of Apollo on the Palatine[7], and those other temples the remains of which are

[1] The wall of Leo IV. is that which encloses the Borgo (said to be so called from the word *burgh*, used by Anglo-Saxon pilgrims) where St. Peter's and the Vatican are situated.

[2] Till the reign of Augustus, the houses of private citizens had been for the most part of sun-dried bricks, on a basement of stone. The houses of Crassus and Lepidus were among the earlier exceptions.

[3] This theatre was one of the principal ornaments of the Campus Martius. Some parts of it still remain.

[4] Plin. H. N. xxxvi. 24. 1. Suet. Cæs. 39.

[5] The Roman Basilica is peculiarly interesting to us, since it contains the germ of the Christian cathedral. Originally they were rather open colonnades than enclosed halls; but, before the reign of Nero, they had assumed their ultimate form of a nave with aisles. We shall refer again to the Basilicas in our account of St. Paul's last trial.

[6] Three well known Corinthian columns, of the best period of art under the Emperors, remain near the base of the Palatine. They are popularly called the remains of the Temple of Jupiter Stator: perhaps they are part of the Temple of Castor and Pollux. See the Beschreibung Roms, iii. 272.; also Bunsen's "Les Forum," &c.; and Bunbury's second article in the Classical Museum, p. 19.

[7] Suet. Aug. c. 29. Dio Cass. liii. 1.

still conspicuous at the base of the Capitoline[1], were only a small part of similar buildings raised by Augustus. The triumphal arch raised by Tiberius near the same place[2] was only one of many structures, which rose in rapid succession to decorate that busy neighbourhood. And if we wish to take a wider view, we have only to think of the aqueducts, which rose in succession between the private enterprises of Agrippa in the reign of Augustus, and the recent structures of the Emperor Claudius, just before the arrival of the Apostle Paul.[3] We may not go further in the order of chronology. We must remember that the Colosseum, the Basilica of Constantine, and the baths of other emperors, and many other buildings which are now regarded as the conspicuous features of ancient Rome, did not then exist. We are describing a period which is anterior to the time of Nero's fire. Even after the opportunity which that calamity afforded for reconstructing the city, Juvenal complains of the narrowness of the streets.[4] Were we to attempt to extend our description to any of these streets, — whether the old Vicus Tuscus[5], with its cheating shopkeepers[6], which led round the base of the Palatine, from the Forum to the Circus, — or the aristocratic Carinæ along the slope of the Esquiline[7], — or the noisy Suburra, in the hollow between the Viminal and Quirinal, which had sunk into disrepute[8], though once the residence of Julius Cæsar[9], — we should only wander into endless perplexity. And we should be equally lost, if we were to attempt to discriminate the mixed multitude, which were crowded on the various landings of those *insulæ*[10], or piles of lodging houses, which are perhaps best described by comparing them to the houses in the old town of Edinburgh.

If it is difficult to describe the outward appearances of the city, it is still more difficult to trace the distinctive features of all the parts of that colossal population which filled it. Within a circuit of little more than twelve miles[11] more than two millions[12] of inhabitants were crowded. It is evident that this

[1] For the true names of these temples, see Bunsen and Bunbury. The larger ruin, on the lower side of the Clivus Capitolinus, is believed to be the Temple of Vespasian, and was not built till after St. Paul's death. The Temples of Concord and of Saturn were of earlier date.

[2] It was built in commemoration of the recovery of the standards of Varus.

[3] See Frontinus.

[4] Juv. Sat. iii. 193. 199. 225. 236.; vi. 78.

[5] See Liv. xxvii. 37. In another place (ii. 14.) he says it was so called from the Etruscans, who settled there.

[6] Hor. Sat. II. iii. 228.

[7] Virg. Æn. viii. 36.; Hor. Ep. I. vii. 48.

[8] Juv. iii. 5.; x. 156.; xi. 50.; Pers. v. 32. Mart. v. xxii. 5.; x. xix. 5.

[9] "Habitavit primo in Suburra modicis ædibus; post autem pontificatum maximum, in Sacra Via, domo publica." (Suet. Cæs. c. 46.)

[10] A decree was issued by Augustus, defining the height to which these *insulæ* might be raised.

[11] This is of course a much wider circuit than that of the Servian wall. The present wall, as we have said above, did not then exist.

[12] This is Hoeck's calculation, I. ii. 131.

fact is only explicable by the narrowness of the streets, with that peculiarity of the houses which has been alluded to above. In this prodigious collection of human beings, there were of course all the contrasts which are seen in a modern city,—all the painful lines of separation between luxury and squalor, wealth and want. But in Rome all these differences were on an exaggerated scale, and the institution of slavery modified further all social relations. The free citizens were more than a million[1]: of these, the senators were so few in number, as to be hardly appreciable[2]: the knights, who filled a great proportion of the public offices, were not more than 10,000: the troops quartered in the city may be reckoned at 15,000: the rest were the *Plebs urbana*. That a vast number of these would be poor, is an obvious result of the most ordinary causes. But, in ancient Rome, the luxury of the wealthier classes did not produce a general diffusion of trade, as it does in a modern city. The handicraft employments, and many of what we should call professions[3], were in the hands of slaves; and the consequence was, that a vast proportion of the Plebs urbana lived on public or private charity.[4] Yet were these pauper citizens proud of their citizenship, though many of them had no better sleeping-place for the night than the public porticos or the vestibules of temples. They cared for nothing beyond bread for the day, the games of the Circus[5], and the savage delight of gladiatorial shows. Manufactures and trade they regarded as the business of the slave and the foreigner. The number of the slaves was perhaps about a million. The number of the strangers or *peregrini* was much smaller; but it is impossible to describe their varieties. Every kind of nationality and religion found its representative in Rome. But it is needless to pursue these details. The most obvious comparison is better than an elaborate description. Rome was like London with all its miseries, vices, and follies exaggerated, and without Christianity.

One part of Rome still remains to be described, the "Trastevere," or district

Bunsen, in the Beschreibung Roms, i. 183., makes a somewhat lower calculation. Each estimate is based, though in different ways, on the Monumentum Ancyranum. For remarks on the very low estimate of M. Dureau de la Malle, in his Economie Politique des Romains, see Hoeck in the Excursus at the end of the second part of his first volume, and Milman's note on Gibbon's thirty-first chapter.

[1] Hoeck.

[2] Before Augustus there were 1000 senators; he reduced them to about 700. Dio Cass. lii. 42.; liv. 14.

[3] Some were physicians, others were engaged in education, &c.

[4] See, on this whole subject, Hoeck's Römische Geschichte, book v. chap. ii.

[5] "Panem et Circenses;" such is the satirist's account of the only two things for which the Roman populace was really anxious.

beyond the river.[1] This portion of the city has been known in modern times for the energetic and intractable character of its population. In earlier times it was equally notorious, though not quite for the same reason. It was the residence of a low rabble, and the place of the meanest merchandise.[2] There is, however, one reason why our attention is particularly called to it. It was the ordinary residence of the Jews — the "Ghetto" of ancient Rome[3]: and great part of it was doubtless squalid and miserable, like the Ghetto of modern Rome[4], though the Jews were often less oppressed under the Cæsars than under the Popes. Here then — on the level ground, between the windings of the muddy river and the base of that hill[5] from the brow of which Porsena looked down on early Rome, and where the French within these few years have planted their cannon — we must place the home of those Israelitish families among whom the Gospel bore its first-fruits in the metropolis of the world: and it was on these bridges[6], — which formed an immediate communication from the district beyond the Tiber to the Emperor's household and the guards on the Palatine, — that those despised Jewish beggars took their stand, to whom in the place of their exile had come the hopes of a better citizenship than that which they had lost.

The Jewish community thus established in Rome, had its first beginnings in the captives brought by Pompey after his eastern campaign.[7] Many of them were manumitted; and thus a great proportion of the Jews in Rome were freedmen.[8] Frequent accessions to their numbers were made as years went on —

[1] Whether the wall of Servius included any portion of the opposite side of the river or not (a question which is disputed among the topographers of the Italian and German schools), a suburb existed there under the imperial régime.

[2] "Mercis ablegandæ Tiberim ultra." (Juv. xiv. 202.) "Transtiberinus ambulator, Qui pallentia sulfurata fractis Permutat vitreis." (Mart. i. 42. Compare i. 109. vi. 93.)

[3] Philo says of Augustus: Πῶς οὖν ἀπεδέχετο; τὴν πέραν τοῦ Τιβέρεως ποταμοῦ μεγάλην τῆς Ῥώμης ἀποτομὴν, ἣν οὐκ ἠγνόει κατεχομένην καὶ οἰκουμένην πρὸς Ἰουδαίων. (ii. 568. ed. Mangey.) The remembrance of the fact may, perhaps, elucidate a difficult passage of Horace. The exclamation, "Hodie tricesima sabbata" (Sat. I. ix. 69.) is more explicable if supposed to be made in the midst of the Jewish population, and near some synagogue; and Horace just above (18.) represents himself as going to see a friend, who is lying ill "*trans Tiberim.*"

[4] The modern Ghetto is in the filthy quarter between the Capitoline Hill and the old Fabrician Bridge, which leads to the island, and thence to the Trastevere. It is surrounded by walls, and the gates are closed every night by the police. The number of Jews is about 8000, in a total population of 150,000.

[5] The Janiculum.

[6] "Pontis exul." Mart. x. 5. See Juv. iv. 116.; v. 8.; xiv. 134.

[7] See Vol. I. p. 20., and Remond's Geschichte der Ausbreitung des Judenthums, referred to there. The first introduction of the Jews to Rome was probably the embassy of the Maccabees.

[8] Ῥωμαῖοι ἦσαν οἱ πλείονς ἀπελευθερωθέντες· αἰχμαλωτοὶ γὰρ ἀχθέντες εἰς Ἰταλίαν ὑπὸ τῶν

chiefly from the mercantile relations which subsisted between Rome and the East. Many of them were wealthy, and large sums were sent annually for religious purposes from Italy to the mother country.[1] Even the proselytes contributed to these sacred funds.[2] It is difficult to estimate the amount of the religious influence exerted by the Roman Jews upon the various Heathens around them; but all our sources of information lead us to conclude that it was very considerable.[3] So long as this influence was purely religious, we have no reason to suppose that any persecution from the civil power resulted. It was when commotions took place in consequence of expectations of a temporal Messiah, or when vague suspicions of this mysterious people were more than usually excited, that the Jews of Rome were cruelly treated, or peremptorily banished. Yet from all these cruelties they recovered with elastic force, and from all these exiles they returned; and in the early years of Nero, which were distinguished for a mild and lenient government of the empire[4], the Jews in Rome seem to have enjoyed complete toleration, and to have been a numerous, wealthy, and influential community.

The Christians doubtless shared the protection which was extended to the Jews. They were hardly yet sufficiently distinguished as a self-existent community, to provoke any independent hostility. It is even possible that the Christians, so far as they were known as separate, were more tolerated than the Jews; for, not having the same expectation of an earthly hero to deliver them, they had no political ends in view, and would not be in the same danger of

κτησαμένων ἠλευθερώθησαν οὐδὲν τῶν πατρίων παραχαράξαι βιασθέντες. Philo. Ib.

[1] "Cum aurum, Judæorum nomine, quotannis ex Italia, et ex omnibus provinciis Hierosolyma exportari soleret, Flaccus sanxit edicto, ne ex Asia exportari liceret." (Cic. pro Flacco, c. 28.) Again, Philo says, in the passage quoted above, *Ἠπίστατο καὶ χρήματα συναγάγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπαρχῶν ἱερὰ, καὶ πέμποντας εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα διὰ τῶν τᾶς θυσιάς ἀναξόντων.*

[2] See Tac. Hist. v. 5. "Cætera instituta sinistra fœda pravitate valuere. Nam pessimus quisque, spretis religionibus patriis, tributa et stipes illuc gerebat: unde auctæ Judæorum res."

[3] The very passages which express hatred of the Jews imply a sense of their influence. See Juv. xiv. and Cic. pro Flacco; and compare Hor. Sat. I. v. 100. with I. iv. 142. Many Jews were Roman citizens, like Josephus and St. Paul: and there were numerous proselytes at Rome, especially among the women (see for instance Joseph. Ant. xviii. 3. 5.). As in the case of Greece, the conquest of Judæa brought Rome under the influence of her captive. Hence Seneca's remark, in reference to the Jews: Victi victoribus leges dederunt. And Rutilius says, grouping together the campaigns of Pompey and Titus:

Atque utinam nunquam Judæa subacta fuisset
Pompeii bellis imperioque Titi.
Latius excisæ pestis contagia serpunt
Victoresne suos natio victa premat.

[4] The good period of Nero's reign — the first *quinquennium* — had not yet expired. The full toleration of the Jews in Rome is implied in the narration of St. Paul's meeting with the elders, and in the lines of Persius:

Herodis venere dies unctaque fenestra
Dispositæ pinguem nebulam vomuere lucernæ.

exciting the suspicion of the government. Yet we should fall into a serious error, if we were to suppose that all the Christians in Rome, or the majority of them, had formerly been Jews or Proselytes; though this was doubtless true of its earliest members, who may have been of the number that were dispersed after the first Pentecost, or, possibly, disciples of our Lord Himself. It is impossible to arrive at any certain conclusion concerning the first origin and early growth of the Church in Rome[1]; though, from the manifold links between the city and the provinces, it is easy to account for the formation of a large and flourishing community. Its history before the year 61 might be divided into three periods, separated from each other by the banishment of the Jews from Rome in the reign of Claudius [2], and the writing of St. Paul's letter from Corinth.[3] Even in the first of these periods there might be points of connection between the Roman Church and St. Paul; for some of those whom he salutes (Rom. xvi. 7. 11.) as "kinsmen," are also said to have been "Christians before him." In the second period it cannot well be doubted that a very close connection began between St. Paul and some of the conspicuous members and principal teachers of the Roman Church. The expulsion of the Jews in consequence of the edict of Claudius, brought them in large numbers to the chief towns of the Levant; and there St. Paul met them in the synagogues. We have seen what results followed from his meeting with Aquila and Priscilla at Corinth. They returned to Rome with all the stores of spiritual instruction which he had given them; and in the Epistle to the Romans we find him, as is natural, saluting them thus:—"Greet Priscilla and Aquila, my helpers in Christ Jesus: who have for my sake laid down their own necks: unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the Churches of the Gentiles. Likewise greet the Church that is in their house." All this reveals to us a great amount of devoted exertion on behalf of one large congregation in Rome; and all of it distinctly connected with St. Paul. And this is perhaps only a specimen of other cases of the like kind. Thus he sends a greeting to Epænetus, whom he names "the first-fruits of Asia"[4] (ver. 5.), and who may have had the same close relation to him during his long ministration at Ephesus (Acts, xix.), which Aquila and Priscilla had at Corinth. Nor must we forget those women,

[1] A very good discussion of this subject, and of the tradition concerning St. Peter's first visit to Rome, will be found in Hemsen's Paulus, pp. 400—404. See above, in this Volume, pp. 157, 158.

[2] Vol. I. p. 413.

[3] Vol. II. p. 157.

[4] For the reading here, see p. 198. n. 1.

whom he singles out for special mention, — "Mary, who bestowed much labour on him" (ver. 6.); "the beloved Persis, who laboured much in the Lord" (ver. 12.); with Tryphæna and Tryphosa, and the unknown mother of Rufus (ver. 13.). We cannot doubt, that, though the Church of Rome may have received its growth and instruction through various channels, many of them were connected, directly or indirectly, with St. Paul; and accordingly he writes, in the whole of the letter, as one already in intimate relation with a Church which he has never seen.[1] And whatever bonds subsisted between this Apostle and the Roman Christians, must have been drawn still closer when the letter had been received; for from that time they were looking forward to a personal visit from him, in his projected journey to the West. Thenceforward they must have taken the deepest interest in all his movements, and received with eager anxiety the news of his imprisonment at Cæsarea, and waited (as we have already seen) for his arrival in Italy. It is indeed but too true that there were parties among the Christians in Rome, and that some had a hostile feeling against St. Paul himself[2]; yet it is probable that the animosity of the Judaizers was less developed, than it was in those regions which he had personally visited, and to which they had actually followed him. As to the unconverted Jews, the name of St. Paul was doubtless known to them; yet were they comparatively little interested in his movements. Their proud contempt of the Christian heresy would make them indifferent. The leaven of the Gospel was working around them to an extent of which they were hardly aware. The very magnitude of the population of Rome had a tendency to neutralise the currents of party feeling. For these reasons the hostility of the Jews was probably less violent than in any other part of the empire.

Yet St. Paul could not possibly be aware of the exact extent of their enmity against himself. Independently, therefore, of his general principle of preaching first to the Jew and then to the Gentile, he had an additional reason for losing no time in addressing himself to his countrymen. Thus, after the mention of St. Paul's being delivered up to Burrus, and allowed by him to be separate from the other prisoners[3], the next scene to which the sacred historian introduces us is among the Jews. After three days[4] he sent for the principal men among

[1] See Hemsen, p. 404.

[2] See Phil. i. 15.

[3] Καθ' ἑαυτὸν; an indulgence probably due to the influence of Julius.

[4] Μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς, which need not mean three complete days.

them to his lodging[1], and endeavoured to conciliate their feelings towards himself and the Gospel.

It was highly probable that the prejudices of these Roman Jews were already roused against the Apostle of the Gentiles; or if they had not yet conceived an unfavourable opinion of him, there was a danger that they would now look upon him as a traitor to his country, from the mere fact that he had appealed to the Roman power.[2] He might even have been represented to them in the odious light of one who had come to Rome as an accuser of the Sanhedrin before the Emperor. St. Paul, therefore, addressed his auditors on this point at once, and shewed that his enemies were guilty of this very appeal to the foreign power, of which he had himself been suspected. He had committed no offence against the holy nation, or the customs of their fathers; yet his enemies at Jerusalem had delivered him,—one of their brethren—of the seed of Abraham—of the tribe of Benjamin—a Hebrew of the Hebrews—into the hands of the Romans. So unfounded was the accusation, that even the Roman governor had been ready to liberate the prisoner; but his Jewish enemies opposed his liberation. They strove to keep a child of Israel in Roman chains. So that he was compelled, as his only hope of safety, to appeal unto Cæsar. He brought no accusation against his countrymen before the tribunal of the stranger: that was the deed of his antagonists. In fact, his only crime had been his firm faith in God's deliverance of his people through the Messiah promised by the Prophets. "*For the hope of Israel,*" he concluded, "*I am bound with this chain.*"[3]

Their answer to this address was reassuring. They said that they had received no written communication from Judæa concerning St. Paul, and that none of "the brethren" who had arrived from the East had spoken any evil of him. They further expressed a wish to hear from himself a statement of his religious sentiments, adding that the Christian sect was everywhere spoken against.[4] There was perhaps something hardly honest in this answer; for it

[1] Ἐγένετο συγκαλέσασθαι αὐτὸν τοὺς ὄντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρώτους. With regard to εἰς τὴν ξενίαν, we are convinced, with Wieseler, that it is to be distinguished from τὸ ἴδιον μίσθωμα mentioned below. The latter was a *hired lodging*, which he took for his permanent residence; and the mention of the money he received from the Philippians (Phil. iv.) serves to shew that he would not need the means of hiring a lodging. The ξενία (*hospitium*) implies the temporary residence of a guest with friends, as in Philemon 22. Nothing is more likely than that Aquila and Priscilla were his hosts at Rome, as formerly at Corinth.

[2] See Wieseler, p. 397.

[3] Ver. 17—20.

[4] Ver. 21, 22.

seems to imply a greater ignorance with regard to Christianity than we can suppose to have prevailed among the Roman Jews. But with regard to Paul himself, it might well be true that they had little information concerning him. Though he had been imprisoned long at Cæsarea, his appeal had been made only a short time before winter. After that time (to use the popular expression), the sea was shut; and the winter had been a stormy one; so that it was natural enough that his case should be first made known to the Jews by himself. All these circumstances gave a favourable opening for the preaching of the Gospel, and Paul hastened to take advantage of it. A day was fixed for a meeting at his own private lodging.[1]

They came in great numbers[2] at the appointed time. Then followed an impressive scene, like that at Troas (Acts, xxi.)—the Apostle pleading long and earnestly,—bearing testimony concerning the kingdom of God,—and endeavouring to persuade them by arguments drawn from their own Scriptures,—"from morning till evening."[3] The result was a division among the auditors[4]—"not peace but a sword,"—the division which has resulted ever since, when the Truth of God has encountered, side by side, earnest conviction with worldly indifference, honest investigation with bigoted prejudice, trustful faith with the pride of scepticism. After a long and stormy discussion, the unbelieving portion departed; but not until St. Paul had warned them, in one last address, that they were bringing upon themselves that awful doom of judicial blindness, which was denounced in their own Scriptures against obstinate unbelievers; that the salvation which they rejected would be withdrawn from them, and the inheritance they renounced would be given to the Gentiles.[4] The sentence with which he gave emphasis to this warning was that passage in Isaiah, which is more often quoted in the New Testament than any other words from the Old[5],—which recurring thus with solemn force at the very close of the Apostolic history, seems to bring very strikingly together the Old Dispensation and the New, and to connect the ministry of OUR LORD with that of His Apostles:—**"Go unto this people and say: Hearing ye shall hear and shall not understand, and seeing ye shall see and shall not perceive: for the heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed; lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them."**[6]

[1] Ταξάμενοι αὐτῷ ἡμέραν.

[2] Ἦκον πλείονες.

[3] Ver. 23.

[4] Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπείθοντο τοῖς λεγομένοις, οἱ δὲ ἠπίστουν· ἀσύμφωνοι δὲ ὄντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους. κ.τ.λ.

[5] Ver. 24—28.

[6] Isa. vi. 9, 10. (LXX.) Quoted also by OUR LORD (Mat. xiii. 15.), and referred to by St. John (John, xii. 10.).

A formal separation was now made between the Apostle of the Gentiles and the Jews of Rome. They withdrew, to dispute concerning the "sect" which was making such inroads on their prejudices (ver. 29.). He remained in his own hired house[1], where the indulgence of Burrus permitted him to reside, instead of confining him within the walls of the Prætorian barrack. We must not forget, however, that he was still a prisoner under military custody, — chained by the arm[2], both day and night, to one of the imperial bodyguard, — and thus subjected to the rudeness and caprice of an insolent soldiery. This severity, however, was indispensable, according to the Roman law; and he received every indulgence which it was in the power of the Præfect to grant. He was allowed to receive all who came to him (ver. 30.) and was permitted, without hindrance, to preach boldly the kingdom of God, and teach the things of the LORD JESUS CHRIST (ver. 31.).

Thus was fulfilled his long cherished desire "to proclaim the Gospel to them that were in Rome also" (Rom. i. 15.). Thus ends the Apostolic History, so far as it has been directly revealed. Here the thread of sacred narrative, which we have followed so long, is suddenly broken. Our knowledge of the incidents of his residence in Rome, and of his subsequent history, must be gathered almost exclusively from the letters of the Apostle himself.

[1] Ἐν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι. See above on εἰς τὴν ξενίαν.

[2] Σὺν τῷ φυλάσσοντι αὐτὸν στρατιώτῃ. Acts, xxviii. 16. See above, pp. 295, 296., and compare Eph. vi. 20. (πρεσβεύω ἐν ἁλύσει), Col. iv. 18.; Phil. i. 13. Possibly two soldiers guarded him by night according to the sentence of the Roman law — "nox custodiam geminat," — quoted by Wieseler.

CHAPTER XXV.

ΠΑΥΛΟΣ Ὁ ΔΕΣΜΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ. (Eph. iii. 1.)

DELAY OF ST. PAUL'S TRIAL. — HIS OCCUPATIONS AND COMPANIONS DURING HIS IMPRISONMENT. — HE WRITES *THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON*, *THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS*, AND *THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS* (*SO CALLED*).

WE have seen that St. Paul's accusers had not yet arrived from Palestine, and that their coming was not even expected by the Roman Jews. This proves that they had not left Syria before the preceding winter, and consequently that they could not have set out on their journey till the following spring, when the navigation of the Mediterranean was again open. Thus, they would not reach Rome till the summer or autumn of the year 61 A.D.[1] Meanwhile, the progress of the trial was necessarily suspended, for the Roman courts required[2] the personal presence of the prosecutor. It would seem that, at this time[3], an accused person might be thus kept in prison for an indefinite period, merely by the delay of the prosecutor to proceed with his accusation; nor need this surprise us, if we consider how harshly the law has dealt with supposed offenders, and with what indifference it has treated the rights of the accused, even in periods whose civilization was not only more advanced than that of the Roman empire, but also imbued with the merciful spirit of Christianity. And even when the

[1] About this period (as we learn from Josephus) there were two embassies sent from Jerusalem to Rome; viz., that which was charged to conduct the impeachment of Felix, and that which was sent to intercede with Nero on the subject of Agrippa's palace, which overlooked the Temple. The former seems to have arrived in Rome in A.D. 60, the latter in A.D. 61. (See note on the Chronological table in Appendix.) It is not impossible that the latter embassy, in which was included Ishmael the High Priest, may have been intrusted with the prosecution of St. Paul, in addition to their other business.

[2] See Geib, Römisch. Criminal-Process, pp. 508. 511. 595. 689. It should be observed that the prosecutor on a criminal charge, under the Roman law, was not the state (as with us the Crown), but any private individual who chose to bring an accusation. (Geib, p. 515.)

[3] At a later period the suspension on the part of the prosecutor of the proceedings during a year, was made equivalent to an abandonment of it, and amounted to an *abolitio* of the process. See Geib, Römisch. Criminal-Process, p. 586. In the time of Nero the prosecutors on a public charge were liable to punishment if they abandoned it from corrupt motives, by the Senatus Consultum Turpilianum. See Tacitus, Ann. xiv. 41.: "Qui talem operam emptitasset vendidissetve, perinde pœnâ teneretur, ac si publico judicio calumniæ condemnatus." This law was passed A.D. 61, and was afterwards interpreted by the jurisconsults as forbidding an accuser to withdraw his accusation. (Geib, pp. 582—586. and 690.)

prosecutors were present, and no ground alleged for the delay of the trial, a corrupt judge might postpone it, as Felix did, for months and years, to gratify the enemies of the prisoner. And if a provincial Governor, though responsible for such abuse of power to his master, might venture to act in this arbitrary manner, much more might the Emperor himself, who was responsible to no man. Thus, we find that Tiberius was in the habit of delaying the hearing of causes, and retaining the accused in prison unheard, merely out of procrastination.[1] So that, even after St. Paul's prosecutors had arrived, and though we were to suppose them anxious for the progress of the trial, it might still have been long delayed by the Emperor's caprice. But there is no reason to think that, when they came, they would have wished to press on the cause. From what had already occurred they had every reason to expect the failure of the prosecution. In fact it had already broken down at its first stage, and Festus had strongly pronounced his opinion of the innocence[2] of the accused. Their hope of success at Rome must have been grounded either on influencing the Emperor's judgment by private intrigue, or on producing farther evidence in support of their accusation. For both these objects delay would be necessary. Moreover, it was quite in accordance with the regular course of Roman jurisprudence, that the Court should grant a long suspension of the cause, on the petition of the prosecutor, that he might be allowed time to procure the attendance of witnesses[3] from a distance. The length of time thus granted would depend upon the remoteness of the place where the alleged crimes had been committed. We read of an interval of twelve months permitted during Nero's reign, in the case of an accusation against Suilius[4], for misdemeanours committed during his government of Proconsular Asia. The accusers of St. Paul might fairly demand a longer suspension; for they accused him of offences committed not only in Palestine (which was far more remote than Proconsular Asia from Rome), but also over the whole[5] empire. Their witnesses must be summoned from Judæa, from Syria, from Cilicia, from Pisidia, from Macedonia; in all cities from Damascus to Corinth, in all countries, from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum, must testimony be sought to prove the seditious turbulence of the ringleader of the Nazarenes.

[1] Τιβέριος . . . εἶχεν αὐτὸν δέσμιον, μελλήτης εἰ καί τις ἑτέρων βασιλέων γενόμενος . . . . ὅθεν καὶ δεσμωτῶν ακροάσεως ἀπερίοπτος ἦν (Joseph. Ant. 18., quoted by Wieseler).

[2] Acts xxv. 25., and xxvi. 32.

[3] "Silvanum magna vis accusatorum circumsteterat, poscebatque tempus evocandorum testium." (Tacitus, Ann. xiii. 52.) This was in a case where the accused had been proconsul in Africa. We may observe that the attendance of the witnesses for the prosecution could be legally enforced. (Geib, p. 630.)

[4] Tac. Ann. xiii. 43.: "Inquisitionem annuam impetraverant."

[5] Κινοῦντα στάσιν πᾶσι τοῖς Ιουδαίοις κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην, Acts xxiv. 5.

The interval granted them for such a purpose could not be less than a year, and might well be more.[1] Supposing it to be the shortest possible, and assuming that the prosecutors reached Rome in August A.D. 61, the first stage of the trial would be appointed to commence not before August A.D. 62. And when this period arrived, the prosecutors and the accused, with their witnesses, must have been heard on each of the charges separately (according to Nero's regulations[2]), and sentence pronounced on the first charge before the second was entered into. Now, the charges against St. Paul were divided (as we have seen) into three[3] separate heads of accusation. Consequently, the proceedings, which would of course be adjourned from time to time to suit the Emperor's convenience, may well have lasted till the beginning of 63, at which time St. Luke's narrative would lead us to fix their termination.[4]

During the long delay of his trial, St. Paul was not reduced, as he had been at Cæsarea, to a forced inactivity. On the contrary, he was permitted the freest intercourse with his friends, and was allowed to reside in a house of sufficient size to accommodate the congregation which flocked together to listen to his teaching. The freest scope was given to his labours, consistent with the military custody under which he was placed. We are told, in language peculiarly emphatic, that his preaching was subjected to no restraint whatever.[5] And that which seemed at first to impede, must really have deepened the impression of his eloquence; for who could see without emotion that venerable form subjected by iron links to the coarse control of the soldier who stood beside him? how often must the tears of the assembly have been called forth by the upraising of that fettered hand, and the clanking of the chain which checked its energetic action!

We shall see hereafter that these labours of the imprisoned Confessor were not fruitless; in his own words, he begot many children in his chains.[6] Meanwhile, he had a wider sphere of action than even the metropolis of the world. Not only "the crowd which pressed upon him daily,"[7] but also "the care of all

[1] Another cause of delay, even if the prosecutors did not make the demand for suspension, would have been the loss of the official notice of the case forwarded by Festus. No appeal (as we have before observed) could be tried without a rescript (called *Apostoli* or *literæ dimissoriæ*) from the inferior to the superior judge, stating full particulars of the case. See Geib, p. 689. Such documents could scarcely have been saved in the wreck at Malta.

[2] It was Nero's practice, as Suetonius tells us, "Ut continuis actionibus omissis singillatim quæque per vices ageret." (Suet. Nero, 15.)

[3] See above, p. 290.

[4] We need not notice the hypothesis of Böttger, that St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome only lasted five days. It has already been refuted by Neander (i. 428.) and by Wieseler, pp. 411—415

[5] Acts xxviii. 31.: Κηρύσσων . . . . μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας ἀκωλύτως.

[6] Philem. 10.

[7] 2 Cor. xi. 28.

the churches," demanded his constant vigilance and exertion. Though himself tied down to a single spot, he kept up a constant intercourse, by his delegates, with his converts throughout the empire; and not only with his own converts, but with the other Gentile Churches, who, as yet, had not seen his face in the flesh. To enable him to maintain this superintendence, he manifestly needed many faithful messengers; men who (as he says of one of them) rendered him profitable service[1]; and by some of whom he seems to have been constantly accompanied, wheresoever[2] he went. Accordingly we find him, during this Roman imprisonment, surrounded by many of his oldest and most valued attendants. Luke[3], his fellow-traveller, remained with him during his bondage; Timotheus[4], his beloved son in the faith, ministered to him at Rome, as he had done in Asia, in Macedonia, and in Achaia. Tychicus[5], who had formerly borne him company from Corinth to Ephesus, is now at hand to carry his letters to the shores which they had visited together. But there are two names amongst his Roman companions which excite a peculiar interest, though from opposite reasons,—the names of Demas and of Mark. The latter, when last we heard of him, was the unhappy cause of the separation of Barnabas and Paul. He was rejected by Paul, as unworthy to attend him, because he had previously abandoned the work of the Gospel out of timidity or indolence.[6] It is delightful to find him now ministering obediently to the very Apostle who had then repudiated his services; still more, to know that he persevered in this fidelity even to the end[7], and was sent for by St. Paul to cheer his dying hours. Demas, on the other hand, is now a faithful "fellow-labourer"[8] of the Apostle; but in a few years we shall find that he had "forsaken" him, "having loved this present world." Perhaps we may be allowed to hope, that, as the fault of Demas was the same with that of Mark, so the repentance of Mark may have been paralleled by that of Demas.

Amongst the rest of St. Paul's companions at this time, there were two whom he distinguishes by the honourable title of his "fellow-prisoners." One of these is Aristarchus[9], the other Epaphras.[10] With regard to the former, we know that he was a Macedonian of Thessalonica, one of "Paul's companions in

[1] 2 Tim. iv. 11.

[2] Comp. Acts xix. 22.: *Δύο τῶν διακονούντων αὐτῷ.*

[3] Col. iv. 14.; Philem. 24. Luke seems, however, to have been absent from Rome when the Epistle to the Philippians was written.

[4] Philem. 1.; Col. i. 1.; Philip. i. 1.

[5] Col. iv. 7.; Eph. vi. 21.; cf. Acts xx. 4.; and Tit. iii. 12.

[6] Vol. I. pp. 174. and 270.

[7] 2 Tim. iv. 11.; *Μαρκον ἀναλαβὼν ἄγε μετὰ σεαυτοῦ· ἔστι γάρ μοι εὔχρηστος εἰς διακονίαν.*

[8] *Συνεργος*, Philem. 24.; cf. Col. iv. 14.

[9] Col. iv. 10.; cf. Acts xix. 29., and Acts xxvii. 2., and Philem. 23.

[10] Col. i. 7.; Philem. 23.

travel," whose life was endangered by the mob at Ephesus, and who embarked with St. Paul at Cæsarea when he set sail for Rome. The other, Epaphras, was a Colossian, who must not be identified with the Philippian Epaphroditus, another of St. Paul's fellow-labourers during this time. It is not easy to say what was the exact sense in which these two disciples were peculiarly *fellow-prisoners*[1] of St. Paul. Perhaps it only implies that they dwelt in his house, which was also his prison.

But of all the disciples now ministering to St. Paul at Rome, none has for us a greater interest than the fugitive Asiatic slave Onesimus. He belonged to a Christian named Philemon, a member of the Colossian[2] Church. But he had robbed[3] his master, and fled from Colossæ, and at last found his way to Rome. It is difficult to imagine any portion of mankind more utterly depraved than the associates among whom a runaway pagan slave must have found himself in the capital. Profligate and unprincipled as we know even the highest and most educated society to have then been, what must have been its dregs and offal? Yet from this lowest depth Onesimus was dragged forth by the hand of Christian love. Perhaps some Asiatic Christian, who had seen him formerly at his master's house, recognised him in the streets of Rome destitute and starving, and had compassion on him; and thus he might have been brought to hear the preaching of the illustrious prisoner. Or it is not impossible that he may have already known St. Paul at Ephesus, where his master Philemon had formerly been himself converted[4] by the Apostle. However this may be, it is certain that Onesimus was led by the providence of God to listen to that preaching now which he had formerly despised. He was converted to the faith of Christ, and therefore to the morality of Christ. He confessed to St. Paul his sins against his master. The Apostle seems to have been peculiarly attracted by the character of Onesimus; and he perceived in him the indications of gifts which fitted him for a more important post than any which he could hold as the slave of Philemon. He wished[5] to keep him at Rome, and employ him in the service of the Gospel. Yet he would not transgress the law, nor violate the rights of Philemon, by acting in this matter without his consent. He therefore decided that Onesimus must immediately return to his master; and, to make this duty less painful, he undertook himself

[1] The same expression is used of Andronicus and Junias (Rom. xvi. 7.), but of no others except these four.

[2] For the proof of this see Paley's Horæ Paulinæ on Philemon (10—12.).

[3] Philem. 18.

[4] Philem. 10. appears to state this. (See Vol. II. p. 13.)

[5] Philem. 13.

to discharge the sum of which Philemon had been defrauded. An opportunity now offered itself for Onesimus to return in good company; for St. Paul was sending Tychicus to Asia Minor, charged, amongst other commissions, with an epistle to Colossæ, the home of Philemon. Under his care, therefore, he placed the penitent slave, who was now willing to surrender himself to his offended master. Nevertheless, he did not give up the hope of placing his new convert in a position wherein he might minister no longer to a private individual, but to the Church at large. He intimated his wishes on the subject to Philemon himself, with characteristic delicacy, in a letter which he charged Onesimus to deliver on his arrival at Colossæ. This letter is not only a beautiful illustration of the character of St. Paul, but also a practical commentary upon the precepts concerning the mutual relations of slaves[1] and masters given in his cotemporary epistles. We see here one of the earliest examples of the mode in which Christianity operated upon these relations; not by any violent disruption of the organisation of society, such as could only have produced another Servile War, but by gradually leavening and interpenetrating society with the spirit of a religion which recognised the equality of all men in the sight of God. The letter was as follows: —

THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON.[2]

Salutation. PAUL, A PRISONER OF CHRIST JESUS, AND TIMOTHEUS THE BROTHER, 1
TO PHILEMON OUR BELOVED FRIEND AND FELLOW LABOURER;
AND TO APPIA[3] OUR BELOVED[4] SISTER, AND TO ARCHIPPUS[5] 2

[1] See Col. iii. 22. and Eph. vi. 5. St. Paul's attention seems to have been especially drawn to this subject at the present time; and he might well feel the need there was for a fundamental change in this part of the social system of antiquity, such as the spirit of Christ alone could give. In the very year of his arrival at Rome, a most frightful example was given of the atrocity of the laws which regulated the relations of slave to master. The prefect of the city (Pedanius Secundus) was killed by one of his slaves; and in accordance with the ancient law, the whole body of slaves belonging to Pedanius at Rome, amounting to a vast multitude, and including many women and children, were executed together, although confessedly innocent of all participation in the crime. Tac. Ann. xiv. 42–45.

[2] With respect to the date of this epistle, the fact that it was conveyed by Onesimus (compare Col. iv. 9.), and the persons mentioned as with St. Paul at the time (Philem. 23, 24. compared with Col. iv. 12—14.), prove that it was sent to Asia Minor, together with the epistle to the Colossians, the date of which is discussed in a note on the beginning of that epistle.

[3] Ἀπφία is a Greek form of the Latin name Appia; we are told by Chrysostom that she was the wife of Philemon, which seems probable from the juxtaposition of their names.

[4] Ἀδελφῇ is added in many of the best MSS.

[5] Archippus was apparently a presbyter of the church at Colossæ, or perhaps an *evangelist* resident there on a special mission (compare Col. iv. 17.); from the present passage he seems to have lived in the house of Philemon.

OUR FELLOW SOLDIER, AND TO THE CHURCH AT THY HOUSE.

3 Grace be to you and peace, from God our Father and our Lord Jesus Christ.

Thanksgivings and prayers for Philemon.

4 I thank my God, making mention of thee always in my
5 prayers, because I hear of thy love and faith towards our
6 Lord Jesus, and towards all God's people, while I pray[1] that thy faith may communicate itself to others, and may become workful, in causing true knowledge of all the good which is
7 in us, for Christ's service. For I have great joy and consolation in thy love, because the hearts of God's people have been comforted by thee, brother.

Request for the favourable reception of Onesimus.

8 Wherefore, although in the authority of Christ I might
9 boldly enjoin upon thee that which is befitting, yet for love's sake I rather beseech thee, as Paul the aged, and now
10 also prisoner of Jesus Christ. I beseech thee for my son,
11 whom I have begotten in my chains, Onesimus; who formerly was to thee[2] unprofitable, but now is profitable both to thee
12 and me. Whom I have sent back to thee[3]; but do thou
13 receive him as my own[4] flesh and blood. For I would gladly[5] retain him with myself, that he might render service to me in thy stead, while I am a prisoner for declaring the Glad-tidings;

[1] Ὅπως is to be joined with verse 4, as stating the object of the prayer there mentioned, while verse 5 gives the subject of the thanksgiving. This is Chrysostom's view, against which Meyer's objections appear inconclusive. The literal English of verse 6 is as follows, *that the communication of thy faith may become workful, in true knowledge of all good which is in us, for Christ.* The latter words are very obscure, but the rendering adopted in the text appears to make the best sense. The best MSS. are divided between χριστὸν and χριστὸν ἰησοῦν; but agree in reading ἡμῖν, not ὑμῖν.

[2] Most modern commentators suppose a play on the name *Onesimus*, which means *useful;* but there seems scarcely sufficient ground for this, and it was never remarked by the ancient Greek commentators, whose judgment on such a point would be entitled to most deference.

[3] Many of the best MSS. add σοι. The omission of προσλαβοῦ at the end of the verse makes no difference in the sense; but it is characteristic of St. Paul's abrupt and rapid dictation.

[4] Children were called the σπλάγχνα of their parents.

[5] Ἐβουλόμην. The imperfect here, and aorist in the preceding and following verse, are used, according to classical idiom, from the position of the *reader* of the letter.

but I am unwilling to do anything without thy decision, that 14
thy kindness may not be constrained, but voluntary. For 15
perhaps to this very end he was parted from thee for a time,
that thou mightest possess him for ever; no longer as a 16
bondsman, but above a bondsman, a brother beloved; very
dear to me, but how much more to thee, being thine both in
the flesh and in the Lord. If, then, thou count me in fellowship 17
with thee, receive him as myself. But whatsoever he has 18
wronged thee of, or owes thee, reckon it to my account (I, 19
Paul, write[1] this with my own hand); I will repay it; for I 20
would not say to thee that thou owest me even thine own
self besides. Yea, brother, let me have joy of thee in the
Lord; comfort my heart in Christ.[2]

Announcement of a visit from Paul to Asia Minor on his acquittal.

I write to thee with full confidence in thy obedience, 21
knowing that thou wilt do even more than I say. But, 22
moreover, prepare to receive me as thy guest; for I trust that
through your[3] prayers I shall be given toyou.

Salutations from Rome.

There salute thee Epaphras my fellow-prisoner[4] in Christ 23
Jesus, Marcus, Aristarchus, Demas, Lucas, my fellow- 24
labourers.

Concluding benediction.

The Grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ be with your 25
spirits.[5]

While Onesimus, on the arrival of the two companions at Colossæ[6], hurried to the house of his master with the letter which we have just read, Tychicus

[1] Ἔγραψα, see note above.

[2] Χριστῷ is the reading of the best MSS.

[3] Observe the change from singular to plural here, and in verse 25.

[4] Συναιχμάλωτος, as we have before remarked, perhaps means only that Epaphras had voluntarily shared Paul's imprisonment at Rome by taking up his residence with him, in the lodging where he was guarded by the "soldier that kept him."

[5] The ἀμήν as usual is interpolated.

[6] Though we have come to the conclusion that St. Paul had not himself (at this time) visited Colossæ, yet it is hardly possible to read these Epistles without feeling an interest in the scenery and topography of its vicinity. The upper part of the valley of the Mæander, where this city, with its neighbour-cities Hierapolis and Laodicea (Col. ii. 1. iv. 13.; Rev. iii. 14.), was situated, has been described by many travellers; and the illustrated works on Asia Minor contain several views, especially of the vast and singular petrifactions of Hierapolis (Pambouk-Kalessi). Colossæ was older than either Laodicea or Hiera-

proceeded to discharge his commission likewise by delivering to the Presbyters the Epistle with which he was charged, that it might be read to the whole Colossian Church at their next meeting. The letter to the Colossians itself gives us distinct information as to the cause which induced St. Paul to write it. Epaphras, the founder of that Church (Col. i. 7.), was now at Rome, and he had communicated to the Apostle the unwelcome tidings, that the faith of the Colossians was in danger of being perverted by false teaching. It has been questioned whether several different systems of error had been introduced among them, or whether the several errors combated in the Epistle were parts of one system, and taught by the same teachers. On the one side we find that in the Epistle St. Paul warns the Colossians *separately* against the following different errors:—First, A combination of angel-worship and asceticism; Secondly, A self-styled *philosophy* or *gnosis*, which depreciated Christ; Thirdly, A rigid observance of Jewish festivals and Sabbaths. On the other side, First, the Epistle seems distinctly (though with an indirectness caused by obvious motives) to point to a single source, and even a single individual, as the origin of the errors introduced; and, secondly, we know that at any rate the two first of these errors, and apparently the third also, were combined by some of the early Gnostics. The most probable view, therefore, seems to be, that some Alexandrian Jew had appeared at Colossæ, professing a belief in Christianity, and imbued with the Greek "philosophy" of the school of Philo, but combining with it the Rabbinical theosophy and angelology which afterwards was embodied in the Kabbala, and an extravagant asceticism, which also afterwards distinguished several sects of the Gnostics.[1] In short, one of the first heresiarchs of the incipient Gnosticism had begun to pervert the Colossians from the simplicity of their faith. We have seen in a former chapter how great was

polis, and it fell into comparative insignificance as they rose into importance. Herodotus (vii. 30.) describes it as—Πόλιν μεγάλην Φρυγίης ἐν τῇ Λύκος ποταμὸς ἐς χάσμα γῆς ἐσβάλλων ἀφανίζεται; and Xenophon (Anab. I. ii. 6.) calls it πόλιν οἰκουμένην καὶ μεγάλην. Strabo (xii. 8.) reckons it among the πολίσματα, not the πόλεις, of Phrygia; and Pliny (v. 41.), among its "celeberrima oppida." In the Middle Ages it became a place of some consequence, and was the birthplace of the Byzantine writer Nicetas Choniates, who tells us that Χώναι and Κολασσαὶ were the same place (Χώνας, πόλιν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην, πάλαι τὰς Κολασσάς, τὴν ἐμοῦ τοῦ συγγραφέως πατρίδα, p. 230. ed. Bonn). A village called *Chonas* still remains, the proximity of which to the ancient Colossæ is proved by the correspondence of the observed phenomena with what Herodotus says of the river Lycus. The neighbourhood was explored by Mr. Arundel (Seven Churches, p. 158. Asia Minor, II. 160.), but Mr. Hamilton was the first to determine the actual site of the ancient city. (Researches, I. 508.)

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 39. and 484.

the danger to be apprehended from this source, at the stage which the Church had now reached; especially in a church which consisted, as that at Colossæ did, principally of Gentiles (Col. i. 25—27., Col. ii. 11.); and that, too, in Phrygia[1], where the national character was so prone to a mystic fanaticism. We need not wonder, therefore, that St. Paul, acting under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, should have thought it needful to use every effort to counteract the growing evil. This he does, both by contradicting the doctrinal errors of the new system, and by inculcating, as essential to Christianity, that pure morality which these early heretics despised. Such appears to have been the main purpose of the following Epistle.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.[2]

Salutation.

PAUL, AN APOSTLE OF JESUS CHRIST BY THE WILL OF GOD, AND 1.1
TIMOTHEUS THE BROTHER, TO THE HOLY AND FAITHFUL 2
BRETHREN IN CHRIST WHO ARE AT COLOSSÆ[3],
Grace be to you, and peace from God our Father.[4]

Thanksgiving for their conversion.

I[5] give continual thanks to God[6] the Father of Our 3
Lord Jesus Christ, in my prayers for you (since I heard of 4
your faith in Christ Jesus, and your love to all His people[7]),

[1] See Vol. 1. pp. 254—7.

[2] The following are the grounds for the date assigned to this Epistle.

(1.) It was written in prison at the same time as Philemon, and sent by the same messenger (iv. 7—9.).

(2.) It was not written in Cæsarea—

(A) Because while writing St. Paul was labouring for the Gospel (iv. 3, 4.), which he did not at Cæsarea (Acts xxviii. 31.).

(B) Because he could not have expected at Cæsarea to be soon coming to Phrygia (Acts xxiii. 11., xix. 21.; Rom. i. 13.; Acts xx. 25.), whereas while writing this he expected soon to visit Phrygia (Philem. 22.).

(3.) The indications above mentioned all correspond with Rome. Moreover Timotheus was with him, as we know he was at Rome, from Phil. i. 1.

[3] Many of the best MSS. have *Κολασσαῖς*, and this is the form in later writers, as in the Synecdemus. See the quotation above given from Nicetas.

[4] The words *καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, with which St. Paul in all other cases concludes this formula of benediction, are omitted here in the best MSS. Chrysostom remarks on the omission.

[5] See note on 1 Thess. i. 2.

[6] *Τῷ θεῷ πατρὶ* is the reading of the best MSS.

[7] See note on 1 Cor. i. 2., p. 26.

1.5 because[1] of the hope laid up for you in the heavens, whereof
you heard the promise in the truthful Word of the Glad-
6 tidings; which is come to you, as it is through all the
world, where it bears fruit and[2] grows, as it does also among
you, since the day when first you heard it, and learned to
7 know truly the grace of God. And thus you were taught
by Epaphras my beloved fellow-bondsman[3], who is a faith-
8 ful servant of Christ on your behalf. And it is he who has
declared to me your love for me[4] in the fellowship of the
Spirit.

9 Wherefore I also, since the day when first I heard it, Prayers for their perfection.
cease not to pray for you, and to ask of God that you may
fully attain to the knowledge of His will; that[5] in all wisdom
10 and spiritual understanding you may walk worthy of the
Lord, to please Him in all things; that you may bear fruit
11 in all good works, and grow continually in[6] the knowledge
of God; that you may be strengthened to the uttermost in
the strength of His glorious power, to bear all sufferings with
12 stedfast endurance and with joy, giving thanks[7] to the Father
who has enabled us to share the portion of His people in the
light.

13 For He has delivered us from the dominion of darkness, Atonement and sovereignty of Christ.
and transplanted us into the kingdom of his beloved Son, in
14 whom we have our redemption[8], the forgiveness of our

[1] It seems more natural to take διὰ here in the same sense as in verse 9, than (with De Wette and others) to connect it with the preceding verse, as if the sentiment were *τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐλπίδος*.

[2] The MSS. add *καὶ αὐξανόμενον* to the R. T.

[3] *Epaphras* is the same name with *Epaphroditus;* but this can scarcely be the same person with that Epaphroditus who brought the contribution from Philippi to Rome about this time. This was a native of Colossæ (see iv. 12.), the other was settled at Philippi, and held office in the Philippian Church.

[4] This interpretation (which is Chrysostom's) seems the most natural. Their love for St. Paul was *ἐν πνεύματι* because they had never seen him *ἐν σάρκι*.

[5] The punctuation here adopted is *ἐν πάσῃ κ. τ. λ. περιπατῆσαι κ. τ. λ.*

[6] The best MSS. read *τῇ ἐπιγνώσει*.

[7] The *εὐχαριστοῦντες* here seems parallel to the preceding participles, and consequently the *ἡμᾶς* is used, not with reference to the writer, but generally, as including both writer and readers; and the particular case of the readers (as formerly heathens) referred to in verse 21. (*καὶ ὑμᾶς*).

[8] *Διὰ τ. αἱμ. αὐτ.* has been introduced here by mistake from Eph. i. 7., and is not found in the best MSS.

sins. Who is a visible[1] image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation; for[2] in Him were all things created, both in the heavens and on the earth, both visible and invisible, whether they be Thrones, or Dominations, or Principalities, or Powers[3]; by Him and for Him[4] were all created. And He is before all things, and in Him all things subsist.[5] And He is the head of the body, the Church; whereof He is the beginning, as firstborn from the dead; that in all things His place might be the first. I. 15 16 17 18

For He willed[6] that in Himself all the Fulness of the universe[7] should dwell; and by Himself He willed to reconcile all things to Himself, having made peace by the blood of His cross; by Himself (I say) to reconcile all that exists, whether on the earth, or in the heavens.[8] 19 20

[1] Εἰκὼν. It is important to observe here that St. Paul says not merely that our Lord *was* when on earth the visible image of God, but that he *is* so still. In Him only God manifests himself to man, and he is still visible to the eye of faith.

[2] Ἐν here must not be confounded with διὰ. The existence of Christ, the λογος, is the condition of all Creation; IN Him the Godhead is manifested.

[3] St. Paul here appears to allude to the doctrines of the Colossian heretics, who taught a system of angel-worship, based upon a systematic classification of the angelic hierarchy (probably similar to that found in the Kabbala), and who seem to have represented our Lord as only one (and perhaps not the highest) of this hierarchy. Other allusions to a hierarchy of angels (which was taught in the Rabbinical theology) may be found Rom. viii. 38.; Eph. i. 21., iii. 10.; 1 Pet. iii. 22., joined with the assertion of their subjection to Christ.

[4] Compare Rom. xi. 36., where exactly the same thing is said concerning *God;* from which the inference is plain. It appears evident that St. Paul insists here thus strongly on the creation by Jesus Christ, in opposition to some erroneous system which ascribed the creation to some other source; and this was the case with the early Gnosticism, which ascribed the creation of the world to a Demiurge, who was distinct from the man Jesus.

[5] Συνέστηκε, *i. e.* the life of the universe is conditioned by His existence. See the previous note on ἐν.

[6] Εὐδόκησε. Most commentators suppose an ellipsis of ὁ Θεός; but the instances adduced by De Wette and others to justify this seem insufficient; and there seems no reason to seek a new subject for the verb, when there is one already expressed in the preceding verse. It appears better therefore to read αὐτῷ and αὐτοῦ, not αὐτῷ and αὐτοῦ, in this and the next verse.

[7] The word πλήρωμα is here used by St. Paul in a technical sense, with a manifest allusion to the errors against which he is writing. The early Gnostics used the same word to represent the assemblage of emanations (conceived as angelic powers) proceeding from the Deity. St. Paul therefore appears to say, that the true *Fulness of the universe* (or, as he calls it, chap. ii. 9., *Fulness of the godhead*), is to be found, not in any angelic hierarchy (see the remarks introductory to this Epistle, page 393.), but in Christ alone.

[8] This statement of the infinite extent of the

The Colossians had been called from heathenism and reconciled to God by Christ.

1. 21 And you, likewise, who once were estranged from Him, and with your mind at war with Him, when you lived in
22 wickedness, yet now He has reconciled in the body of His flesh [1] through death, that He might bring you to His presence
23 in holiness, without blemish and without reproach; if, indeed, *you be stedfast in your faith, with your foundation firmly grounded and immoveably fixed, and not suffering yourselves to be shifted away from the hope of the Glad-tidings which first you heard, which has been published throughout all the earth* [2], whereof I, Paul, have been made a ministering servant.

St. Paul's commission to reveal the Christian mystery of universal salvation.

24 And even now I rejoice in the afflictions which I bear for your [3] sake, and I fill up [4] what yet is lacking of the sufferings [5] of Christ in my flesh, on behalf of His body, which
25 is the Church; whereof I was made a servant, to minister in the stewardship which God gave me for you [Gentiles], that
26 I might fulfil it by declaring the Word of God, the mystery which has been hid for countless ages and generations [6], but
27 has now been shown openly to His people; to whom God

results of Christ's redemption (which may well fill us with reverential awe), has been a sore stumbling block to many commentators, who have devised various (and some very ingenious) modes of explaining it away. Into these this is not the place to enter. It is sufficient to observe that St. Paul is still led to set forth the true greatness of Christ in opposition to the angel-olatry of the Colossian heretics; intimating that far from Christ being one only of the angelic hierarchy, the heavenly hosts themselves stood in need of His atonement. Compare Heb. ix. 23.

[1] Here again is perhaps a reference to the Gnostic element in the Colossian theosophy. It was Christ himself who suffered death, in the body of his flesh; He was perfect man; and not (as the Docetæ taught) an angelic emanation, who withdrew from the man Jesus before he suffered.

[2] Literally, *throughout all the creation under the sky*, which is exactly equivalent to *throughout all the earth*. St. Paul of course speaks here hyperbolically, meaning, *the teaching which you heard from Epaphras is the same which has been published universally by the Apostles.*

[3] St. Paul's sufferings were caused by his zeal on behalf of the *Gentile* converts.

[4] The ἀντί is introduced into ἀνταναπληρῶ by the antithesis between the notions of πληροῦσθαι and ὑστερεῖσθαι.

[5] Compare 2 Cor. i. 5. Περισσεύει τὰ παθήματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς, and also Acts ix. 4., "Why persecutest thou *me*." St. Paul doubtless recollected those words when he called his sufferings "the sufferings of Christ in his flesh."

[6] Literally, *from* (i. e. *since*) *the ages and the generations*, meaning, *from the remotest times*, with special reference to the times of the Mosaic Dispensation. Compare Rom. xvi. 25.: μυστ. χρόνοις αἰωνίοις σεσιγ., and Titus i. 2.

willed to manifest how rich, among the Gentiles, is the glory of this mystery, which[1] is CHRIST IN YOU, THE HOPE OF GLORY.

Him, therefore, I proclaim, warning every man, and I. 28
teaching every man, in all wisdom; that I may bring every
man into His presence full grown in Christ.[2] And to this 29
end I labour in earnest conflict, according to His inward
working which works in me with mighty power.

He prays that they may grow in true wisdom;

For I would have you know how great[3] a conflict I II. 1
sustain for you, and for those at Laodicea, and for all[4] who
have not seen my face in the flesh; that their hearts may be 2
comforted, and that they may be knit together in love, and
may gain in all its richness the full assurance of under-
standing[5], truly to know the mystery of God[6], wherein are 3
all the treasures of wisdom and of knowledge[7] hidden.

and warns them against those who would mislead them

I say this, lest any man should mislead you with enticing 4
words. For though I am absent from you in the flesh, yet 5
I am present with you in the spirit, rejoicing when I behold
your good order, and the firmness of your faith in Christ. As, 6
therefore, you first received Christ Jesus the Lord, so continue
to live in Him; having in Him your root, and in Him the 7
foundation whereon you are continually[8] built up; per-
severing steadfastly in your faith, as you were taught; and
abounding[9] in thanksgiving.

[1] The best MSS. are here divided between ὅς and ὅ; if we read ὅ it refers to μυστηρίον, if ὅς, to πλοῦτος; in either case the sense is the same, since πλοῦτος is the rich abundance contained in the μυστήριον.

[2] Ἰησοῦ is omitted here in the best MSS. Τέλειος, *grown to the ripeness of maturity.*

[3] Alluding to ἀγωνιζόμενος above.

[4] Viz. all *Christians*. By the plain natural sense of this passage, the Colossians are classed among those personally unknown to St. Paul.

[5] Συνέσεως, compare σύνεσις πνευματικὴ (i. 9.).

[6] The reading of the MSS. here is very doubtful. The reading adopted above is that of Tischendorf's 2d edition.

[7] St. Paul here alludes, as we see from the next verse, to those who (like the Colossian false teachers) professed to be in possession of a higher γνῶσις. In opposition to them he asserts that the depths of γνῶσις are to be found only in the "Mystery of God," viz. the Gospel, or (as he defines it above) Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν.

[8] Ἐποικοδομούμενοι, observe the present tense, and compare 1 Cor. iii. 10.

[9] Ἐν αὐτῇ is omitted here, as in Tischendorf's text.

II 8 Beware[1] lest there be any man who leads you captive[2] by his philosophy, which is a vain deceit, following the tradition of men[3], the outward lessons[4] of childhood, not the 9 teaching of Christ. For in Him dwells all the Fulness[5] of the 10 Godhead in bodily form, and in Him[6] you have your fulness; 11 for He is the head of all the Principalities and Powers. In Him, also, you were circumcised with a circumcision not made by hands, even the off-casting of the[7] whole body of 12 the flesh, the circumcision of Christ; for with Him you were buried in your baptism, wherein also you were made partakers of His resurrection, through the faith wrought in you 13 by God, who raised Him from the dead; and you also, when you were dead in the transgressions and uncircumcision of your flesh, God raised to share His life. For He forgave 14 us[8] all our transgressions, and blotted out the Writing against us, which opposed us with its decrees[9], having taken

by a system of misnamed philosophy which depreciates Christ,

[1] The following paraphrase of this part of the Epistle is given by Neander (Denkwürdigkeiten, p. 12.), "How can you still fear evil spirits, when the Father himself has delivered you from the kingdom of darkness, and transplanted you into the kingdom of his dear Son, who has victoriously ascended to heaven to share the divine might of his Father, with whom he now works in man; when, moreover, he by his sufferings has united you with the Father, and freed you from the dominion of all the powers of darkness, whom he exhibits (as it were) as captives in his triumphal pomp, and shows their impotence to harm his kingdom established among men. How can you still let the doubts and fears of your conscience bring you into slavery to superstition, when Christ has nailed to his cross, and blotted out the record of guilt which testified against you in your conscience, and has assured to you the forgiveness of all your sins. Again, how can you fear to be polluted by outward things, how can you suffer yourselves to be in captivity to outward ordinances, when you have died with Christ to all earthly things, and are risen with Christ, and live (according to your true, inward life) with Christ in heaven. Your faith must be fixed on things above, where Christ is, at the right hand of God. Your life is hid with Christ in God, and belongs no more to earth."

[2] Ὁ συλαγωγῶν, literally, *who drags you away as his spoil.* The peculiar form of expression employed (similar to τινές εἰσιν οἱ ταράσσοντες, Gal. i. 7.), shows that St. Paul alludes to some particular individual at Colossæ, who professed to teach a "Philosophy."

[3] Τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων is applied to the Rabbinical theology (Mark vii. 8.).

[4] Στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (cf. Gal. iv. 3.), referring to the Jewish ordinances, as σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων (v. 17.).

[5] See note on i. 19.

[6] *I. e.* by union with Him alone, you can partake of the Pleroma of the Godhead, and not (as the Gnostics taught) by initiation into an esoteric system of theosophy, whereby men might attain to closer connection with some of the "Principalities and Powers" of the angelic hierarchy.

[7] The casting off, not (as in outward circumcision) of a part, but of the whole body of the flesh, the whole carnal nature. The τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν of the R. T. is an interpolation.

[8] Ἡμῖν is the reading of the best MSS.

[9] The parallel passage (Eph. ii. 15.) is more explicit, τὸν νόμον των ἐντολῶν ἐν δόγμασιν. On

it out of our way, and nailed it to the cross. And He dis- II. 15
armed the Principalities and the Powers [1] which fought against
Him, and put them to open shame, leading them captive in
His triumph, which He won [2] in Christ.

and unites Jewish observances with angel-worship and asceticism.

Therefore, suffer not any man to condemn you for 16
what you eat or drink [3], nor in respect of feast-days, or new
moons [4], or sabbaths; for these are a shadow of things to 17
come, but the body is Christ's. Let no man succeed in his 18
wish [5] to defraud you of your prize, persuading you to self-
humiliation [6], and worship of the angels [7], intruding [8] rashly
into things which he has not seen, puffed up by his fleshly
mind, and not holding fast the Head, from whom [9] the whole 19
body, by the joints which bind it, draws full supplies [10] for all
its needs, and is knit together, and increases in godly growth.

If, then, when you died with Christ, you put away the 20

the grammatical difficulties of both passages, see Winer, Gram. sect. 31. 6.

[1] Cf. Eph. vi. 12.; and see Neander's paraphrase quoted above.

[2] Ἐν αὐτῷ scilicet Χριστῷ; the subject is ὁ Θεός.

[3] Compare Rom. xiv. 1—17.

[4] The same three Mosaic observances are joined together, 1 Chron. xxiii. 31. Compare also Gal. iv. 10.

[5] Μηδεὶς . . . . θέλων, *let no man though he wishes it;* this seems the most natural explanation of this difficult expression; it is that adopted by Theodoret and Theophylact. We observe again the reference to some individual false teacher.

[6] Ταπεινοφροσύνη is joined with ἀφειδία σώματος in verse 23., whence it seems to mean an exaggerated self-humiliation, like that which has often been joined with ascetic practices, and has shown itself by the devotee wearing rags, exposing himself to insult, living by beggary, &c.

[7] Mr. Hartley mentions a fact in the later *Christian* history of Colossæ, which is at least curious when considered in connection with St. Paul's warning concerning angels, and the statement of Herodotus regarding the river Lycus. The modern Greeks have a legend to this effect:— "An overwhelming inundation threatened to destroy the Christian population of that city. They were fleeing before it in the utmost consternation, and imploring superior succour for their deliverance. At this critical moment, the archangel Michael descended from heaven, *opened the chasm in the earth to which they still point,* and at this opening the waters of the inundation were swallowed up and the multitude was saved." (Res. in Greece, p. 52.) A church in honour of the archangel was built at the entrance of the chasm. This ναός ἀρχαγγελικὸς is mentioned by Nicetas in the passage quoted before (p. 393. note.). See also the notes in the Bonn ed. of Codinus Curopalates, where it is said that on the 6th of September, τὸ ἐν Χώναις τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχὰηλ θαῦμα τερατουργεῖται. A council held at the neighbouring town of Laodicea, in the 4th century, condemned this Angel worship; and Theodoret speaks of it as existing in the same region.

[8] Εἰκῆ is here joined to ἐμβατεύων.

[9] Οὗ, not ἧς, as in A. V. For we need not suppose that ἐξ οὗ is used adverbially here, as at Phil. iii. 20.

[10] Ἐπιχορηγούμενον, literally, *furnished with all things necessary to its support.*

[11] The reference is to verse 12. The literal translation is *if you died with Christ, putting away &c.*

childish lessons of outward things, why, as though you still lived in outward things, do you submit yourselves to decrees
II. 21 ("hold[1] not, taste not, touch not"—forbidding the use of
22 things which are all made to be consumed in the using[2])
23 founded on the precepts and doctrines of men? For these precepts, though they have a show of wisdom, in a self-chosen worship, and in humiliation, and chastening of the body, are of no value to check[3] the indulgence of fleshly passions.

III. 1. If, then[4], you were made partakers of Christ's resurrection, seek those things which are above, where Christ
2 abides[5], seated on the right hand of God. Set your heart on
3 things above, not on things earthly; for ye are dead, and
4 your life is hid with Christ in God. When Christ, who is our life, shall be made manifest, then shall ye be made manifest[6] with Him in glory.

Exhortation to heavenward affections.

5 Give, therefore, unto death your earthly members; fornication, uncleanness[7], shameful appetites, unnatural desires,
6 and the lust of concupiscence[8], which is idolatry. For these things bring the wrath of God upon the children of disobe-

Against heathen impurity and other vices.

[1] Ἅψῃ is distinguished from θίγῃς, the former, conveying (according to its original sense) the notion of *close contact and retention*, the latter of only *momentary contact*, compare 1 Cor. vii. 1., and also John xx. 17., where μή μου ἅπτου should probably be translated "hold me not," or 'cling not to me."

[2] This appears to be the best view of this very difficult passage, on a comparison with 1 Cor. vi. 13., and with St. Paul's general use of φθείρω.

[3] Πρὸς πλησμονὴν τῆς σαρκός, literally, *in reference to the indulgence of the flesh*. The difficulty of this verse is well known; no commentator (so far as we are aware) has suggested the interpretation adopted above. De Wette's objections to the view of Meyer, Olshausen, and others (who explain σαρκός here by τοῦ νοὸς τῆς σαρκός in verse 18.) seem conclusive; but his own interpretation, which leaves the verse a mere statement of the favourable side of this Colossian asceticism, unbalanced by any contrary conclusion, and with nothing to answer to λόγον μέν, appears still more untenable.

[4] The reference is to ii. 12.

[5] Ἐστὶν is not the mere copula here.

[6] So also Rom. viii. 19., the coming of Christ in glory is identified with the ἀποκάλυψις τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ. St. Paul declares, that the real nature and glory of Christ's people (which is now hidden) will be manifested to all mankind when Christ shall come again, and force the world to recognise him, by an open display of his majesty. The authorised version (though so beautiful in this passage that it is impossible to deviate from it without regret), yet does not adequately represent the original; "*appear*" not being equivalent to φανερωθῆναι.

[7] Viz. of word as well as deed.

[8] Τὴν πλεονεξίαν, whence the before-named special sins spring, as branches from the root. For the meaning of the word see note on 2 Cor. v. 11.

dience; among whom you also walked in former times, when iii. 7
you lived therein; but now, with us[1], you likewise must re- 8
nounce them all. Anger, passion, and malice must be cast
Exhortation to put on the Christian character in all its various perfections.
away, evil-speaking and reviling put out of your mouth. Lie 9
not one to another, but[2] put off the old man with his deeds, and 10
put on the new[3] man, who grows continually to a more perfect
knowledge and likeness of his Creator.[4] Wherein there is not 11
Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian,
Scythian, bondsman, freeman; but Christ is all, and in all.
Therefore, as God's chosen people, holy and beloved, put on 12
tenderness of heart, kindness, self-humiliation[5], gentleness,
long-suffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving one 13
another, if any thinks himself aggrieved by his neighbour;
even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye. And over all 14
the rest put on the[6] robe of love, which binds together and
completes the whole.[7] Let the peace of Christ[8] rule in 15
your hearts, to which also you were called in one body; and
be thankful one[9] to another. Let the Word of Christ 16
dwell in you richly; teach and admonish one another in all
wisdom.[10]

Festive meetings, how to be celebrated.
Let your singing be of psalms, and hymns, and spiritual

Lust is called idolatry, either because impurity was so closely connected with the heathen idol-worship, or because it alienates the heart from God.

[1] Καὶ ὑμεῖς, *you as well as other Christians.* There should be a comma after αὐτοῖς [or τούτοις, according to Tischendorf's reading], and a full stop at πάντα. Then the exhortation beginning ὀργήν, &c., follows abruptly, a repetition of ἀπόθεσθε being understood from the sense.

[2] Ἀπεκδυσάμενοι is here equivalent to ἀπεκδύσασθε δὲ; compare ἐνδύσασθε (v. 12.).

[3] For this use of νέος compare Heb. xii. 24.

[4] Literally, *who is continually renewed* [present participle] *to the attainment* [εἰς] *of a true knowledge according to the likeness of his Creator.*

[5] It is remarkable that the very same quality which is condemned in the false teachers, is here enjoined; showing that it was not their self-humiliation which was condemned, but their exaggerated way of showing it, and the false system on which it was engrafted.

[6] Ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις ἐνδύσασθε.

[7] Literally, *which is the bond of completeness.*

[8] The great majority of MSS. read Χριστοῦ.

[9] Εὐχάριστοι is most naturally understood of gratitude towards one another, especially as the context treats of their love towards their brethren; for ingratitude destroys mutual love.

[10] The punctuation here adopted is ὁ λόγος κ. τ. λ. πλουσίως. Ἐν πάσῃ κ. τ. λ. ἑαυτούς. The participles διδάσκοντες, &c., are used imperatively, as in Rom. xii. 9–16.

songs[1], sung in thanksgiving, with your heart, unto[2] God.
III. 17 And whatsoever you do, in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God our Father through Him.

Exhortation to the fulfilment of the duties of domestic life.

18 Wives, submit yourselves to your husbands, as it is[3] fit in the Lord.
19 Husbands, love your wives, and deal not harshly with them.
20 Children, obey your parents in all things; for this is acceptable in the Lord.[4]
21 Fathers, vex not your children, lest their spirit should be broken.

Of slaves and masters.

22 Bondsmen, obey in all things your earthly masters; not in eye-service, as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart,
23 fearing the Lord.[5] And whatsoever you do, do it heartily,
24 as for the Lord, and not for men; knowing that from the Lord you will receive the reward of the inheritance; for you
25 are the bondsmen of Christ, our Lord and[6] Master. But he who wrongs another will be requited for the wrong which he has done, and [in that judgment] there is no respect of persons.[7]
IV. 1 Masters, deal rightly and justly with your bondsmen, knowing that you also have a Master in heaven.

He asks for their prayers.

2 Persevere in prayer, and join thanksgiving with your

[1] The reading adopted is ψαλμοῖς ὕμνοις ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς ἐν τῇ χάριτι ᾄδοντες, which is Tischendorf's, a stop being put after the preceding ἑαυτούς. St. Paul appears to intend (as in Eph. v. 18, 19. which throws light on the present passage) to contrast the songs which the Christians were to employ at their meetings, with those impure or bacchanalian strains which they formerly sung at their heathen revels. It should be remembered that singing always formed a part of the entertainment at the banquets of the Greeks. Compare also James, v. 13. εὐθυμεῖ τις; ψαλλέτω. For the meaning of χάριτι compare χάριτι μετέχω, 1 Cor. x. 30.

[2] Θεῷ is the reading of the best MSS.

[3] For the imperfect ἀνῆκεν see Winer, Gram. sect 41. 3.

[4] Εὐάρεστον ἐν Κυρίῳ is the reading of MSS.

[5] Κύριον is the reading of the MSS.

[6] The correlative meanings of κύριος and δοῦλος give a force to this in Greek, which cannot be fully expressed in English.

[7] *I. e.* slaves and masters are equal at Christ's judgment seat.

watchfulness therein; and pray for me likewise, that God IV. 3
would open to me a door of entrance[1] for His Word, that I
may declare the mystery of Christ[2], which is the very cause
of my imprisonment; pray for me that I may declare it 4
openly, as I ought to speak.

Conduct towards unbelievers.

Conduct yourselves with wisdom towards those without 5
the Church[3], and forestal opportunity.[4] Let your speech 6
be always gracious, with a seasoning of salt[5], understanding how to give to every man a fitting answer.

Mission of Tychicus and Onesimus.

All that concerns me will be made known to you by 7
Tychicus, my beloved brother and faithful servant and fellow-
bondsman in the Lord, whom I have sent to you for this 8
very end, that he might learn your state, and comfort your
hearts; with Onesimus, the faithful and beloved brother, 9
your fellow-countryman; they will tell you all which has
happened here.

Greetings from Christians in Rome.

Aristarchus, my fellow-prisoner, salutes you, and Marcus, 10
the cousin[6] of Barnabas, concerning whom you received
instructions (if he come to you, receive him), and Jesus sur- 11
named Justus. Of the circumcision[7] these only are my
fellow-labourers for the kingdom of God, who have been a
comfort to me.

Epaphras your fellow-countryman salutes you; a bonds- 12
man of Christ, who is ever contending on your behalf in
his prayers, that in ripeness of understanding and full as-
surance of belief[8], you may abide stedfast in all the will

[1] Compare 2 Cor. ii. 12.

[2] See above, i. 27.

[3] Τοὺς ἔξω, compare 1 Thess. iv. 12. and 1 Cor. v. 12.

[4] Ἐξαγοραζόμενοι is translated literally above; like the English *forestal*, the verb means *to buy up an article out of the market*, in order to make the largest possible profit from it.

[5] *I. e. free from insipidity.* It would be well if religious speakers and writers had always kept this precept in mind.

[6] Ἀνεψιὸς has the meaning of *cousin* (not *nephew*) both in classical and Hellenistic Greek. See Tob. vii. 2. (LXX.) and Hesychius and Pollux.

[7] We adopt the punctuation of Lachmann and Meyer.

[8] We read πεπληροφορημένοι, with Lachmann and Tischendorf, and the best MSS. For the meaning of the word, see Rom. iv. 21.

IV. 13 of God; for I bear him witness that he is filled with zeal for you, and for those in Laodicea and Hierapolis.

14 Luke, the beloved physician, and Demas, salute you.

15 Salute the brethren in Laodicea, and Nymphas, with the Church at his house. 16 And when this letter has been read among you, provide that it be read also in the Church of the Laodiceans, and that you also read the letter from Laodicea. 17 And say to Archippus, "Take heed to the ministration which thou hast received in the Lord's service, that thou fulfil it."

Messages to Colossian and Laodicean Christians.

18 The salutation of me, Paul, with my own hand. Remember my chains.[2] Grace be with you.[3]

Autograph salutation and benediction.

We have seen that the above epistle to the Colossians, and that to Philemon, were conveyed by Tychicus and Onesimus, who travelled together from Rome to Asia Minor. But these two were not the only letters with which Tychicus was charged. We know that he carried a third letter also; but it is not equally certain to whom it was addressed. This third letter was that which is now entitled the Epistle to the Ephesians[4]; concerning the destination of which (disputed as it is) the least disputable fact is, that it was not addressed to the Church of Ephesus.

This point is established by strong evidence, both internal and external. To begin with the former, we remark, First, that it would be inexplicable that St. Paul, when he wrote to the Ephesians, amongst whom he had spent so long a time, and to whom he was bound by ties of such close affection (Acts xx. 17., &c.), should not have a single message of personal greeting to send. Yet none such are found in this Epistle. Secondly, He could not have described the Ephesians as a Church whose conversion he knew only by report (i. 15.). Thirdly, He could not speak to them, as only knowing himself (the founder of their Church) to be an Apostle *by hearsay* (iii. 2.), so as to need *credentials* to

[1] If, with some MSS. we read πόνον here, it will not materially alter the sense.

[2] We have before remarked that the right hand, with which he wrote these words, was fastened by a chain to the left hand of the soldier who was on guard over him.

[3] The ἀμήν (as usual) was added by the copyists, and is absent from the best MSS.

[4] See Eph. vi. 21, 22.

accredit him with them (iii. 4.) Fourthly, He could not describe the Ephesians as so exclusively Gentiles (ii. 11., iv. 17.), and so recently converted (v. 8., i. 13., ii. 13.)

This internal evidence is confirmed by the following external evidence also.

(1.) St. Basil[1] distinctly asserts, that the early writers whom he had consulted declared that the manuscripts of this Epistle in their time did not contain the name of Ephesus, but left out altogether the name of the Church to which the Epistle was addressed. He adds, that the most ancient manuscripts which he had himself seen gave the same testimony. This assertion of Basil's is confirmed by Jerome[2], Epiphanius[3], and Tertullian.[4]

(2.) The most ancient manuscript now known to exist, namely, that of the Vatican Library, fully bears out Basil's words; for in its text it does not contain the words "in Ephesus" at all; and they are only added in its margin by a much later hand.

(3.) We know, from the testimony of Marcion, that this Epistle was entitled in his collection the Epistle to the Laodiceans. And his authority on this point is entitled to greater weight from the fact, that he was himself a native of the district where we should expect the earlier copies of the Epistle to exist.[5]

The above arguments have convinced the ablest of modern critics that this Epistle was not addressed to the Ephesians. But there has not been by any means the same unanimity on the question, who were its intended readers. In the most ancient manuscripts of it (as we have seen) no Church is mentioned by name, except in those consulted by Marcion, according to which it was addressed to the Laodiceans. Now the internal evidence above mentioned

[1] The words of Basil are (Basil cont. Eunom. Opp. i. 254.), Ἐφεσίοις ἐπιστέλλων . . . ΟΝΤΑΣ αὐτοὺς ἰδιαζόντως ὠνόμασεν, εἰπὼν ΤΟΙΣ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΟΥΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΙΣΤΟΙΣ ΕΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΩ ΙΗΣΟΥ. Οὕτω γὰρ οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν παραδεδώκασι, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων εὑρήκαμεν.

[2] (Hieron. ad. Eph. i. 1.): "Quidam putant, &c., alii vero simpliciter non ad eos *qui sunt* sed *qui Ephesi* sancti et fideles *sunt* scriptum arbitrantur."

[3] Epiphanius quotes Eph. iv. 5, 6., from Marcion's Πρὸς Λαοδικέας. It is scarcely necessary here to notice the apocryphal *Epistola ad Laodicenses*, which only exists in Latin MSS. It is a mere cento compiled from the Epistles to the Galatians and Philippians; and was evidently a forgery of a very late date, originating from the wish to represent the epistle mentioned Col. iv. 16., as not lost.

[4] Tertullian accuses Marcion of *adding* the title Πρὸς Λαοδικέας, but not of altering the salutation; whence it is clear that the MSS. used by Tertullian did not contain the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ (Tert. adv. Marc. ii. 17.).

[5] Many critics object to receive Marcion's evidence, on the ground that he often made arbitrary alterations in the text of the New Testament. But this he did on doctrinal grounds, which could not induce him to alter the *title* of an epistle.

proves that the Epistle was addressed to some particular church or churches, who were to receive intelligence of St. Paul through Tychicus, and that it was not a *treatise* addressed to the whole Christian world; and the form of the salutation shows that the name of *some* place[1] must originally have been inserted in it. Again: the very passages in the Epistle which have been above referred to, as proving that it could not have been directed to the Ephesians, agree perfectly with the hypothesis that it was addressed to the Laodiceans. Lastly, we know from the Epistle to the Colossians, that St. Paul did write a letter to Laodicea (Col. iv. 16.) about the same time with that to Colossæ.[2] On these grounds, then, it appears the safest course to assume (with Paley, in the Horæ Paulinæ) that the testimony of Marcion (uncontradicted by any other positive evidence) is correct, and that Laodicea was one at least of the Churches to which this Epistle was addressed. And, consequently, as we know not the name of any other Church to which it was written, that of Laodicea should be inserted in the place which the most ancient manuscripts leave vacant.

Still, it must be obvious, that this does not remove all the difficulties of the question. For, first it will be asked, how came the name of Laodicea (if originally inserted) to have slipped out of these ancient manuscripts? and again, how came it that the majority of more recent manuscripts inserted the name of Ephesus? These perplexing questions are in some measure answered by the hypothesis originated by Archbishop Usher, that this Epistle was a circular letter addressed not to one only, but to several Churches, in the same way as the Epistle to the Galatians was addressed to all the Churches in Galatia,

[1] Τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, compare the salutations at Rom. i. 7.; 2 Cor. i. 1.; Phil. i. 1.; the analogy of which renders it impossible to suppose οὖσιν used emphatically ("those who are *really* ἅγιοι") as some commentators mentioned by Jerome took it. It is true that this (the oldest known form of the text) might be translated "to God's people who are also faithful in Christ Jesus;" but this would make the Epistle addressed (like the 2nd of Peter) to the whole Christian world; which is inconsistent with its contents, as above remarked.

[2] De Wette argues that the letter to Laodicea, mentioned Col. iv. 16., must have been written some time *before* that to Colossæ, and not sent by the same messenger, because St. Paul in the Colossian Epistle sends greetings to Laodicea (Col. iv. 15.), which he would have sent directly if he had written to Laodicea at the same time. But there is not much weight in this objection, for it was agreeable to St. Paul's manner to charge one part of the Church to salute the other; see Rom. xvi. 3., where he says ἀσπάσασθε not ἀσπάζομαι. Moreover it seems most probable that Col. iv. 16—18. was a postscript, added to the Epistle after the Epistle to Laodicea was written. It is difficult to imagine that the τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας (Col. iv. 16.) could have been received much before that to the Colossians, from the manner in which it is mentioned, and the frequent intercourse which must have occurred between such neighbouring churches. The hypothesis of Wieseler, that the Laodicean Epistle was that to Philemon, is quite arbitrary, and appears irreconcileable with the fact that Onesimus is expressly called a Colossian, and was sent to Colossæ on this very occasion. See also Horæ Paulinæ (*in loco*).

and those to Corinth were addressed to the Christians "in the whole province of Achaia."[1] On this view, Tychicus would have carried several copies of it, differently superscribed, one for Laodicea, another, perhaps, for Hierapolis, another for Philadelphia, and so on. Hence the early copyists, perplexed by this diversity in their copies, might many of them be led to omit the words in which the variation consisted; and thus the state of the earliest known text[2] of the Epistle would be explained. Afterwards, however, as copies of the Epistle became spread over the world, all imported from Ephesus (the commercial capital of the district where the Epistle was originally circulated), it would be called (in default of any other name) the *Epistle from Ephesus;* and the manuscripts of it would be so entitled; and thence the next step, of inserting the name of Ephesus into the text, in a place where some local designation was plainly wanted, would be a very easy one. And this designation of the Epistle would the more readily prevail, from the natural feeling that St. Paul must have written[3] *some* Epistle to so great a Church of his own founding as Ephesus.

Thus the most plausible account of the origin of this Epistle seems to be as follows. Tychicus was about to take his departure from Rome for Asia Minor. St. Paul had already written[4] his Epistle to the Colossians at the request of Epaphras, who had informed him of their danger. But Tychicus was about to visit other places, which, though not requiring the same warning with Colossæ, yet abounded in Christian converts. Most of these had been heathens, and their hearts might be cheered and strengthened by words addressed directly to themselves from the great Apostle of the Gentiles, whose face they had never seen, but whose name they had learned to reverence, and

[1] See 2 Cor. i. 1. and p. 93, above.

[2] That of the Codex Vaticanus, above described as agreeing with the most ancient MSS. seen by Basil.

[3] We cannot doubt that St. Paul did write many epistles which are now lost. He himself mentions one such to the Corinthians, as we have seen (page 21.); and it is a mysterious dispensation of Providence that his Epistles to the two great metropolitan churches of Antioch and Ephesus, with which he was himself so peculiarly connected, should not have been preserved to us.

[4] It is here assumed that the Epistle to the Colossians was written before that (so called) to the Ephesians. This appears probable from a close examination of the parallel passages in the two Epistles; the passages in Ephesians bear marks of being expanded from those in Colossians; and the passages in Colossians could not be so well explained on the converse hypothesis, that they were a condensation of those in Ephesians. We have remarked, however, in a previous note that we must assume the reference in Colossians to the other epistle (Col. iv. 16.), to have been added as a postscript; unless we suppose that St. Paul there refers to the *τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας* before it was actually written (as intending to write it, and send it by the same messenger), which he might very well have done.

whose sufferings had endeared him to their love. These scattered Churches (one of which was Laodicea[1]) had very much in common, and would all be benefited by the same instruction and exhortation. Since it was not necessary to meet the individual case of any one of them, as distinct from the rest, St. Paul wrote the same letter to them all, but sent to each a separate copy authenticated by the precious stamp of his own autograph benediction. And the contents of this circular epistle naturally bore a strong resemblance to those of the letter which he had just concluded to the Colossians, because the thoughts which filled his heart at the time would necessarily find utterance in similar language, and because the circumstances of these Churches were in themselves very similar to those of the Colossian Church, except that they were not infected with the peculiar errors which had crept in at Colossæ. The Epistle which he thus wrote consists of two parts: first, a doctrinal, and, secondly, a hortatory portion. The first part contains a summary, very indirectly conveyed (chiefly in the form of thanksgiving), of the Christian doctrines taught by St. Paul, and is especially remarkable for the great prominence given to the abolition of the Mosaic Law. The hortatory part, which has been so dear to Christians of every age and country, enjoins unity, (especially between Jewish and Gentile Christians), the renunciation of heathen vices, and the practice of Christian purity. It lays down rules (the same as those in the Epistle to Colossæ, only in an expanded form) for the performance of the duties of domestic life, and urges these new converts, in the midst of the perils which surrounded them, to continue steadfast in watchfulness and prayer. Such is the substance, and such was most probably the history, of the following Epistle.

[1] It has been objected to the circular hypothesis, that the Epistle, if meant as a circular, would have been addressed τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ. But to this it may be replied that on our hypothesis the Epistle was *not* addressed to *all* the churches in Proconsular Asia, and that it *was* addressed to some churches *not* in that province.

THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS (SO CALLED).[1]

Salutation.

PAUL, AN APOSTLE OF JESUS CHRIST, BY THE WILL OF GOD, TO GOD'S[2] PEOPLE WHO ARE [IN LAODICEA[3]], AND WHO HAVE FAITH IN CHRIST JESUS. I. 1

Grace be to you and peace, from God our Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ. 2

Thanksgiving for redemption and knowledge of the Christian mystery given to the Apostles.

Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has given[4] us in Christ all spiritual blessings in the heavens.[5] Even as He chose us in Him, before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and spotless in his sight. For in His love[6] He predestined us to be adopted 3 4 5

[1] In the above introductory remarks it is assumed that this Epistle was cotemporary with that to the Colossians, which is stated in the Epistle itself (vi. 21. Compare Col. iv. 7.). Its date, therefore, is fixed by the arguments in p. 394. We may here shortly notice the arguments which have been advanced by some German critics, for rejecting the Epistle altogether as a forgery. Their objections against its authenticity are principally the following. First, The difficulties respecting its destination, which have been already noticed. Secondly, The want of originality in its matter, the substance of its contents being found also in the Colossians, or others of St. Paul's Epistles. This phenomenon has been accounted for above (p. 409.), and is well explained by Paley (Horæ Paulinæ). Thirdly, Certain portions of the doctrinal contents are thought to indicate a later origin, *e. g.*, the Demonology (ii. 2. and vi. 12.). Fourthly, Some portions of the style are considered un-Pauline. Fifthly, Several words are used in a sense different from that which they bear in St. Paul's other writings. These three last classes of difficulties we cannot pretend fully to explain, nor is this the place for their discussion; but as a general answer to them we may remark: First, That if we had a fuller knowledge of the persons to whom, and especially of the amanuensis by whom, the letter was written, they would probably vanish. Secondly, That no objector has yet suggested a satisfactory explanation of the origin of the Epistle, if it were a forgery; no motive for forgery can be detected in it; it contains no attack on post-apostolic forms of heresy, no indication of a later development of church government. The very want of originality alleged against it would not leave any motive for its forgery. Thirdly, It was unanimously received as St. Paul's Epistle by the early church, and is quoted by Polycarp and Irenæus.

[2] For the translation of ἁγίοις see note on 1 Cor. i. 2.

[3] See the preceding remarks, p. 407.

[4] Ἡμᾶς (here) includes both *the writer and (apparently) the other Apostles;* while καὶ ὑμεῖς (v. 13.) addresses *the readers as distinguished from the writer.*

[5] Ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις. This expression is peculiar to the present Epistle, in which it occurs five times.

[6] We join ἐν ἀγαπῇ with v. 5.

among His children through Jesus Christ, according to the
1.6 good pleasure of His will, that we might praise and glorify
His grace, wherewith He favoured[1] us in His beloved. For
7 in Him we have our redemption through His blood, even the
forgiveness of our sins, in the richness of His grace[2], which
8 he bestowed upon us above measure; and He made known[3]
9 to us, in the fulness of wisdom and understanding, the mys-
tery of His will, according to His good pleasure, which He had
10 purposed in Himself to fulfil, that it should be dispensed[4] in
the fulness of time[5]; to make all things one[6] in Christ as
head, yea, both things in heaven and things on earth in
11 Him; in whom we also received the portion of our lot[7],
having been predestined thereto according to His purpose,
whose working makes all fulfil the counsel of His own
12 will; that unto His praise and glory[8] we might live, who
have[9] hoped in Christ before you.

Thanks for their conversion, and prayer for their enlightenment.

13 And you, likewise, have hoped in Him, since you heard
the message of the truth, the Glad-tidings of your salvation;
and you believed in Him, and received His seal, the Holy
14 Spirit of promise; who is an[10] earnest of our inheritance,

[1] Observe χάριτος, ἐχαρίτωσεν, which would be more literally translated *His favour wherewith he favoured us.*

[2] Comma at the end of verse 7, colon at ἡμᾶς (v. 8.), and no stop at the end of verse 8., taking ἐπερίσσευσεν transitively.

[3] This is referred to (iii. 3.). Compare γνωρίσας ἡμῖν τὸ μυστήριον with ἐγνωρίσθη μοι τὸ μυστήριον, which proves ἡμῖν here to correspond with μοι there.

[4] Οἰκονομίαν. According to most interpreters this expression is used in this Epistle in the sense of adjustment, or *preparation*; but as the meaning it bears elsewhere in St. Paul's writings (viz. *the office of a steward in dispensing his master's goods* see 1 Cor. ix. 17., and cf. Col. i. 25.) gives a very intelligible sense to the passages in this Epistle, it seems needless to depart from it. The meaning of the present passage is best illustrated by iii. 2, 3.

[5] Literally *for a dispensation* [*of it*], *which belongs to the fulness of time.*

[6] Ἀνακεφ. τ. π. ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, literally *to unite all things under one head, in union with Christ:* so Chrysostom explains it, μίαν κεφαλὴν ἐπιθεῖναι πᾶσι τὸν Χριστόν. For the doctrine, compare 1 Cor. xv. 24.

[7] Ἐκληρώθημεν, "in hæreditatem adsciti sumus."

[8] Εἰς ἔπαινον δόξης may be considered as a Hebraism; literally, *that we should be for the glory-praise of Him;* compare verse 6. (the best MSS. omit the τῆς).

[9] Προελπίζειν might mean, as some take it, *to look forward with hope:* but the other meaning appears most obvious, and best suits the context. Compare προελθόντες, Acts, xx. 13.

[10] Compare Rom. viii. 23.

given[1] to redeem that which He hath purchased[2], to the praise of His glory.

Wherefore I, also, since I heard of your faith in our 15
Lord Jesus, and your love to all God's people, give thanks 16
for you without ceasing, and make mention of you in my
prayers, beseeching the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the 17
Father of Glory, to give you a spirit of wisdom and of
insight, in the true knowledge of Himself; the eyes of your[3] 18
understanding being filled with light, that you may know
what is the hope of His calling, and how rich is the glory of
His inheritance, in His people, and how surpassing is the 19
power which He has shewn toward us who believe; [for
Office and dignity of Christ. he has dealt with us] in the strength of that might where-
with He wrought in Christ, when He raised Him from 20
the dead; and set Him on His own right hand in the
heavens, far above every[4] Principality and Power, and Might, 21
and Domination, and every name which is named, not only in
this present time, but also in that which is to come. And "He 22
put all things under His feet,"[5] and gave Him to be sovereign
head of the Church, which is His body; the[6] Fulness of Him 23
They had been awakened from heathenism by God's grace, who fills all things everywhere with Himself. And you, II. 1
likewise, He raised from death[7] to life, when you were dead
in transgressions and sins; wherein once you walked accord- 2

[1] Εἰς, not *until* (A. V.).

[2] Τῆς περιποιησέως, used in the same sense here as ἐκκλησία ἣν περιεποιήσατο (Acts xx. 28.). The metaphor is that the gift of the Holy Spirit was an *earnest* (that is, *a part payment in advance*) of the price required for the full deliverance of those who had been slaves of sin, but now were purchased for the service of God.

[3] The majority of MSS. read καρδίας, which would give the less usual sense, *the eyes of your heart.*

[4] See Col. i. 16. and note.

[5] Ps. viii. 6. (LXX.), quoted in the same Messianic sense, 1 Cor. xv. 27., and Heb. ii. 8. Compare also Ps. cx. 1.

[6] We see here again the same allusion to the technical use of the word πλήρωμα by false teachers, as in Col. ii. 9, 10. St. Paul there asserts that, not the angelic hierarchy, but Christ himself is the true *fulness of the Godhead;* and here that the Church is the *fulness of Christ,* that is, the full manifestation of his being, because penetrated by his life, and living only in Him. It should be observed that the Church is here spoken of so far forth as it corresponds to its ideal. For the translation of πληρουμένου, See Winer, Gram. sect. 39. 6.

[7] The sentence (in the original) is left unfinished in the rapidity of dictation; but the verb is easily supplied from the context.

ing to the course of this[1] world, and obeyed the Ruler of the Powers of the Air[2], even the Spirit who is now working
II. 3 in the children of disobedience; amongst whom we also, in times past, lived, all of us, in fleshly lusts, fulfilling the desires of our flesh and of our imagination, and were
4 by nature children of wrath, no less than others.[3] But God, who is rich in mercy, because of the great love wherewith
5 He loved us, even when we were dead in sin caused us to share the life of Christ—(by grace you are saved),—and in[4]
6 Christ Jesus, He raised us up with Him from the dead, and
7 seated us with Him in the heavens; that, in the ages which are coming[5], He might manifest the surpassing riches of His
8 grace, by kindness toward us in Christ Jesus. For by grace you are saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves;
9 it is the gift of God; not won by works, lest any man
10 should boast. For we are His workmanship, created in Christ Jesus to do good works, which God has prepared[6] that we should walk therein.

and incorporated into God's Israel.

11 Wherefore remember that you, who once were reckoned among carnal Gentiles, who are called the Uncircumcision by that which calls itself the Circumcision (a circumcision of the
12 flesh[7], made by the hands of man)—that in those times you were shut out from Christ, aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants[8] of the promise, having no hope, and without God in the world.

[1] Αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου is equivalent to αἰῶνα τοῦτον. Compare 2 Cor. iv. 4., 1. Cor. i. 20. &c.

[2] In the Rabbinical theology evil spirits were designated as the "Powers of the air." St. Paul is here again probably alluding to the language of those teachers against whom he wrote to the Colossians.

[3] Οἱ λοιποὶ, literally, *the rest of mankind*, i. e. *unbelievers*. Compare 1 Thess. iv. 13.

[4] The meaning is, that Christians share in their Lord's glorification, and dwell with Him in heaven, in so far as they are united with Him.

[5] Viz. the time of Christ's perfect triumph over evil, always contemplated in the New Testament as near at hand.

[6] *I. e.* God, by the laws of His Providence, has prepared opportunities of doing good for every Christian.

[7] Meaning *a circumcision of the flesh, not of the spirit,—made by man's hands, not by God's.*

[8] Διαθ. τῆς ἐπ. Compare Gal iii. 16. and Rom. ix. 4.

But now, in Christ Jesus, ye, who were once far off, have II. 13
been brought near through the blood of Christ. For He is 14
The law which divided Jews from Gentiles abolished.
our peace, who has made both one[1], and has broken down
the wall which parted us; for, in His[2] flesh, he destroyed 15
the ground of our enmity, the law of enacted ordinances;
that so, making peace between us, out of both He might 16
create[3] in Himself one new man; and that, by His cross,
He might reconcile both, in one body, unto God, having 17
slain their enmity thereby. And when He came, He published the Glad-tidings of peace to you that were far off,
and to them that were near. For through Him we both 18
have power to approach the Father in the fellowship[4] of one
They are built into the temple of God.
Spirit. Now, therefore, you are no more strangers and 19
sojourners, but fellow-citizens with God's people, and members of God's household. You are built upon the foundation 20
of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being
the chief corner-stone; in whom all the building, fitly framed 21
together, grows into a temple hallowed by the[5] indwelling
of the Lord. And in Him, not others only[6], but you also, 22
are built up together, to make a house wherein God may
dwell by the[7] presence of His Spirit.

The mystery of universal salvation proclaimed by Paul, a prisoner for it.
Wherefore I, Paul, who, for maintaining the cause of III. 1
you Gentiles, am the prisoner of Jesus Christ[8]—for[9] I 2
suppose that you have heard how God's grace was given me,
that I might dispense it among you; and how, by revelation, 3
was[10] made known to me the mystery (as I have already

[1] *Both*, viz., Jews and Gentiles.

[2] I. e. by his death, as explained by the parallel passage, Col. i. 22.

[3] Christians are *created in Christ*, (see above, verse 10.) i.e. their union with Christ is the essential condition of their Christian existence.

[4] It is sometimes impossible to translate ἐν accurately, except by a periphrasis of this kind.

[5] Ἅγιον ἐν κυρίῳ. See the preceding note.

[6] Καὶ ὑμεῖς. *You as well as others.*

[7] Ἐν πνεύματι. Compare 1 Cor. iii. 16.; and see note 4.

[8] The sentence is abruptly broken off here, but carried on again at v. 13. The whole passage bears evident marks of the rapidity of dictation.

[9] Literally, *if, as I suppose* (εἴγε) *you have heard of the office of dispensing* (οἰκονομίαν, see note on i. 10.) *the grace of God which was given me for you.*

[10] Ἐγνωρίσθη is the reading of the MSS.

iii. 4 shortly[1] written to you; so that, when you read, you may
5 perceive my understanding in the mystery of Christ), which,
in the generations of old, was not made known to the sons
of men, as it has now been revealed by the indwelling[2]
of the Spirit, to His holy Apostles and Prophets; to wit,
6 that the Gentiles are heirs of the same inheritance, and
members of the same body, and partakers of the[3] same
promise in Christ, by means of the Glad-tidings.

7 And of this Glad-tidings I was made a ministering
servant, according to the gift of the grace of God, which was
8 given me in the full measure of His mighty working; to me,
I say, who am less than the least of all God's people, this
grace was given, to bear among the Gentiles the Glad-
9 tidings of the unsearchable riches of Christ, and to bring
light to all, whereby they might understand the[4] dispensation
of the mystery which, from the ages of old, has been hid in
10 God, the maker of all things[5]; that now, by the Church[6],
the manifold wisdom of God might be made known to the
11 Principalities and Powers in the heavens, according to His
12 eternal purpose, which he fulfilled in Christ Jesus our Lord;
in whom we can approach without fear to God, in trustful
confidence, through faith in Him.

13 Wherefore I pray that I may not faint under my suffer- He prays for himself and
14 ings for you, which are your glory. For this cause I them, that they may be
15 bend my knees before the Father[7], whose children[8] all are strengthened

[1] The reference is to chap. i. 9, 10.

[2] Ἐν πνεύματι. See notes on verses 18. and 21. above.

[3] Αὐτοῦ, is omitted by the best MSS.

[4] The best MSS. read οἰκονομία not κοινωνία. See note on i. 10.

[5] Διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ is not in the best MSS.

[6] I. e. by the union of all mankind in the Church. That which calls forth the expressions of rapturous admiration here, and in the similar passage in Romans (xi. 33.), is the divine plan of including all mankind in a universal redemption.

[7] The words τοῦ to Χριστοῦ are not in best MSS.

[8] The sense depends on the paronomasia between πατέρα and πατρία, the latter word meaning *a race descended from a common ancestor.* Compare ἐκ πατρίας Δαεὶδ (Luke ii. 4.). If *fatherhood* had this meaning in English, (as it might have had, according to the analogy of "*a brotherhood*"), the verse might be literally rendered *from whom every fatherhood in heaven and earth is named;* i. e. the very name of *fatherhood* refers us back to God as the *father of all.* The A. V. is incorrect, and would require ἡ πατρία.

called in heaven and in earth, beseeching Him, that, in the richness of His glory, He would grant you strength by the and enlightened. entrance of His Spirit into your inner man, that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that having your root and your foundation in love, you may be enabled, with all God's people, to comprehend the breadth and length, and depth and height thereof; and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge[1], that you may be filled therewith, even Doxology. to the measure of[2] the Fulness of God. Now unto Him who is able to do exceeding abundantly, above all that we ask or think, in the power of his might which works within us, — unto Him, in Christ Jesus, be glory in the Church, even to all the generations of the age of ages. Amen.

III. 16 17 18 19 20 21

Exhortation to unity. Different gifts and offices must combine to build up the Church. I, therefore, the Lord's prisoner, exhort you to walk worthy of the calling wherewith you were called; in all lowliness[3], and gentleness, and longsuffering, forbearing one another in love, striving to maintain the unity of the Spirit, bound together with the bond of peace. You are one body and one spirit, even as you were called to share one common hope; you have one Lord, you have one faith, you have one baptism; you have one God and Father of all, who is over all, and works through all, and dwells in all.[4] But each one of us received the gift of grace which he possesses according to the measure[5] wherein it was given by Christ. Wherefore it is[6] written: "When He went up on high, He led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto

IV. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

[1] Again we observe an apparent allusion to the technical employment of the words γνῶσις and πλήρωμα.

[2] Εἰς, not *with* (A. V.).

[3] Ταπεινοφροσύνη. See note on Col. iii. 12.

[4] Ὑμῖν, omitted in best MSS.

[5] This verse is parallel to Rom. xii. 6., ἔχοντες χαρίσματα κατὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν διάφορα. The whole context of the two passages also throws light on both.

[6] Λέγει, (sc. ἡ γραφή), see note on Rom. ix. 25. The quotation is from Ps. lxviii. 19., but slightly altered, so as to correspond neither with the Hebrew nor with the Septuagint. Our two authorised versions of the Psalms have here departed from the original, in order to follow the present passage; probably on the supposition that St. Paul quoted from some older reading.

IV. 9 men." Now that word "He went up," what saith it, but
10 that He first came down to the earth below? Yea, He who came down is the same who is gone up, far above all
11 the heavens, that He might fill all things.[1] And He gave some to be apostles[2], and some prophets, and some
12 evangelists, and some pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of God's people, to labour[3] in their appointed service, to
13 build up the body of Christ; till we all attain the same[4] faith and knowledge of the Son of God, and reach the stature of manhood[5], and be of ripe age to receive the Fulness
14 of Christ[6]; that we should no longer be children in understanding, tossed to and fro, and blown round by every shifting current of teaching, tricked by the sleight of men,
15 and led astray into the snares[7] of the cunning; but that we should live in truth and love, and should grow up in every part[8] to the measure of His[9] growth, who is our head, even
16 Christ. From whom[10] the whole body (being knit together, and compacted by all its joints) derives its continued growth in the working of His bounty, which supplies its needs, according to the measure of each several part, that it may build itself up in love.

[1] Again we remark an allusion to the doctrine of the πλήρωμα. Compare i. 23.

[2] On this classification of church offices, see vol. i. p. 468.

[3] Διακονίας does not mean "*the ministry*" (A.V.).

[4] Literally, *the oneness of the faith and of the knowledge.*

[5] Ἄνδρα τέλειον, literally, *a man of mature age.*

[6] Πληρώματος. See note on iii. 19.

[7] Literally, *led cunningly* (ἐν πανουργίᾳ) *toward the snares of misleading error* (πλανῆς).

[8] Τὰ πάντα. See following verse.

[9] Αὐξάνειν εἰς αὐτὸν is *to grow to the standard of his growth.*

[10] Ἐξ οὗ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα (συναρμολογούμενον καὶ συμβιβαζόμενον διὰ πάσης ἁφῆς), τῆς ἐπιχορηγίας κατ' ἐνεργείαν, ἐν μέτρῳ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου μέρους, τὴν αὔξησιν τοῦ σώματος ποιεῖται, literally rendered, *from whom all the body (being knit together and compacted by every joint), according to the working of his bounteous providing, in the measure of each several part, continues the growth of the body.* Compare the parallel passage, Col. ii. 19., ἐξ οὗ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῶν ἁφῶν καὶ συνδέσμων ἐπιχορηγούμενον καὶ συμβιβαζόμενον αὔξει. De Wette remarks "Das nebeneinander des αὔξ. εἰς αὐτὸν und des αὔξ. ἐξ αὐτοῦ ist nicht wenig paradox:" but why is it more paradoxical than to say that a child derives its life (ἐξ) from its father, and grows up (εἰς) to the standard of its father's growth? That interpretation which takes ἁφή as equivalent to αἴσθησις (a view which Meyer advocates) can scarcely be reconciled with the parallel passage in Colossians.

Exhortation to the rejection of heathen vice and to moral renewal.

This I say, therefore, and adjure you in the Lord, to live no longer like other Gentiles, whose minds are filled with folly, whose understanding is darkened, who are estranged from the life of God because of the ignorance which is in them, through the hardness of their hearts; who, being past feeling, have given themselves over to lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness in lust.[1] But you have not so learned Christ; if, indeed, you have heard His voice, and been taught in Him, as the truth is in Jesus; to forsake your former life, and put off the old man, whose way is[2] destruction, following the desires which deceive; and to be renewed in the spirit of your mind, and to put on the new man, created after God's likeness, in the righteousness and holiness of the Truth. Wherefore, putting away lying, speak every man truth with his neighbour; for we are members one of another. "Be ye angry, and sin not."[3] Let not the sun go down upon your wrath, nor give way to the Devil. Let the robber[4] rob no more, but rather let him labour, working to good purpose with his hands, that he may have somewhat to share with the needy. From your mouth let no filthy words proceed, but such as may build up[5] the Church according to its need, and give a blessing to the hearers. And grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, who was given to seal you[6] for the day of redemption. Let all bitterness, and passion, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking be put away from you, with all malice; and

Against several specified vices.

IV. 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32

[1] Πλεονεξίᾳ. See note on 2 Cor. v. 11.; and compare chap. v. 3.

[2] Φθειρόμενον, not "*corrupt*" (A. V.), but *going on in the way of* φθορά.

[3] Psalm, iv. 4. (LXX.).

[4] Κλέπτων. The A. V. would require κλέψας. It should be remembered that the κλέπται of the N. T. were not what we should now call *thieves* (as the word is generally rendered in A. V.), but *bandits*; and there is nothing strange in finding such persons numerous in the provincial towns among the mountains of Asia Minor. See Vol. I. 175.

[5] Literally, *such as is good for needful building up* (οἰκοδομή always implies τῆς ἐκκλησίας) *that it may give a blessing* (for this meaning of χάριν δίδοναι see Olshausen and Meyer, in loco) *to the hearers.*

[6] Ἐσφραγίσθητε, the tense is mistranslated in A.V. The meaning is rendered evident by i. 13, 14. It is the constant doctrine of St. Paul that the gift of the Holy Spirit is a seal or mark of Christ's redeemed, which was given them at their conversion and reception into the Church, as a foretaste of their full redemption. Compare Rom. viii. 23.

be[1] kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one
v. 1 another, even as God in Christ has forgiven you. There-
fore be followers of God's example, as the children of His
2 love. And walk in love, as Christ also loved us, and gave
Himself for us, a sacrifice of sweet odour, to be offered up to
God.[2]

Exhortation to Christ-like forgiveness and love.

3 But, as befits God's people, let not fornication or any
kind of uncleanness or lust[3] be so much as named among
4 you; nor filthiness, or buffoonery, or ribald jesting, for
such speech beseems you not, but rather thanksgiving.
5 Yea, this you know[4]; for you have learned that no for-
nicator, or impure or lustful man, who is nothing less than
an[5] idolater, has any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ
6 and God. Let no man mislead you by empty[6] reasonings;
for these are the deeds[7] which bring the wrath of God upon
7 the children of disobedience. Be not ye, therefore, partakers
8 with them; for you once were darkness, but now are light in
9 the Lord. Walk as children of light; for the fruits of light[8]
10 are in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth. Examine
11 well what is acceptable to the Lord, and have no fellowship
with the unfruitful works of darkness, yea, rather expose their
12 foulness.[9] For, concerning the secret deeds of the heathen[10],
13 it is shameful even to speak; yet all these things, when
exposed, are made manifest by the shining of the light; for
whatsoever is shone upon and made manifest becomes light.[11]

Against impurity and other sins of heathen darkness;

which must be rebuked by the example and watchfulness of Christians.

[1] Γίνεσθε. This word is sometimes used as simply equivalent to "be ye." Compare v. 17.

[2] Literally, *a sacrifice offered up to God* (προσφορὰν καὶ θυσίαν=θυσίαν προσφερομένην) *to make a sweet odour.*

[3] It has been before remarked that this passage is conclusive as to the use of πλεονεξία by St. Paul; for what intelligible sense is there in saying that "*covetousness*" must not be so much as *named?*

[4] The MSS. read ἴστε not ἐστέ.

[5] See note on Col. iii. 5.

[6] See 1 Cor. vi. 12—20., and the note.

[7] Viz., the sins of impurity. Compare Rom. i. 24—27.

[8] Φωτὸς, not πνεύματος, is the reading of the best MSS.

[9] Ἐλέγχετε. The verb means *to lay bare the real character of a thing by exposing it to open scrutiny.*

[10] "Αὐτῶν, *den Heiden:* constr. ad sens." *De Wette.*

[11] Such appears to be the meaning of this difficult verse, viz., that when the light falls on any

Wherefore it is written[1], "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall shine upon thee."[2] v. 14

See, then, that you walk without stumbling, not in folly 15
but in wisdom, forestalling[3] opportunity, because the times 16
are evil. Therefore, be not without understanding, but learn 17
to know what the will of the Lord is.

Festive meetings how to be celebrated.

Be not drunk with wine, like those[4] who live riotously; 18
but be filled with the indwelling of the Spirit, when you 19
speak one to another.[5] Let your singing be of psalms and
hymns and spiritual songs, and make melody with the music
of your hearts, to the Lord.[6] And at all times, for all things 20
which befal you, give thanks to our God and Father, in the
name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Duties of wives and husbands.

Submit yourselves one to another in the fear of 21
Christ.[7] Wives, submit yourselves to your husbands, as unto 22
the Lord; for the husband is head of the wife, even as 23
Christ is head of the Church[8], His body, which He saves
from harm.[9] But[10], as the Church submits itself to Christ, 24

object, the object itself reflects the rays; implying that moral evil will be recognised as evil by the conscience, if it is shown in its true colours by being brought into contrast with the laws of pure morality. The preceding *φανεροῦται* does not allow us to translate *φανερούμενον* active (as A. V.).

[1] Λέγει. See note on iv. 8.

[2] There is no verse exactly corresponding with this in the O. T. But Isaiah lx. 1. is perhaps referred to, *φωτίζου, φωτίζου, Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἥκει γάρ σου τὸ φῶς, καὶ ἡ δόξα Κυρίου ἐπί σε ἀνατέταλκεν* (LXX.). We must remember, however, that there is no proof that St Paul intends (either here, or 1 Cor. ii. 9.) to quote the Old Testament. Some have supposed that he is quoting a Christian hymn; others, a saying of our Lord (as at Acts, xx. 35.).

[3] See Col. iv. 5. and note.

[4] Ἐν *ᾧ ἐστιν ἀσωτία*, literally, *in doing which is riotous living.*

[5] We put a full stop after Ἑαυτοῖς, *to one another* (here), as Col. iii. 16.

[6] Throughout the whole passage there is a contrast implied between the heathen and the Christian practice, e. g. *When you meet, let your enjoyment consist not in fulness of wine, but fulness of the Spirit; let your songs be, not the drinking-songs of heathen feasts, but psalms and hymns; and their accompaniment, not the music of the lyre, but the melody of the heart; while you sing them to the praise, not of Bacchus or Venus, but of the Lord Jesus Christ.* For the construction and punctuation see Col. iii. 16.

[7] Χριστοῦ is the reading of the best MSS. That this comprehends all the special relations of subjection which follow (and should be joined with what follows), is shewn by the omission of *ὑποτάσσεσθε* (in the next verse) by the best MSS.

[8] This statement occurs 1 Cor. ii. 3. almost verbatim.

[9] The best MSS. omit *καὶ* and *ἐστὶ* in this clause: the literal English is *he saves his body from harm;* and an analogy is implied to the conjugal relation, in which the husband maintains and cherishes the wife.

[10] Ἀλλὰ can scarcely be translated "*therefore*" (A. V.).

so let the wives submit themselves to their husbands in all things.

v. 25 Husbands, love your wives, as Christ also loved the
26 Church, and gave Himself for it, that having purified it by the water wherein it is washed[1], He might hallow it by the in-
27 dwelling of the word of God; that he might Himself[2] present unto Himself[3] the Church in stainless glory, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and
28 unblemished. In like manner, husbands ought to love their wives as they love their own bodies; for he that loves his wife
29 does but love himself: and no man ever hated his own flesh, but nourishes and cherishes it, as Christ[4] also nourishes
30 and cherishes the Church; for we are members of His
31 body, portions of His flesh.[5] "For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his
32 wife, and they two shall be one flesh."[6] This mystery is
33 great; but I[7] speak of Christ and of the Church. Nevertheless, let every one of you individually[8] so love his wife even as himself, and let the wife see that she reverence her husband.

vi. 1 Children, obey your parents in the Lord; for this is Duties of children and parents.
2 right. "Honour thy father and thy mother[9]," which is the

[1] Τοῦ ὕδατος (not simply ὕδατος); literally *by the laver of the water*, equivalent to λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας (Titus iii. 5.). The following ἐν ῥήματι is exceedingly difficult. Chrysostom and the patristic commentators generally take it as if it were τῷ ἐν ρ. and explain it of the formula of baptism; De Wette takes the same view. But St. Paul elsewhere explains τὸ ῥῆμα to be equivalent to τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως ὃ κηρύσσομεν (Rom. x. 8.), and to ῥῆμα θεοῦ (Rom. x. 17.), (compare also Eph. vi. 17.); and moreover, as Winer and Meyer have remarked, the junction of ἐν ῥήματι with ἁγιάσῃ better suits the Greek. On this view, the meaning is that the Church, having been purified by the waters of baptism, is hallowed by the revelation of the mind of God imparted to it, whether mediately or immediately. Compare Heb. iv. 12, 13.

[2] The best MSS. read αὐτὸς, not αὐτήν.

[3] The Church is compared to a bride, as 2 Cor. xi. 2.

[4] The best MSS. read Χριστός.

[5] The words "and of his bones" are an interpolation not found in the best MSS.

[6] Gen. ii. 24. (LXX.).

[7] The ἔγω is emphatic: *I, while I quote these words out of the Scriptures, use them in an higher sense.*

[8] Οἱ καθ' ἕνα, *in your individual capacity*, contrasted with the previous *collective view* of the members of the Church as the bride of Christ.

[9] Exodus xx. 12., and Deut. v. 16. (LXX.)

first commandment with promise: "That it may be well VI. 3
with thee, and thou shalt live long upon the earth."[1]

And ye, fathers, vex not your children; but bring them 4
up in such training and correction as befits the servants of the Lord.[2]

Duties of slaves and masters.

Bondsmen, obey your earthly masters with anxiety and 5
self-distrust[3], in singleness of heart, as unto Christ; not 6
with eye-service, as men-pleasers, but as bondsmen of Christ, doing the will of God from the soul. With good will 7
fulfilling your service, as to the Lord our Master[4], and not to men. For you know that whatever good any man does, 8
the same shall he receive from the Lord, whether he be bond or free.

And ye, masters, do in like manner by them, and abstain 9
from threats; knowing that your own Master is in heaven, and that with Him is no respect of persons.

Exhortation to fight in the Christian armour.

Finally, my brethren, let your hearts be strengthened 10
in the Lord[5], and in the conquering power of His might. Put on the whole armour of God, that you may be able to 11
stand firm against the wiles of the Devil. For the adver- 12
saries with whom we wrestle are not flesh and blood, but they are[6] the Principalities, the Powers, and the Sovereigns of this[7] present darkness, the company of evil spirits in the heavens. Wherefore, take up with you to the battle[8] 13
the whole armour of God, that you may be able to withstand them in the evil day, and having[9] overthrown them all, to stand unshaken. Stand, therefore, girt with the belt 14
of truth, and wearing the breastplate of righteousness, and 15

[1] Exodus xx. 12., and Deut. v. 16. (LXX. not exactly verbatim).

[2] The word *κύριος*, *lord*, always implies the idea of *servants*.

[3] *Μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου* has this meaning in St. Paul's language. Compare 1 Cor. ii. 3.; and see Meyer's observations on both passages (Krit. Exeg. Comm. in loco).

[4] See note on Col. iii. 25.

[5] This is the literal meaning of *ἐνδυναμοῦσθε ἐν Κυρίῳ*.

[6] Compare Col. ii. 15. and the note; also John xii. 31.

[7] *Τοῦ αἰῶνος* is omitted in best MSS.

[8] *Ἀναλάβετε*.

[9] *Κατεργασάμενοι*, not "*done*" (A.V.).

VI. 16 shod as ready messengers of the Glad-tidings of peace: and take up to cover you[1] the shield of faith, wherewith you shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the Evil One.
17 Take, likewise, the helmet of salvation[2], and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.[3]

To pray for others and for Paul.

18 Continue to pray at every season with all earnestness of supplication in the Spirit; and to this end be watchful with
19 all perseverance in prayer for all Christ's people, and for me, that utterance may be given me, to open my mouth and
20 make known with boldness the mystery of the Glad-tidings, for which I am an ambassador in[4] fetters. Pray that I may declare it boldly, as I ought to speak.

Tychicus the messenger.

21 But that you, as well as[5] others, may be informed of my concerns, and how I fare, Tychicus, my[6] beloved brother, and faithful servant in the Lord, will make all known to
22 you. And I have sent him to you for this very end, that you may learn what concerns me, and that he may comfort your hearts.

Concluding benediction.

23 Peace be to the brethren, and love with faith, from God our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ.
24 Grace be with all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in[7] sincerity.[8]

[1] Ἐπὶ πᾶσιν = *to cover all.*

[2] The head of the Christian is defended against hostile weapons by his knowledge of the salvation won for him by Christ.

[3] For the meaning of "word of God," see note on chap. v. 26. It is here represented as the only *offensive* weapon of Christian warfare. The Roman pilum (λόγχη, Joh. xix. 34.) is not mentioned. For a commentary on this military imagery, and the circumstances which naturally suggested it, see the beginning of the next chapter.

[4] Ἀλύσει. See Paley's observations (Horæ Paulinæ, in loco), and our preceding remarks on *Custodia Militaris.*

[5] Καὶ ὑμεῖς.

[6] See the parallel passage, Col. iv. 7.

[7] The difficulty of the concluding words is well known: ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ might also be translated *in immortality*, with the meaning *whose love endures immortally.* Olshausen supposes the expression elliptical, for ἵνα ζωὴν ἔχωσιν ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ; but this can scarcely be justified.

[8] Ἀμήν as usual is omitted in the best manuscripts.

NOTE.

To complete the view of the two preceding Epistles, the following tables are added: the first of which gives a comparative outline of their contents; the second shows the verbal correspondence between the parallel passages in each:—

Epistle to Colossians.	*Epistle to Ephesians (so called).*
I. 1— 2. Salutation.	I. 1— 2. Salutation.
3— 6. Thanksgiving for their conversion (7—8. Epaphras).	3—12. Thanksgiving for redemption and knowledge of Christian mystery.
9—14. Prayer for their enlightenment, and thankfulness for redemption.	13—19. Thanksgiving for their conversion, and prayer for their enlightenment.
15—20. Christ's work, nature, and dignity.	20—23. Work and dignity of Christ.
21—22. He had called them from heathenism and reconciled them to God.	II. 1—10. They had been awakened from heathenism by God's grace.
	11—13. And incorporated into God's Israel.
	14—18. Law which divided Jews from Gentiles abolished.
	19—22. They are built into the temple of God.
23—29. Paul a prisoner and minister of the mystery of universal salvation.	III. 1—12. Mystery of universal salvation proclaimed by Paul, a prisoner for it.
II. 1— 4. Prayer for their constancy and growth in Christian wisdom.	13—17. He prays for himself and them that they may be strengthened,
	18—19. And enlightened.
	20—21. Doxology.
4—23. Warning against a false philosophy, which depreciated Christ, and united Jewish observances (abolished by Christ) with angel-worship and asceticism.	
III. 1— 4. Exhortation to heavenward affections.	IV. 1—16. Exhortation to unity. Different gifts and offices must combine [Col. ii. 19.] to build up the Church.
5— 9. Against heathen impurity, anger, malice, falsehood.	17—24. Exhortation to reject heathen vice and to moral renewal.
	25—31. Against lying, anger, robbery, impure words, malice.
10—16. Exhortation to moral renewal, including meekness, forbearance, forgiveness, charity, and mutual exhortation.	IV. 32—V. 2. Exhortation to Christ-like forgiveness and love.
	V. 3—10. Against impurity and other sins of heathen darkness,
	11—17. Which are to be rebuked by the example and watchfulness of Christians [Col. iv. 5—6.].
16—17 Festive meetings how to be celebrated.	18—20. Festive meetings how to be celebrated.

III. 18—19. Duties of wives and husbands.
20—21. Duties of children and parents.
III. 22—IV. 1. Duties of slaves and masters.

IV. 2— 4. Exhortation to pray for themselves and Paul.
5— 6. Watchfulness in conduct towards unbelievers [Eph. v. 11—17.].
7— 9. Tychicus and Onesimus, the messengers.
10—14. Salutations from Rome.
15—17. Messages concerning Laodicea and Archippus.
18. Autograph salutation and benediction.

V. 21—33. Duties of wives and husbands.
VI. 1— 4. Duties of children and parents.
5— 9. Duties of slaves and masters.
10—17. Exhortation to fight in the Christian armour.
18—20. To pray for others and for Paul.

21—22. Tychicus the messenger.

23—24. Concluding benediction.

Verbal resemblances between the so-called Epistle to the Ephesians and the Epistle to the Colossians.

Eph. i. 1—Col. i. 1.
2—Col. i. 2.
3—Col. i. 3.
4—Col. i. 22.
5—
6—
7—Col. i. 14.
8—
9—Col. i. 25.
10—Col. i. 20.
11—Col. i. 12.
12—
13—
14—
15— } Col. i. 3—4.
16—
17—
18—
19—
20— } Col. { i. 16. 18, 19. 21. ii. 13.
21—
22—
23—
ii. 1— } Col. { i. 13. i. 21.
2—
3—
4—
5—Col. ii. 13.
6—
7—
8—
9—
10—

Eph. ii. 11—Col. ii. 13.
12— } Col. i. { 21. 22.
13—
14— } Col. ii. { 14. 20.
15—
16—
17—
18—
19—
20—
21—
22—
iii. 1— } Col. i. { 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29.
2—
3—
4—
5—
6—
7—
8—
9—
10—
11—
12—
13—
14—Col. i. 9.
15—
16— } Col. { i. { 9. 11. ii. 7. iii. { 2—3. 9.
17—
18—
19—
20—

Eph. iii. 21—
iv. 1—Col. iv. 3.
2— } Col. iii. { 12.
3— } { 13.
4— } { 14.
{ 15.
5—
6—Col. iii. 11.
7—
8—
9—
10—
11—
12—
13—
14—
15— } Col. ii. 19.
16— }
17—
18—
19—Col. iii. 5.
20—
21—
22— } Col. iii. { 8.
23— } { 9.
24— } { 10.
25— }
26—
27—
28—
29—Col. iv. 6.
30—
31—Col. iii. 8.
32—Col. iii. 13.
v. 1—
2—
3— } Col. iii. { 5.
4— } { 8.
5— } { 6.
6— }
7—
8—Col. i. 13.
9—
10—
11—
12—

Eph. v. 13—
14—
15— } Col. iv. 5.
16— }
17—
18—
19— } Col. iii. { 16.
20— } { 17.
21—
22—Col. iii. 18.
23—
24—
25—Col. iii. 19.
26—
27—
28—
29—
30—
31—
32—
33—
Eph. vi. 1—Col. iii. 20.
2—
3—
4—Col. iii. 21.
5— } Col. { iii. 22.
6— } { 23.
7— } { 24.
8— } { 25.
9— } { iv. 1.
10—
11—
12—Col. ii. 15.
13—
14—
15—
16—
17—
18— } Col. iv. { 2.
19— } { 3.
20— } { 4.
21— } Col. iv. { 7.
22— } { 8.
23—
24—

From the first of the above tables it will be seen, that there is scarcely a single topic in the Ephesian Epistle which is not also to be found in the Epistle to the Colossians; but, on the other hand, that there is an important section of Colossians (ii. 8—23.) which has no parallel in Ephesians. From the second table it appears, that out of the 155 verses contained in the so-called Epistle to Ephesians, 78 verses contain expressions identical with those in the Epistle to the Colossians.

The kind of resemblance here traced is not that which would be found in the work of a forger, servilely copying the Epistle to Colossæ. On the contrary, it is just what we might expect to find in the work of a man whose mind was thoroughly imbued with the ideas and expressions of the Epistle to the Colossians when he wrote the other Epistle.

ROME.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ΟΙ 'ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΟΙΚΙΑΣ.—Phil. iv. 22.

THE PRÆTORIUM AND THE PALATINE.—ARRIVAL OF EPAPHRODITUS.—POLITICAL EVENTS AT ROME.—OCTAVIA AND POPPÆA—ST. PAUL WRITES *THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS*.—HE MAKES CONVERTS IN THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD.

THE close of the Epistle, to which our attention has just been turned, contains a remarkable example of the forcible imagery of St. Paul.[1] Considered simply in itself, this description of the Christian's armour is one of the most striking passages in the Sacred Volume. But if we view it in connection with the circumstances with which the Apostle was surrounded, we find a new and living emphasis in his enumeration of all the parts of the heavenly panoply[2],—the belt of sincerity and truth, with which the loins[3] are girded for the spiritual war,—the breastplate of that righteousness[4], the inseparable links whereof are faith and love[5],—the strong sandals[6], with which the feet of Christ's soldiers are made ready[7], not for such errands of death and despair as those on which the Prætorian soldiers were daily sent, but for the universal message of the Gospel of peace,—the large shield[8] of confident trust[9], wherewith the whole man is protected[10], and whereon the fiery arrows of the Wicked One fall harmless

[1] Eph. vi. 14—17.

[2] Τὴν *πανοπλίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ*. For authentic information regarding the actual Roman armour of the time, we may refer to Piranesi's fine illustrations of the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. There are also many useful engravings in Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities.

[3] *Περιζωσάμενοι τὴν ὀσφὺν ὑμῶν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ*. The belt or *zona* (*ζωστῆρ*) passed round the lower part of the body, below the *θώραξ*, and is to be distinguished from the *balteus*, which went over the shoulder.

[4] *Ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν θώρακα τῆς δικαιοσύνης*. The *θώραξ* was a cuirass or corslet, reaching nearly to the loins. Its form may be seen in the statue of Caligula, engraved in Vol. I. p. 120.

[5] In the parallel passage (1 Thess. v. 8.), the breastplate is described as *θώρακα πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης*.

[6] The Roman *Caligæ* were not greaves, which in fact would not harmonise with the context, but strong and heavy sandals. See Juvenal, iii. 232. 306., xvi. 25., and the anecdote of the death of the centurion Julian in the Temple at Jerusalem. Joseph. B. J. vi. 1. 8.

[7] *Ὑποδησάμενοι τοὺς πόδας ἐν ἑτοιμασίᾳ κ. τ. λ.*..

[8] The *θυρεὸς* here is the large oblong or oval Roman shield — the *scutum* not the *clipeus*, — specimens of which may be seen in Piranesi. See especially the pedestal of Trajan's column.

[9] *Τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως*.

[10] Observe *ἐπὶ πᾶσιν*, which is not clearly translated in the authorised version.

and dead,—the close-fitting helmet[1], with which the hope of salvation[2] invests the head of the believer,—and finally the sword of the Spirit, the Word of God[3], which, when wielded by the Great Captain of our Salvation, turned the tempter in the wilderness to flight, while in the hands of His chosen Apostle (with whose memory the sword seems inseparably associated[4]), it became the means of establishing Christianity on the earth.

All this imagery becomes doubly forcible, if we remember that when St. Paul wrote the words he was chained to a soldier, and in the close neighbourhood of military sights and sounds. The appearance of the Prætorian guards was daily familiar to him;—as his "chains" on the other hand (so he tells us in the succeeding Epistle), became "well known throughout the whole *Prætorium*." (Phil. i. 13.) A difference of opinion has existed as to the precise meaning of the word in this passage. Some have identified it, as in the authorised version, with the "house of Cæsar" on the Palatine[5]: more commonly it has been supposed to mean that permanent camp of the Prætorian guards, which Tiberius established on the north of the city, outside the walls.[6] As regards the former opinion, it is true that the word came to be used, almost as we use the word "palace," for royal residences generally, or for any residences of a princely splendour[7], and that thus we read, in other parts of the New Testament, of the Prætorium of Pilate at Jerusalem[8], and the Prætorium of Herod at Cæsarea.[9] Yet we never find the word employed for the Imperial house at Rome: and we believe the truer view to be that which has been recently advocated[10], namely, that it denotes here, not the palace itself, but the quarters of that part of the Imperial guards, which was in immediate attendance upon the Emperor. Such a military

[1] One of these compact Roman helmets, preserved in England, at Goodrich Court, is engraved in Smith's Dictionary. (See under *Galea*.)

[2] With *τὴν περικεφαλαίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου* (Eph. vi. 17.) we should compare *περικεφαλαίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηριάς* (1 Thess. v. 8.).

[3] *Τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ Πνεύματος, ὅ ἐστιν ῥῆμα Θεοῦ.* See note on the passage.

[4] It is the emblem of his martyrdom: and we can hardly help associating it also with this passage. The small short sword of the Romans was worn like a dagger on the right side. Specimens may be seen in Piranesi. Those readers who have been in Rome will remember that Pope Sixtus V. dedicated the column of Aurelius (ab omni impietate purgatam) to St. Paul, and that a statue of the Apostle, bearing the sword, is on the summit.

[5] With Phil. i. 13. we should compare iv. 22. in the authorised version.

[6] See above, in the description of Rome, and compare the map.

[7] We find the word used for the Imperial castles out of Rome in Suet. Aug. 72., Tib. 39., Calig. 37., Tit. 8. For its application to the palaces of foreign princes and even private persons, see Juvenal, i. 10. x. 161. These instances are given by Wieseler, who also refers to the apocryphal "Acta Thomæ."

[8] See above, p. 260.

[9] See above, p. 288. n. 6.

[10] In Wieseler's note, p. 403.

establishment is mentioned in the fullest account which we possess of the first residence of Augustus on the Palatine[1]: and it is in harmony with the general ideas on which the monarchy was founded. The Emperor was *prætor*[2] or commander-in-chief of the troops, and it was natural that his immediate guard should be in a *prætorium* near him. It might, indeed, be argued that this military establishment on the Palatine would cease to be necessary, when the Prætorian camp was established: but the purpose of that establishment was to concentrate near the city those cohorts, which had previously been dispersed in other parts of Italy[3]: a local body-guard near the palace would not cease to be necessary: and Josephus, in his account of the imprisonment of Agrippa[4], speaks of a "camp" in connection with the "royal house." Such we conceive to have been the barrack immediately alluded to by St. Paul: though the connection of these smaller quarters with the general camp was such, that he would naturally become known to "*all the rest*"[5] of the guards, as well as those who might for the time be connected with the Imperial household.

What has just been said of the word "prætorium," applied still more extensively to the word "palatium." Originally denoting the hill on which the twin-brothers were left by the retreating river, it grew to be, and it still remains, the symbol of Imperial power. Augustus was born on the Palatine[6]; and he fixed his official residence there when the civil wars were terminated. Thus, it may be truly said that "after the Capitol and the Forum, no locality in the ancient city claims so much of our interest as the Palatine hill — at once the birth-place of the infant city, and the abode of her rulers during the days of her greatest splendour, — where the reed-thatched cottage of Romulus was still preserved in the midst of the gorgeous structures of Caligula and Nero."[7] About the close of the Republic, this hill was the residence of many distinguished citizens, such as

[1] Καλεῖται δὲ τὰ βασίλεια παλάτιον (Palatium), οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἔδοξέ ποτε οὕτως αὐτὰ ὀνομάζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐν τε τῷ Παλατίῳ (in monte Palatino) ὁ Καῖσαρ ᾤκει καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸ στρατήγιον (Prætorium) εἶχε, καὶ τίνα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ῥωμύλου προενοίκησιν φήμην ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ (domus Cæsaris) ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντος ὄρους ἔλαβε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κἂν ἀλλόθι που ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ καταλύῃ, τὴν τοῦ παλατίου ἐπίκλησιν ἡ καταγώγη αὐτοῦ ἴσχει. Dio Cass. liii. 16.

[2] See what has been said (Vol. I. p. 154.) in reference to the term *proprætor* in the provinces.

[3] Compare Suet. Aug. 49. with Tib. 37. and see Dio C. lvii. 19.; Tac. Ann. iv. 2., Hist. i. 31.

[4] Joseph. Ant. xviii. 6. He uses στρατόπεδον for the *prætorium*, and βασίλειον for the *palatium*. Compare what is said of Drusus, Suet. Tib. 54.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Natus est Augustus.... regione Palatii ad Capita Bubula. Suet. Aug. 5.

[7] Bunbury in the Classical Museum, vol. v. p. 229. We learn from Plutarch and Dionysius that this "wooden hut thatched with reeds, which was preserved as a memorial of the simple habitation of the Shepherd-king," was on the side of the hill towards the Circus, p. 232.

THE PALACE OF THE CÆSARS.[1]

Crassus, Cicero, Catiline, Clodius, and Antony.[2] Augustus himself simply bought the house of Hortensius and lived there in modest state.[3] But the new era was begun for the Palatine, when the first Emperor, soon after the battle of Actium, raised the temple of Apollo with its celebrated Greek and Latin libraries[4],

[1] From a sketch by the late Mr. R. Brooke Jones. In the distance is seen the Alban Mount, with an aqueduct stretching over the Campagna. The arch which forms the foreground was perhaps a portion of Nero's Golden House.

[2] See Cic. ad Fam. v. 6., Pro Domo, c. 44.; Suet. de Ill. Gram. 17.; Dio Cass. liii. 27.

[3] Habitavit postea in Palatio, sed nihilominus ædibus modicis Hortensianis neque laxitate neque cultu conspicuis. Suet. Aug. 72.

[4] See Hor. Ep. I. iii. 17. Suet. Aug. 29. For the date of this temple see Becker's Alterthümer, p. 425.

on the side near the Forum. Tiberius erected a new palace, or an addition to the old one, on the opposite side of the hill, immediately above the Circus Maximus.[1] It remained for subsequent Emperors to cover the whole area of the hill with structures connected with the palace. Caligula extended the Imperial buildings by a bridge (as fantastic as that at Baiæ[2]), which joined the Palatine with the Capitol.[3] Nero made a similar extension in the direction of the Esquiline[4]: and this is the point at which we must arrest our series of historical notices; for the burning of Rome and the erection of the Golden House intervened between the first and second imprisonments of the Apostle Paul. The fire, moreover, which is so closely associated with the first sufferings of the Church, has made it impossible to identify any of the existing ruins on the Palatine with buildings that were standing when the Apostle was among the Prætorian guards. Nor indeed is it possible to assign the ruins to their proper epochs. All is now confusion on the hill of Romulus and Augustus. Palace after palace succeeded, till the Empire was lost in the mist of the Middle Ages. As we explore the subterraneous chambers, where classical paintings are still visible on the plaster, or look out through broken arches over the Campagna and its aqueducts, the mind is filled with blending recollections, not merely of a long line of Roman Cæsars, but of Ravenna and Constantinople, Charlemagne and Rienzi. This royal part of the Western Babylon has almost shared the fate of the city of the Euphrates. The Palatine contains gardens and vineyards[5], and half cultivated spaces of ground, where the acanthus-weed grows in wild luxuriance: but its population has shrunk to one small convent[6]; and the unhealthy air seems to brood like a curse over the scene of Nero's tyranny and crime.[7]

St. Paul was at Rome precisely at that time when the Palatine was the most conspicuous spot on the earth, not merely for crime, but for splendour and

[1] The position of the "Domus Tiberiana" is determined by the notices of it in the account of the murder of Galba. Tac. Hist. i. 27.; Suet. Oth. 6.; Plut. Galb. 24.

[2] See above, p. 362.

[3] Super templum Divi Augusti ponte transmisso Palatium Capitoliumque conjunxit. Suet. Calig. 22.

[4] Domum a Palatio Esquilias usque fecit: quam primo Transitoriam, mox incendio absumptam restitutamque Auream nominavit. Suet. Ner. 31. See Plin. H. N. xxxvii. 15.

[5] The Farnese gardens and the Villa Mills (formerly Villa Spada) are well known to travellers. Some of the finest arches are in the Vigna del Collegio Inglese.

[6] The Franciscan convent of St. Bonaventura, facing the Forum.

[7] See an impressive paragraph in the third volume of the Beschreibung Roms. Einleitung, p. 7.

power. This was the centre of all the movements of the Empire.[1] Here were heard the causes of all Roman citizens who had appealed to Cæsar.[2] Hence were issued the orders to the governors of provinces, and to the legions on the frontier. From the "Golden Mile-stone" (Milliarium Aureum)[3] below the palace, the roads radiated in all directions to the remotest verge of civilization. The official messages of the Emperor were communicated along them by means of posts established by the government[4]: but these roads afforded also the means of transmitting the letters of private citizens, whether sent by means of *tabellarii*[5], or by the voluntary aid of accidental travellers. To such communications between the metropolis and the provinces others were now added of a kind hitherto unknown in the world,—not different indeed in outward appearance[6] from common letters,—but containing commands more powerful in their effects than the dispatches of Nero,—touching more closely the private relations of life than all the correspondence of Seneca[7] or Pliny,—and proclaiming, in the very form of their salutations, the perpetual union of the Jew, the Greek, and the Roman.[8]

[1] Compare the language of Tacitus: "Vitellium in Palatium, in ipsam imperii arcem regressum." Hist. iii. 70.

[2] See the account of St. Paul's trial in the next chapter.

[3] The *Milliarium Aureum* (afterwards called the *Umbilicus Romæ*) is believed to have been discovered at the base of the Capitol, near the Temples of Saturn and Concord. Class. Mus. iv. 24.

[4] See Ginzrot's thirty-seventh chapter (von den Eilboten und Posten). So far as related to government dispatches, Augustus established posts similar to those of King Ahasuerus. Compare Suet. Aug. 49. with Esther viii. 13, 14.

[5] See Becker's Gallus, p. 250. (Eng. Trans.).

[6] In Vol. I. p. 440., a general reference was made to the interest connected even with the writing materials employed by St. Paul. There is little doubt that these were reed-pens, Egyptian paper, and black ink. All these are mentioned by St. John (*διὰ χάρτου καὶ μέλανος*, 2 Joh. 12.; *διὰ μέλανος καὶ καλάμου*, 3 Joh. 13.); and St. Paul himself, in a passage where there is a blended allusion to inscriptions on stone and to letter writing (2 Cor. iii. 3.), speaks of ink (*μέλαν*). Representations of ancient inkstands found at Pompeii, with reed-pens, may be seen in Smith's Dictionary, under *Atramentum*. Allusion has been made before (p. 317.) to the paper trade of Egypt. Parchment (*Pergamentum*: *Μεμβράνας*, 2 Tim. iv. 13.) was of course used for the secondary MSS. in which the Epistles were preserved. See Jerome, Ep. 141.; Euseb. Vit. Const. iv. 36.; also Joseph. Ant. xii. 2. 10. [We must distinguish between these materials and *πινακίδιον* (Luke i. 63.), which corresponds to the Latin *pugillares*.] Letters were written in the large or uncial character, though of course the handwriting of different persons would vary. See Gal. vi. 11.

[7] We must not pass by the name of Seneca without some allusion to the so-called correspondence between him and St. Paul: but a mere allusion is enough for so vapid and meaningless a forgery. These Epistles (with that which is called the Ep. to the Laodiceans, described p. 406. note 3.) will be found in the Codex Apoc. N. T. of Fabricius (Vol. II.), and in Jones on the Canon (Vol. II.).

[8] We allude to the combination of the Oriental *εἰρήνη* with the Greek *χάρις* in the opening salutations of all St. Paul's Epistles. See Buxtorf's Institutio Epistolaris Hebraica (Basle, 1629). "Græci salutationem significabant per *χαίρειν*,

It seems probable that the three letters which we have last read were despatched from Rome when St. Paul had been resident there about a year[1], that is, in the spring of the year 62 A.D. After the departure of Tychicus and Onesimus, the Apostle's prison was cheered by the arrival of Epaphroditus, who bore a contribution from the Christians of Philippi. We have before seen instances[2] of the noble liberality of that Church, and now once more we find them ministering to the necessities of their beloved teacher. Epaphroditus, apparently a leading presbyter among the Philippians, had brought on himself, by the fatigues or perils of his journey, a dangerous illness. St. Paul speaks of him with touching affection. He calls him his "brother, and companion in labour, and fellow soldier" (ii. 25.); declares that "his labour in the cause of Christ had brought him near to death" (ii. 30.), and that he had "hazarded his life" in order to supply the means of communication between the Philippians and himself. And, when speaking of his recovery, he says "God had compassion on him, and not on him only, but on me also, that I might not have sorrow upon sorrow." (ii. 27.) We must suppose, from these expressions, that Epaphroditus had exposed himself to some unusual risk in his journey. Perhaps his health was already feeble when he set out, so that he showed self-devotion in encountering fatigues which were certain to injure him.

Meanwhile St. Paul continued to preach, and his converts to multiply. We shall find that when he wrote to the Philippians, either towards the close of this year, or at the beginning of the next, great effects had already been produced; and that the Church of Rome was not only enlarged, but encouraged to act with greater boldness upon the surrounding masses of heathenism[3], by the successful energy of the apostolic prisoner. Yet the political occurrences of the year might well have alarmed him for his safety, and counselled a more timid course. We have seen that prisoners in St. Paul's position were under the charge of the Prætorian Præfect; and in this year occurred the death

quod Horatius Græcizans expressit (Celso *gaudere*, &c. Ep. I. viii.). In Historia Sacra N. T. (Κλ. Λυσίας τῷ κρ. ἡγεμόνι Φήλικι χαίρειν, Acts xxiii. 26.) .... Romani *salutem* dicebant..... Hebræi, Chaldæi, Syri *Pacis* nomine in salutantando usi sunt, quod ubi pax est, ibi omnia se prospere habere dicantur," pp. 10, 11. There are some good remarks on this subject in Koch's Commentary on 1 Thess. i. 1.

[1] The state of things described in the 4th chapter of Colossians, the conversion of Onesimus and his usefulness to St. Paul (Philem. 11—13.), imply the continuance of St. Paul's ministry at Rome during a period which can hardly have been less than a year. Nor would St. Paul, at the beginning of his imprisonment, have written as he does (Philem. 22.) of his captivity as verging towards its termination.

[2] See the account of the Macedonian collection, pp. 89, 90.

[3] Phil. i. 12—14.

of the virtuous Burrus[1], under whose authority his imprisonment had been so unusually mild. Upon this event the præfecture was put into commission, and bestowed on Fenius Rufus and Sofonius Tigellinus. The former was respectable[2], but wanting in force of character, and quite unable to cope with his colleague, who was already notorious for that energetic wickedness which has since made his name proverbial. St. Paul's Christian friends in Rome must have trembled to think of him as subject to the caprice of this most detestable of Nero's satellites. It does not seem, however, that his situation was altered for the worse; possibly he was never brought under the special notice of Tigellinus, who was too intent on court intrigues, at this period, to attend to so trifling a matter as the concerns of a Jewish prisoner.

Another circumstance occurred about the same time, which seemed to threaten still graver mischief to the cause of Paul. This was the marriage of Nero to his adulterous mistress Poppæa, who had become a proselyte to Judaism. This infamous woman, not content with inducing her paramour to divorce his young wife Octavia, had demanded and obtained the death of her rival; and had gloated over the head of the murdered victim[3], which was forwarded from Pandataria to Rome for her inspection. Her power seemed now to have reached its zenith, but rose still higher at the beginning of the following year, upon the birth of a daughter, when temples were erected to her and her infant[4], and divine honours paid them. We know from Josephus[5] that she exerted her influence over Nero in favour of the Jews, and

[1] "Concessit vitâ Burrus, [so the name is spelt in the best MSS., not *Burrhus*] incertum valetudine an veneno .... Civitati grande desiderium ejus mansit, per memoriam virtutis, et successorum alterius segnem innocentiam, alterius flagrantissima flagitia et adulteria. Quippe Cæsar duos Prætoriis cohortibus imposuerat, Fenium Rufum ex vulgi favore, ... Sofonium Tigellinum veterem impudicitiam atque infamiam in eò secutus." (Tac. Ann. xiv. 51.) The death of Burrus was an important epoch in Nero's reign. Tacitus tells us in the following chapter that it broke the power of Seneca (Mors Burri infregit Senecæ potentiam) and established the influence of Tigellinus; and from this period Nero's public administration became gradually worse and worse, till at length its infamy rivalled that of his private life.

[2] Fenius Rufus was afterwards executed for his share in Piso's conspiracy (Tac. Ann. xv. 66. 68.), in which he showed lamentable imbecility.

[3] "Additur atrocior sævitia, quod caput amputatum latumque in urbem Poppæa vidit" (Tac. Ann. xiv. 64.). The account of Octavia's fate in Tacitus is given with peculiar feeling.

[4] "Natam sibi ex Poppæâ filiam Nero ultra mortale gaudium accepit" (Tac. Ann. xv. 23.). The temples to Poppæa are mentioned in a fragment of Dio.

[5] Josephus, Antiq. xx. 7., speaks of Nero τῇ γυναικὶ Ποππαίᾳ, θεοσεβὴς γὰρ ἦν, ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων χαριζόμενος. This was on the occasion of the wall which the Jews built to intercept Agrippa's view of the temple. They sent ambassadors to Rome, who succeeded by Poppæa's intercession in carrying their point.

that she patronised their emissaries at Rome; and assuredly no scruples of humanity would prevent her from seconding their demand for the punishment of their most detested antagonist.

These changed circumstances fully account for the anticipations of an unfavourable issue to his trial, which we shall find St. Paul now expressing [1]; and which contrast remarkably with the confident expectation of release entertained by him when he wrote the letter[2] to Philemon. When we come to discuss the trial of St. Paul, we shall see reason to believe that the providence of God did in fact avert this danger; but at present all things seemed to wear a most threatening aspect. Perhaps the death of Pallas[3] (which also happened this year) may be considered, on the other hand, as removing an unfavourable influence; for, as the brother of Felix, he would have been willing to soften the Jewish accusers of that profligate governor, by co-operating with their designs against St. Paul. But his power had ceased to be formidable, either for good or evil, some time before his death.

Meanwhile Epaphroditus was fully recovered from his sickness, and able once more to travel; and he willingly prepared to comply with St. Paul's request that he would return to Philippi. We are told that he was "filled with longing" to see his friends again, and the more so when he heard that great anxiety had been caused among them by the news of his sickness.[4] Probably he occupied an influential post in the Philippian Church, and St. Paul was unwilling to detain him any longer from his duties there. He took the occasion of his return, to send a letter of grateful acknowledgment to his Philippian converts.

It has been often remarked that this Epistle contains less of censure and more of praise than any other of St. Paul's extant letters. It gives us a very high idea of the Christian state of the Philippians, as shown by the firmness of their faith under persecution[5], their constant obedience and attachment to St. Paul[6], and the liberality which distinguished them above all other Churches.[7] They were also free from doctrinal errors, and no schism had as yet been created among them by the Judaizing party. They are warned, however, against these active propagandists, who were probably busy in their neighbourhood, or (at least) might at any time appear among them.

[1] Phil. ii. 17., and iii. 11.

[2] Philem. 22, 23.

[3] Pallas was put to death by poison soon after the marriage of Poppæa, and "eodem anno." Tac. xiv. 65.

[4] Phil. ii. 26.

[5] Phil. i. 28, 29.

[6] Phil. ii. 12.

[7] Phil. iv. 15.

The only blemish recorded as existing in the Church of Philippi is, that certain of its members were deficient in lowliness of mind, and were thus led into disputes and altercations with their brethren. Two women of consideration amongst the converts, Euodia and Syntyche by name, had been especially guilty of this fault; and their variance was the more to be regretted, because they had both laboured earnestly for the propagation of the faith. St. Paul exhorts the Church, with great solemnity and earnestness[1], to let these disgraceful bickerings cease, and to be all "of one soul and one mind." He also gives them very full particulars about his own condition, and the spread of the Gospel at Rome. He writes in a tone of most affectionate remembrance, and, while anticipating the speedily approaching crisis of his fate, he expresses his faith, hope, and joy with peculiar fervency.

THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.[2]

Salutation. PAUL AND TIMOTHEUS, BONDSMEN OF JESUS CHRIST, TO ALL 1.1
GOD'S PEOPLE[3] IN CHRIST JESUS WHO ARE AT PHILIPPI,
WITH THE BISHOPS[4] AND DEACONS.[5]

Grace be to you and Peace, from God our Father, and 2
from our Lord Jesus Christ.

[1] Phil. ii. 1, 2, and iv. 2.

[2] The following are the grounds of the date assigned to this Epistle:—

(1.) It was written during an imprisonment at Rome, because (A) the *Prætorium* (i. 13.) was at Rome; (B) So was the emperor's household (iv. 22.); (C) He expects the immediate decision of his cause (i. 19., ii. 27.), which could only have been given at Rome.

(2.) It was written during the *first* imprisonment at Rome, because (A) the mention of the Prætorium agrees with the fact that, during his first imprisonment, he was in the custody of the Prætorian Præfect; (B) His situation described (i. 12—14.) agrees with his situation in the first two years of his imprisonment (Acts xxviii. 30, 31.).

(3.) It was written *towards the conclusion* of this first imprisonment, because (A) he expects the immediate decision of his cause; (B) Enough time had elapsed for the Philippians to hear of his imprisonment, send Epaphroditus to him, hear of Epaphroditus's arrival and sickness, and send back word to Rome of their distress (ii. 26.).

(4.) It was written *after* Colossians and Philemon; both for the preceding reason, and because Luke was no longer at Rome, as he was when those were written; otherwise he would have *saluted* a Church in which he had laboured, and would have "cared in earnest for their concerns" (see ii. 20.).

[3] For the translation of *ἁγίοις*, see note on 1 Cor. i. 2.

[4] *Ἐπισκόποις*. This term was at this early period applied to all the presbyters: see Vol. I. p. 465.

[5] *Διακόνοις*: see Vol. I. p. 467. It is singular that the presbyters and deacons should be mentioned separately in the address of this Epistle only. It has been suggested that they had collected and forwarded the contribution sent by Epaphroditus.

I.3 I[1] thank my God upon every remembrance of you, Thanksgivings and prayers for them.
4 (continually in all my prayers making my supplication for
5 you all[2] with joy), for your fellowship in forwarding[3] the
6 Glad-tidings, from the first day until now. And I am confident accordingly[4], that He who has begun a good work in
7 you will perfect it, even until the day of Jesus Christ. And it is just that I should be thus mindful[5] of you all, because you have me in your hearts, and both in my imprisonment and in my defence and confirmation[6] of the Glad-tidings, you all
8 share in the grace[7] bestowed upon me. God is my witness how I long after you all, in the affections of Christ Jesus.
9 And this I pray, that your love may abound yet more and more, in true knowledge, and in all understanding,
10 teaching you to distinguish[8] good from evil; that you may be pure, and may walk without[9] stumbling until the day of
11 Christ; being filled with the fruits of righteousness which are by Jesus Christ, unto the glory and praise of God.
12 I would have you know, brethren, that the things which Intelligence of his condition at Rome.
have befallen me have tended rather to the furtherance than
13 hindrance of the Glad-tidings. So that my chains have become well-known in the name of Christ, throughout the
14 whole Prætorium[10], and to all the[11] rest. And thus most[12]

[1] Observe "Paul and Timotheus" followed immediately by "I," in confirmation of the remarks in the note on 1 Thess. i. 2.

[2] The constant repetition of πάντες in connection with ὑμεῖς in this Epistle is remarkable. It seems as if St. Paul implied that he (at least) would not recognise any divisions among them. See above.

[3] Εἰς τὸ εὐ., not "*in* the Gospel" (A. V.).

[4] Αὐτὸ τοῦτο, *accordingly*: compare 2 Cor. ii. 3. and Gal. ii. 10.

[5] Τοῦτο φρονεῖν ὑπὲρ refers to the preceding mention of his prayers for them.

[6] St. Paul *defended* his doctrine by his words, and *confirmed* it by his life.

[7] The grace or gift bestowed on St. Paul, and also on the Philippians, was the power of confirming the Gospel by their sufferings: compare χάριτος here with ἐχαρίσθη, verse 29.

[8] Compare Rom. ii. 18.

[9] Ἀπρόσκοποι seems used here intransitively; at 1 Cor. x. 32. it is active.

[10] Τῷ πραιτωρίῳ. For the explanation of this, see above, p. 428. We have seen that St. Paul was committed to the custody of the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and guarded by different Prætorian soldiers, who relieved one another. Hence his condition would be soon known throughout the Prætorian quarters.

[11] This expression is very obscure; it may mean either *to the Prætorian soldiers who guard me, and to all the rest of those who visit me*; or *to all the rest of the Prætorian Guards.* The latter view gives the best sense.

[12] Τοὺς πλείονας, not "*many*" (A. V.).

of the brethren in the Lord, rendered confident by my chains, are very much emboldened to speak the Word fearlessly. Some, indeed, proclaim[1] Christ even out of envy 15
and contention[2]; but some, also, out of goodwill. These 16
do it from love[3], knowing that I am appointed to defend the Glad-tidings; but those declare Christ from a spirit of in- 17
trigue[4], not sincerely, thinking to stir[5] up persecution against me in my imprisonment. What then? nevertheless, every 18
way, whether in pretence or in truth, the tidings of Christ are published; and herein I rejoice now, yea, and I shall rejoice hereafter. For I know that "**these things**[6] **shall fall** 19
out to my salvation,"[7] through your prayers, and through the supply of all my needs[8] by the spirit of Jesus Christ; ac- 20
cording to my earnest expectation and hope, that I shall in no wise be put to shame[9], but that with all boldness, as at all other times, so now also, Christ will be magnified in my body, whether by my life or by my death. For to me life is 21
Christ, and death is gain. But whether this life[10] in the flesh 22

[1] Τὸν Χριστόν (observe the article, which seems to indicate that they were Jews, who proclaimed Jesus as the Messiah). Κηρύσσειν is *to proclaim (as a herald)*, καταγγέλλειν *to declare tidings of (as a messenger)*.

[2] These were probably Judaizers.

[3] The order of verses 16 and 17 (as given in the best MSS.) is transposed in the Received Text.

[4] Ἐριθείας. See note on Rom. ii. 8.

[5] Ἐγείρειν, not ἐπιφέρειν, is the reading of the best MSS. The Judaizers probably, by professing to teach the true version of Christianity, and accusing Paul of teaching a false and anti-national doctrine, excited odium against him among the Christians of Jewish birth at Rome.

[6] Τοῦτο, viz. the sufferings resulting from the conduct of these Judaizers.

[7] The words are quoted verbatim from Job xiii. 16. (LXX.). Yet perhaps St. Paul did not so much deliberately quote them, as use an expression which floated in his memory.

[8] Ἡ ἐπιχορηγία τοῦ χορηγοῦ would mean *the supplying of all needs [of the chorus] by the Choregus.* So ἡ ἐπιχορηγία τοῦ πνεύματος means *the supplying of all needs [of the Christian] by the Spirit.* Compare Eph. iv. 16., and Col. ii. 19.

[9] St. Paul was confident that his faith and hope would not fail him in the day of trial. Compare Rom. v. 5. (ἡ ἐλπὶς οὐ καταισχύνει). He was looking forward to his final hearing, as we have already seen, page 435.

[10] We punctuate this very difficult verse thus, εἰ δὲ τὸ ζῆν ἐν σαρκὶ τοῦτό μοι καρπὸς ἔργου, καὶ τί αἱρήσομαι, οὐ γνωρίζω. Literally, *but whether this life in the flesh* (compare τὸ ζῆν τοῦτο, 1 Cor. xv. 54., and ὃ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί, Gal. ii. 20.) *be my labour's fruit, and what I shall choose, I know not.* The A. V. assumes an ellipsis after σαρκὶ of μοι προκεῖται, or something equivalent, and gives no intelligible meaning to καρπὸς ἔργου. On the other hand, De Wette's translation, *if life in the flesh,—if this be my labour's fruit, what I shall choose I know not,* makes the καὶ redundant (which is not justified by the example he quotes, 2 Cor. ii. 2., where καὶ τίς is an emphatic question, equivalent to

shall be the fruit of my labour, and what I should choose, I
I. 23 know not. For between the two I am in perplexity; having
the desire to depart and be with Christ, which is far better;
24 yet to remain in the flesh is more needful, for your sake.
25 And in this confidence, I know that I shall remain[1], and
shall continue with you all, to your furtherance and joy in
26 faith; that you may have more abundant cause for your
boasting[2] in Christ Jesus on my account, by my presence
again among you.

Exhortations to stedfast endurance, concord, and lowliness.

27 Only live[3] worthy of the Glad-tidings of Christ, that
whether I come and see you, or be absent, I may hear con-
28 cerning you, that you stand firmly in one spirit, contending
together with one mind for the faith of the Glad-tidings, and
nowise terrified by its enemies[4]; for their enmity is to
them an evidence of perdition, but to you of salvation, and
29 that from God. For to you it has been given, on behalf
of Christ, not only to believe on Him, but also to suffer for
30 His sake; having the same conflict which once you saw[5] in
me, and which now you hear that I endure.

II. 1 If, then, you can be entreated[6] in Christ, if you can be
persuaded by love, if you have any fellowship in the Spirit,
2 if you have any tenderness or compassion, I pray you make
my joy full[7], be of one accord, filled with the same love, of
3 one soul, of one mind. Do nothing in a spirit of intrigue[8]

quis tandem, who, I pray), and also supposes τοῦτο used in a way for which there is no analogy; because the instance quoted by him (Mark vii. 15.) is not analogous, ἐκεῖνα there being exceedingly emphatic, "*these* (*I say*)," whereas in the τοῦτο here there is no special emphasis. Meyer's interpretation is still more unsatisfactory, and equally fails to explain the τοῦτο and the καί. Beza's translation "an vero vivere in carne mihi operæ pretium sit, et quid eligam ignoro" comes nearest to that which we adopt; but he leaves out the τοῦτο, and there is no analogy for rendering καρπὸς ἔργου by *operæ pretium*.

[1] Μενῶ, *shall remain, i. e.* alive.

[2] Compare ἐν Χριστῷ καυχώμενοι (iii. 3.).

[3] See note on iii. 20.

[4] Compare ἀντικείμενοι πολλοί, 1 Cor. xvi. 9.

[5] They had seen him sent to prison, Acts xvi. 23.

[6] For παρακαλεῖν, meaning *to entreat*, see Matt. xviii. 32., and for παραμυθεῖσθαι, meaning *to urge by persuasion or entreaty*, see 1 Thess. ii. 11.

[7] The extreme earnestness of this exhortation to unity shows that the Philippians were guilty of dissension; perhaps Euodia and Syntyche, whose opposition to each other is mentioned iv. 2., had partizans who shared their quarrel.

[8] Ἐριθεία, see above, i. 17.

or vanity, but in lowliness of mind let each account others above himself. Seek not your private ends alone, but let every man seek likewise his neighbour's good. II. 4

Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus; 5
who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery[1] to be 6
equal with God, yet stripped[2] Himself [of His glory] and 7
took upon Him the form of a slave[3], being changed[4] into the
likeness of man. And having appeared in the guise of men, 8
He abased Himself and shewed obedience[5], even unto death,
yea, death upon the cross. Wherefore God also exalted 9
Him above measure, and gave Him the[6] name which is above
every name; that in the name of Jesus "every knee should 10
bow,"[7] of all who dwell in heaven, in earth, or under the
earth, and every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is 11
Lord, to the glory of God the Father.

Wherefore, my beloved, as you have always obeyed 12
me, not as in my presence only, but now much more in
my absence, work out your own salvation with fear and

[1] Οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο. This very difficult expression clearly admits of the translation adopted in the authorised version, from which therefore we have not thought it right to deviate. The majority of modern interpreters, however, take ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγεῖσθαι as equivalent to ἅρπαγμα ἡγεῖσθαι, a phrase which was used by some Greek writers (referred to by Wetstein), with the meaning *to reckon a thing as a booty, to look on a thing as a robber would look on spoil.* It is a considerable objection to this view, that it makes ἁρπαγμός (properly, *the act of seizing*) identical with ἅρπαγμα (*the thing seized*); see Meyer, in loco. The authorised version is free from this objection, but it is liable to the charge of rendering the connection with the following verse less natural than the other interpretation. If the latter be correct, the translation would be, *He thought not equality with God a thing to be seized upon*, i. e. *though, essentially, even while on earth, He was in the form of God, yet He did not think fit to claim equality with God until He had accomplished His mission.*

[2] Literally, *emptied himself.*

[3] The *likeness of man* was the *form of a slave* to Him, contrasted with the *form of God* which essentially belonged to Him.

[4] Literally, *having become in the likeness*, which in English is expressed by *being changed into the likeness.*

[5] He "showed obedience" to the laws of human society, to His parents, and to the civil magistrate; and carried that self-humiliating obedience even to the point of submitting to death, when He might have summoned "twelve legions of angels" to His rescue.

[6] The best MSS. read τὸ ὑπέρ.

[7] Isaiah xlv. 23. (LXX.)., quoted Rom. xiv. 11. It is strange that this verse should often have been quoted as commanding the practice of *bowing the head* at the name of Jesus; a practice most proper in itself, but not here referred to: what it really prescribes is, *kneeling* in adoration of Him.

II. 13 trembling[1]; for it is God who works in you both will
14 and deed. Do all things for the sake of goodwill[2], without
15 murmurings and disputings, that you may be blameless and guileless, the sons of God without rebuke, in the midst of "a crooked and perverse generation,"[3] among whom ye shine
16 like stars[4] in the world; holding fast the Word of Life; that you may give me ground of boasting, even to the day of Christ, that I have not run in vain, nor laboured in vain.

17 But[5] though my blood[6] be poured forth upon the minis- St. Paul's expectations and intentions.
tration of the sacrifice of your faith, I rejoice for myself, and
18 rejoice with you all; and do ye likewise rejoice, both for
19 yourselves and with me. But I hope in the Lord Jesus to send Timotheus to you[7] shortly, that I also may be
20 cheered, by learning your state; for I have no other like-minded with me, who would care in earnest for your concerns;
21 for all seek their own, not the things of Jesus Christ.
22 But you know[8] the trials which have proved his worth, and that, as a son with a father, he has shared my servitude, to
23 proclaim the Glad-tidings. Him, then, I hope to send with-
24 out delay, as soon as I see how it will go with me; but I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly.

25 Epaphroditus, who is my brother and companion in Return of Epaphroditus

[1] We have already remarked that *with anxiety and self-distrust* is a nearer representation of the Pauline phrase, *μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου*, than the literal English of the words *with fear and trembling*, as appears by the use of the same phrase, 1 Cor. ii. 3., 2 Cor. vii. 15., Eph. vi. 5. The *φόβος* is *a fear of failure*, the *τρόμος an eager anxiety*.

[2] Ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐδοκίας has perplexed the interpreters, because they have all joined it with the preceding words. We put a stop after *ἐνεργεῖν*, and take *εὐδοκία* in the same sense as at i. 15. above and Luke ii. 14. It is strange that so clear and simple a construction, involving no alteration in the text, should not have been before suggested.

[3] Τέκνα *μωμητὰ, γενεὰ σκολιὰ καὶ διεστραμμένη*. Deut. xxxii. 5. (LXX.). The preceding *ἀμώμητα* alludes to this *μωμητὰ*.

[4] Φωστῆρες. Compare Gen. i. 14. (LXX.)

[5] This *but* seems to connect what follows with i. 25, 26.

[6] Literally, *I be poured forth*. The metaphor is probably from the Jewish drink-offerings (Numbers xxviii. 7.), rather than from the heathen libations. The heathen converts are spoken of as a sacrifice offered up by St. Paul as the ministering priest, in Rom. xv. 16.

[7] Ὑμῖν may be used for *πρὸς ὑμᾶς*. Cf. 1 Cor. iv. 17.

[8] Timotheus had laboured among them at the first. See Acts xvi.

labour and fellow-soldier, and your messenger to minister[1] to my wants, I have thought it needful to send to you. For he II. 26
was filled with longing for you all, and with sadness, because you had heard that he was sick. And, indeed, he had a sick- 27
ness which brought him almost to death, but God had compassion on him; and not on him only but on me, that I might not have sorrow upon sorrow. Therefore I have been[2] 28
the more anxious to send him, that you may have the joy of seeing him again, and that I may have one sorrow the less. Receive him, therefore, in the Lord, with all gladness, 29
and hold such men in honour; because his labour in the cause 30
of Christ brought him near to death; for he hazarded[3] his life that he might supply all which you could not do[4], in ministering to me.

Finally, my brethren, rejoice in the Lord. III. 1

Warning against Judaizers, and exhortation to perseverance in the Christian race.

To repeat the same[5] warnings is not wearisome to me, and it is safe for you. Beware of the Dogs[6], beware of the 2
Evil Workmen, beware of the Concision. For we are the 3
Circumcision, who worship God[7] with the spirit, whose boasting[8] is in Christ Jesus, and whose confidence is not in the flesh. Although I might have confidence in the flesh 4

[1] Λειτουργόν. Compare verse 30., λειτουργίας.

[2] Ἐπεμψα. The aorist used from the position of the reader, according to classical usage.

[3] Παραβολευσάμενος is the reading of the best MSS.

[4] The same expression is used of the messengers of the Corinthian Church. 1 Cor. xvi. 17. The English reader must not understand the A. V. "*lack of service*" to convey a reproach. From this verse we learn that the illness of Epaphroditus was caused by some casualty of his journey, or perhaps by over-fatigue.

[5] Literally, *to write the same things to you.* St. Paul must here refer either to some previous Epistle to the Philippians (now lost), or to his former conversations with them.

[6] The Judaizers are here described by three epithets: "the dogs" because of their uncleanness (of which that animal was the type: compare 2 Pet. ii. 22.); "the evil workmen" (not equivalent to "*evil workers*") for the same reason that they are called "deceitful workmen" in 2 Cor. xi. 13.; and "the concision" to distinguish them from the true circumcision, the spiritual Israel.

[7] We retain Θεῷ here, with the Textus Receptus, and a minority of MSS., because of the analogy of Rom. i. 9. (see note there). The true Christians are here described by contrast with the Judaizers, whose *worship* was the carnal worship of the temple, whose *boasting* was in the law, and whose *confidence* was in the circumcision of their flesh.

[8] Apparently alluding to Jer. ix. 24., "*He that boasteth let him boast in the Lord,*" which is quoted 1 Cor. i. 31. and 2 Cor. x. 7.

also. If any other man thinks that he has ground of con-
5. fidence in the flesh, I have more. Circumcised the eighth
day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a
6 Hebrew of the Hebrews; As to the Law, a Pharisee; as
to zeal a persecutor of the Church; as to the righteousness of
7 the Law, unblameable. But what once was gain to me, that
8 I have counted loss for Christ. Yea, doubtless, and I count
all things but loss, because all are nothing-worth in com-
parison[1] with the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord; for
whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and count them but
9 as dung, that I may gain Christ, and be found in Him; not
having my own righteousness of the Law, but the righteous-
ness of faith in Christ, the righteousness which God bestows
10 on Faith[2]; that I may know Him, and the power of His
resurrection, and the fellowship of His sufferings, sharing
11 the likeness of His death; if by any means I might attain
to the resurrection from the dead.

12 Not that I have already won[3], or am already perfect;
but I press onward, if, indeed, I might lay hold on that, for
13 which Christ also laid hold on me.[4] Brethren, I count not
myself to have laid hold thereon; but this one thing I do—
forgetting that which is behind, and reaching[5] forth to that
14 which is before, I press onward towards the mark, for the
prize of God's heavenly calling in Christ Jesus.

15 Let us all, then, who are ripe[6] in understanding, be thus

[1] Literally, *because of the supereminence of the knowledge of Christ*, i. e. *because the knowledge of Christ surpasses all things else.*

[2] Ἐκ Θεοῦ, *which God bestows*, ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει, *on condition of faith.* Compare ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει, Acts iii. 16.

[3] Ἔλαβον sc. τὸ βραβεῖον (v. 14.). Compare 1 Cor. ix. 24., Οὕτω τρέχετε ἵνα καταλάβητε. It is unfortunate that in A. V. this is translated by the same verb *attain*, which is used for καταντήσω in the preceding verse, so as to make it seem to refer to that.

[4] Our Lord had "laid hold on" Paul, in order to bring him to the attainment of "the prize of God's heavenly calling." Ἰησοῦ is omitted by the best MSS.

[5] The image is that of the runner in a foot race, whose body is bent forwards in the direction towards which he runs. See beginning of Chap. XX.

[6] The translation in A. V. of τετελείωμαι (verse 12.) and τέλειοι by the same word, makes St. Paul seem to contradict himself. Τέλειος is the antithesis of νήπιος. Compare 1 Cor. xiv. 20.

minded; and if in anything you are otherwise minded, that also shall be revealed to you by God [in due time]. Nevertheless, let us walk according to that which we have attained.[1] III. 16

Brethren, be imitators of me with one consent, and mark 17
those who walk according to my example. For many walk, of 18
whom I told you often in times[2] past, and now tell you even
weeping, that they are the enemies[3] of the cross of Christ;
whose end is destruction, whose God is their belly[4], and 19
whose glory is in their shame; whose mind is set on earthly
things. For my life[5] abides in heaven, from whence[6] also 20
I look for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ; who shall change 21
my vile[7] body into the likeness of His glorious body; according to the working whereby He is able even to subdue all things unto Himself. Therefore my brethren, dearly beloved IV. 1
and longed for, my joy and crown, so stand fast in the Lord, my dearly beloved.

Euodia and Syntyche must be reconciled.

I exhort Euodia, and I exhort Syntyche[8], to be of one 2
mind in the Lord. Yea, and I beseech thee also, my true 3
yoke-fellow[9], to help them [to be reconciled]; for they strove earnestly in the work of the Glad-tidings with me,

[1] See Winer, § 45. 7. The precept is the same given Rom. xiv. 5. The words κανόνι τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν are omitted in the best MSS.

[2] Ἔλεγον. Literally, *I used to tell you.*

[3] For the construction of τοὺς ἐχθρούς, compare τὴν ζωήν, 1 John ii. 25. The persons meant were men who led licentious lives (like the Corinthian free-thinkers), and they are called "enemies of the *cross*" because the cross was the symbol of mortification.

[4] Cf. Rom. xvi. 18.

[5] Πολίτευμα must not be translated *citizenship* (as has been proposed), which would be πολιτεία (cf. Acts xxii. 28.). Πολιτεύεσθαι means *to perform the functions of civil life*, and is used simply for *to live*; see Acts xxiii. 1., and Phil. i. 27. Hence πολίτευμα means the *tenor of life*. It should be also observed that ὑπάρχει is more than ἐστί.

[6] Ἐξ οὗ. See Winer xxi. 2.

[7] Literally, *the body of my humiliation.*

[8] These were two women (see αἵτινες, verse 3., which is mistranslated in A.V.) who were at variance.

[9] We have no means of knowing who was the person thus addressed. Apparently some eminent Christian at Philippi, to whom the Epistle was to be presented in the first instance. The old hypothesis (mentioned by Chrysostom) that Σύζυγος is a proper name, is not without plausibility; "qui et re et nomine Σύζυγος es" (Gomarus, in Poli Synops.).

together with Clemens[1] and my other fellow-labourers, whose names are in the Book[2] of Life.

IV. 4. Rejoice in the Lord at all times. Again will[3] I say, rejoice. Exhortation to rejoice in tribulation, and to love and follow goodness.
5 Let your forbearance be known to all men. The[4] Lord is at
6 hand. Let no care trouble you, but in all things, by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving, let your requests be made
7 known to God. And the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep[5] your hearts and minds in Christ
8 Jesus. Finally, brethren, whatsoever is true, whatsoever is venerable, whatsoever is just, whatsoever is pure, whatsoever is endearing, whatsoever is of good report,—if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise—be such the objects of
9 your[6] esteem. That which you were taught and learned, and which you heard and saw in me,—be that your practice. So shall the God of peace be with you.

10 I rejoiced in the Lord greatly when I found that now, Liberality of the Philippian Church. after so long a time, your care for me had borne fruit again; though your care indeed never failed, but you
11 lacked opportunity. Not that I speak as if I were in want; for I[8] have learnt, in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be
12 content. I can bear either abasement or abundance. In all things, and amongst all men, I have been taught the lesson[9], to be full or to be hungry, to want or to abound. I can do all

[1] We learn from Origen (Comm. on John i. 29.) that this Clemens (commonly called Clement) was the same who was afterwards Bishop of Rome, and who wrote the Epistles to the Corinthians which we have before referred to (p. 155.). Eusebius quotes the following statement concerning him from Irenæus: Τρίτῳ τόπῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν ἐπισκόπην κληροῦται Κλήμης, ὁ καὶ ἑωρακὼς τοὺς μακαρίους ἀποστόλους καὶ συμβεβληκὼς [(?) συμβεβιωκὼς] αὐτοῖς. (Hist. Eccl. v. 6.) It appears from the present passage that he had formerly laboured successfully at Philippi.

[2] Compare βίβλου ζώντων, Ps. lxix. 28. (LXX.), and also Luke x. 20. and Heb. xii. 23.

[3] Ἐρῶ is future. He refers to iii. 1.

[4] They are exhorted to be joyful under persecution, and show gentleness to their persecutors, because the Lord's coming would soon deliver them from all their afflictions. Compare note on 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

[5] Φρουρήσει, literally, *garrison.*

[6] Λογίζεσθε. Literally, *reckon these things in account.* Compare οὐ λογίζεται τὸ κακόν, 1 Cor. xiii. 5.

[7] The literal meaning of ἀναθάλλω is *to put forth fresh shoots.*

[8] This "I" is emphatic (ἔγω).

[9] Μεμύημαι, *initiatus sum.*

things, in Him[1] who strengthens my heart. Nevertheless, you have done well, in contributing to the help of my affliction. And you know yourselves, Philippians, that, in the beginning of the Glad-tidings, after I had left Macedonia[2], no Church communicated with me on account of giving and receiving, but you alone. For even while I was still in Thessalonica[3], you sent once and again to relieve my need. Not that I seek your gifts, but I seek the fruit which accrues therefrom, to your account. But I have all which I require, and more than I require. I am fully supplied, having received from Epaphroditus your gifts, "an odour of sweetness,"[4] an acceptable sacrifice well pleasing to God. And your own needs[5] shall be all supplied by my God, in the fulness of His glorious riches in Christ Jesus. Now to our God and Father be glory unto the ages of ages. Amen. iv. 13. 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

Salutations.

Salute all God's people in Christ Jesus. The brethren who are with[6] me salute you. 21

All God's people here salute you, especially those who belong to the house of Cæsar.[7] 22

Autograph benediction.

The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirits.[8] 23

The above Epistle gives us an unusual amount of information concerning the personal situation of its writer, which we have already endeavoured to incorporate into our narrative. But nothing in it is more suggestive than

[1] Χριστῷ is omitted in the best MSS. For ἐνδυναμ. cf. Rom. iv. 20.

[2] Compare 2 Cor. xi. 9. and Vol. I. p. 417.

[3] See Vol. I. p. 353.

[4] Gen. viii. 21. (LXX.), Ὠσφράνθη ὁ θεὸς ΟΣΜΗΝ ΕΥΩΔΙΑΣ: compare also Levit. i. 9. and Eph. v. 2.

[5] The ὑμῶν is emphatic.

[6] This οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ, distinguished from πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι in the next verse, seems to denote St. Paul's special attendants, such as Aristarchus, Epaphras, Demas, Timotheus, &c. Cf. Gal. i. 2.

[7] These members of the imperial household were probably slaves; so the same expression is used by Josephus (Ant. xviii. 5. 8.). If St. Paul was at this time confined in the neighbourhood of the Prætorian quarters attached to the palace, we can more readily account for the conversion of some of those who lived in the buildings immediately contiguous.

[8] The majority of uncial MSS. read πνεύματος, and omit the ἀμήν.

St. Paul's allusion to the Prætorian guards, and to the converts he had gained in the household of Nero. He tells us (as we have just read) that throughout the Prætorian quarters he was well known as a prisoner for the cause of Christ[1], and he sends special salutations to the Philippian Church from the Christians in the Imperial household.[2] These notices bring before us very vividly the moral contrasts by which the Apostle was surrounded. The soldier to whom he was chained to-day might have been in Nero's body-guard yesterday; his comrade who next relieved guard upon the prisoner, might have been one of the executioners of Octavia, and might have carried her head to Poppæa a few weeks before. Such were the ordinary employments of the fierce and blood-stained veterans who were daily present, like wolves in the midst of sheep, at the meetings of the Christian brotherhood. If there were any of these soldiers not utterly hardened by a life of cruelty, their hearts must surely have been touched by the character of their prisoner, brought as they were into so close a contact with him. They must have been at least astonished to see a man, under such circumstances, so utterly careless of selfish interests, and devoting himself with an energy so unaccountable to the teaching of others. Strange indeed to their ears, fresh from the brutality of a Roman barrack, must have been the sound of Christian exhortation, of prayers, and of hymns; stranger still, perhaps, the tender love which bound the converts to their teacher and to one another, and showed itself in every look and tone.

But if the agents of Nero's tyranny seem out of place in such a scene, still more repugnant to the assembled worshippers must have been the instruments of his pleasures, the ministers of his lust. Yet some even among these, the depraved servants of the palace, were redeemed from their degradation by the Spirit of Christ, which spoke to them in the words of Paul. How deep their degradation was, we know from authentic records. We are not left to conjecture the services required from the attendants of Nero. The ancient historians have polluted their pages[3] with details of infamy which no writer in the languages of Christendom may dare to repeat. Thus, the very immensity of moral amelioration wrought, operates to disguise its own extent; and hides from inexperienced eyes the gulf which separates heathenism from Christianity. Suffice it to say that the courtiers of Nero were the spectators, and the members of his household the instruments, of vices so monstrous and so un-

[1] i. 13.
[2] iv. 22.
[3] See Tacitus Ann. xv. 37., Dio lxiii. 13., and especially Suetonius, Nero, 28, 29.

natural, that they shocked even the men of that generation, steeped as it was in every species of obscenity. But we must remember that many of those who took part in such abominations were involuntary agents, forced by the compulsion of slavery to do their master's bidding. And the very depth of vileness in which they were plunged, must have excited in some of them an indignant disgust and revulsion against vice. Under such feelings, if curiosity led them to visit the Apostle's prison, they were well qualified to appreciate the purity of its moral atmosphere. And there it was that some of these unhappy bondsmen first tasted of spiritual freedom ; and were prepared to brave with patient heroism the tortures under which they soon[1] were destined to expire in the gardens of the Vatican.

History has few stranger contrasts than when it shows us Paul preaching Christ under the walls of Nero's palace. Thenceforward, there were but two religions in the Roman world; the worship of the Emperor, and the worship of the Saviour. The old superstitions had been long worn out; they had lost all hold on educated minds. There remained to civilised heathens no other worship possible but the worship of power; and the incarnation of power which they chose was, very naturally, the Sovereign of the world. This, then, was the ultimate result of the noble intuitions of Plato, the methodical reasonings of Aristotle, the pure morality of Socrates. All had failed, for want of external sanction and authority. The residuum they left was the philosophy of Epicurus, and the religion of Nerolatry. But a new doctrine was already taught in the Forum, and believed even on the Palatine. Over against the altars of Nero and Poppæa, the voice of a prisoner was daily heard, and daily woke in grovelling souls the consciousness of their divine destiny. Men listened, and knew that self-sacrifice was better than ease, humiliation more exalted than pride, to suffer nobler than to reign. They felt that the only religion which satisfied the needs of man was the religion of sorrow, the religion of self-devotion, the religion of the cross.

There are some amongst us now who think that the doctrine which Paul preached was a retrograde movement in the course of humanity; there are others who, with greater plausibility, acknowledge that it was useful in its season, but tell us that it is now worn out and obsolete. The former are far more consistent than the latter; for both schools of infidelity agree in virtually

[1] The Neronian persecution, in which such vast multitudes of Christians perished, occurred in the summer of 64 A. D., that is, within less than two years of the time when the Epistle to Philippi was written. See the next Chapter.

advising us to return to that effete philosophy which had been already tried and found wanting, when Christianity was winning the first triumphs of its immortal youth. This might well surprise us, did we not know that the progress of human reason in the paths of ethical discovery is merely the progress of a man in a treadmill, doomed for ever to retrace his own steps. Had it been otherwise, we might have hoped that mankind could not again be duped by an old and useless remedy, which was compounded and recompounded in every possible shape and combination, two thousand years ago, and at last utterly rejected by a nauseated world. Yet for this antiquated anodyne, disguised under a new label, many are once more bartering the only true medicine that can heal the diseases of the soul.

For such mistakes there is, indeed, no real cure, except prayer to Him who giveth sight to the blind; but a partial antidote may be supplied by the history of the Imperial Commonwealth. The true wants of the Apostolic age can best be learned from the annals of Tacitus. There men may still see the picture of that Rome to which Paul preached; and thence they may comprehend the results of civilisation without Christianity, and the impotence of a moral philosophy destitute of supernatural attestation.[1]

[1] Had Arnold lived to complete his task, how nobly would his history of the Empire have worked out this great argument! His indignant abhorrence of wickedness, and his enthusiastic love of moral beauty, made him worthy of such a theme.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν, καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων, οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου.
(Clem. Rom. i. cap. 5.)

AUTHORITIES FOR ST. PAUL'S SUBSEQUENT HISTORY. — HIS APPEAL IS HEARD. — HIS ACQUITTAL. — HE GOES FROM ROME TO ASIA MINOR. — THENCE TO SPAIN, WHERE HE RESIDES TWO YEARS. — HE RETURNS TO ASIA MINOR AND MACEDONIA. — WRITES *THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHEUS*. — VISITS CRETE. — WRITES *THE EPISTLE TO TITUS*. — HE WINTERS AT NICOPOLIS. — HE IS AGAIN IMPRISONED AT ROME. — PROGRESS OF HIS TRIAL. — HE WRITES *THE SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHEUS*. — HIS CONDEMNATION AND DEATH.

We have already remarked that the light concentrated upon that portion of St. Paul's life which is related in the latter chapters of the Acts, makes darker by contrast the obscurity which rests upon the remainder of his course. The progress of the historian who attempts to trace the footsteps of the Apostles beyond the limits of the Scriptural narrative must, at best, be hesitating and uncertain. It has been compared[1] to the descent of one who passes from the clear sunshine which rests upon a mountain's top into the mist which wraps its side. But this is an inadequate comparison; for such a wayfarer loses the daylight gradually, and experiences no abrupt transition, from the bright prospect and the distinctness of the onward path, into darkness and bewilderment. Our case should rather be compared with that of the traveller on the Chinese frontier, who has just reached a turn in the valley along which his course has led him, and has come to a point whence he expected to enjoy the view of a new and brilliant landscape; when he suddenly finds all farther prospect cut off by an enormous wall, filling up all the space between precipices on either hand, and opposing a blank and insuperable barrier to his onward progress. And if a chink here and there should allow some glimpses of the rich territory beyond, they are only enough to tantalise, without gratifying his curiosity.

Doubtless, however, it was a Providential design which has thus limited our knowledge. The wall of separation, which for ever cuts off the Apostolic age from that which followed it, was built by the hand of God. That age of miracles was not to be revealed to us as passing by any gradual transition into the common life of the Church; it was intentionally isolated from all

[1] The comparison occurs somewhere in Arnold's works.

succeeding time, that we might learn to appreciate more fully its extraordinary character, and see, by the sharpness of the abruptest contrast, the difference between the human and the divine.

A few faint rays of light, however, have been permitted to penetrate beyond the dividing barrier, and of these we must make the best use we can: for it is now our task to trace the history of St. Paul beyond the period where the narrative of his fellow-traveller so suddenly terminates.[1] The only cotemporary materials for this purpose are his own letters to Titus and Timotheus, and a single sentence of his disciple, Clement of Rome; and during the three centuries which followed we can gather but a few scattered and unsatisfactory notices from the writers who have handed down to us the traditions of the Church.

The great question which we have to answer concerns the termination of that long imprisonment whose history has occupied the preceding Chapters. St. Luke tells us that St. Paul remained under military custody in Rome for "two whole years" (Acts xxviii. 16. and 30.); but he does not say what followed, at the close of that period. Was it ended, we are left to ask, by the Apostle's condemnation and death, or by his acquittal and liberation? Although the answer to this question has been a subject of dispute in modern times, no doubt was entertained about it by the ancient Church.[2] It was universally believed, that St. Paul's appeal to Cæsar terminated successfully; that he was acquitted of the charges laid against him; and that he spent some years in freedom before he was again imprisoned and condemned. The evidence on this subject, though (as we have said) not copious, is yet conclusive so far as it goes, and it is *all one way*.

[1] Numerous explanations have been attempted of the sudden and abrupt termination of the Acts, which breaks off the narrative of St. Paul's appeal to Cæsar (up to that point so minutely detailed) just as we are expecting its conclusion. The most plausible explanations are (1) That Theophilus *already knew of the conclusion* of the Roman imprisonment; whether it was ended by St. Paul's death or by his liberation. (2) That St. Luke wrote *before the conclusion* of the imprisonment, and carried his narrative up to the point at which he wrote. But neither of these theories is fully satisfactory. We may take this opportunity to remark that the ἔμεινε and ἀπεδέχετο (Acts xxviii. 30.) by no means imply (as Wieseler asserts, p. 398, 399.) that a *changed state* of things had succeeded to that there described. In writing historically, the historical tenses would be used by an ancient writer, even though (when he wrote) the events described by him were still going on.

[2] If the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by St. Paul, it proves conclusively that he was liberated from his Roman imprisonment; for its writer is *in Italy*, and *at liberty*. (Heb. xiii. 23, 24.) But we are precluded from using this as an argument, in consequence of the doubts concerning the authorship of that Epistle. See the next Chapter.

The most important portion of it is supplied by Clement, the disciple of St. Paul, mentioned Phil. iv. 3.[1], who was afterwards Bishop of Rome. This author, writing *from Rome* to Corinth, expressly asserts that Paul had preached the Gospel "IN THE EAST AND IN THE WEST;" that "he had instructed *the whole world* [i.e. the *Roman Empire*, which was commonly so called] in righteousness;" and that he "had gone to THE EXTREMITY OF THE WEST" before his martyrdom.[2]

Now, in a Roman author, *the extremity of the West* could mean nothing short of Spain, and the expression is often used by Roman writers to denote Spain. Here, then, we have the express testimony of St. Paul's own disciple that he fulfilled his original intention (mentioned Rom. xv. 24—28.) of visiting the Spanish peninsula; and consequently that he was liberated from his first imprisonment at Rome.

The next piece of evidence which we possess on the subject is contained in the canon of the New Testament, compiled by an unknown Christian about the year A.D. 170, which is known as Muratori's Canon. In this document it is said, in the account of the *Acts of the Apostles*, that "*Luke relates to Theophilus events of which he was an eye-witness, as also, in a separate place* (semote) [viz. Luke xxii. 31—33.], *he evidently declares the martyrdom of Peter, but* [*omits*] THE JOURNEY OF PAUL FROM ROME TO SPAIN."[3]

In the next place, Eusebius tells us, "*after defending himself successfully it is currently reported that the Apostle again went forth to proclaim the Gospel, and afterwards came to Rome a second time, and was martyred under Nero.*"[4]

[1] For the identity of St. Paul's disciple Clemens, with Clemens Romanus, see the note on Phil. iv. 3. We may add that even those who doubt this identity acknowledge that Clemens Romanus wrote in the first century.

[2] Παῦλος . . . κῆρυξ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει, τὸ γέννaιον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἔλαβεν· δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον καὶ [ἐπὶ] τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων, οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου. (Clem. Rom. i. chap. v.) We need scarcely remark upon Wieseler's proposal to translate τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως *the Sovereign of Rome!* That ingenious writer has been here evidently misled by his desire to wrest the passage (quocunque modo) into conformity with his theory. Schrader translates μαρτυρήσας "having been martyred *there*," and then argues that the *extremity of the West* cannot mean Spain, because St. Paul was not martyred in Spain; but his "there" is a mere interpolation of his own.

[3] The words of this fragment are as follows: Acta autem omnium apostolorum sub uno libro scripta sunt. Lucas optime Theophilo conprindit [comprehendit] quia [quæ] sub præsentia ejus singula gerebantur, sicuti et semote passionem Petri evidenter declarat, sed *profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis* [omittit]. For an account of this fragment, see Routh's Reliquiæ Sacræ, vol. iv. p. 1—12.

[4] The words of Eusebius are, τότε μὲν οὖν ἀπολογησάμενον αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος διακονίαν λόγος ἔχει στείλασθαι τὸν ἀπόστολον, δεύτερον δ' ἐπιβαντα τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν [Νέρωνα] τελειωθῆναι μαρτυρίῳ. (Hist. Eccl. ii. 22.)

Next we have the statement of Chrysostom, who mentions it as an undoubted historical fact, that "*St. Paul after his residence in Rome departed to Spain.*"[1]

About the same time St. Jerome bears the same testimony, saying that "*Paul was dismissed by Nero, that he might preach Christ's Gospel in the West.*"[2]

Against this unanimous testimony of the primitive Church there is no external evidence[3] whatever to oppose. Those who doubt the liberation of St. Paul from his imprisonment are obliged to resort to a gratuitous hypothesis, or to inconclusive arguments from probability. Thus they try to account for the tradition of the Spanish journey, by the arbitrary supposition that it arose from a wish to represent St. Paul as having fulfilled his expressed intentions (Rom. xv. 19.) of visiting Spain. Or they say that it is *improbable* Nero would have liberated St. Paul after he had fallen under the influence of Poppæa, the Jewish proselyte. Or, lastly, they urge, that, if St. Paul had really been liberated, we must have had some account of his subsequent labours. The first argument needs no answer, being a mere hypothesis. The second, as to the probability of the matter, may be met by the remark that we know far too little of the circumstances, and of the motives which weighed with Nero, to judge how he would have been likely to act in the case. To the third argument we may oppose the fact, that we have no account whatever of St. Paul's labours, toils, and sufferings, during several of the most active years of his life, and only learn their existence by a casual allusion in a

[1] Μετὰ τὸ γένεσθαι ἐν Ῥωμῇ, πάλιν εἰς τὴν Σπανίαν ἀπῆλθεν. Εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖθεν πάλιν εἰς ταῦτα τὰ μέρη [viz. to the *eastern* part of the empire; it does not imply a doubt of his return to Rome], οὐκ ἴσμεν. (Chrysost. on 2 Tim. iv. 20.)

[2] Sciendum est . . . Paulum a Nerone dimissum, ut evangelium Christi in Occidentis quoque partibus prædicaret. (Hieron. Catal. Script.)

[3] It has indeed been urged that Origen knew nothing of the journey to Spain, because Eusebius tells us that he speaks of Paul "preaching from Jerusalem to Illyricum," — a manifest allusion to Rom. xv. 19. It is strange that those who use this argument should not have perceived that they might, with equal justice, infer that Origen was ignorant of St. Paul's preaching at Malta. Still more extraordinary is it to find Wieseler relying on the testimony of Pope Innocent I., who asserts (in the true spirit of the Papacy) that "all the churches in Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily, and the interjacent islands, were founded by emissaries of St. Peter or his successors:" an assertion manifestly contradicting the Acts of the Apostles, and the known history of the Gallican Church, and made by a writer of the fifth century! It has been also argued by Wieseler that Eusebius and Chrysostom were led to the hypothesis of a second imprisonment by their mistaken view of 2 Tim. iv. 20. But it is equally probable that they were led to that view of the passage by their previous belief in the tradition of the second imprisonment. Nor is their view of that passage untenable, though we think it mistaken.

letter to the Corinthians (2 Cor. xi. 24, 25.). Moreover, if this argument be worth any thing, it would prove that none of the Apostles except St. Paul took any part whatever in the propagation of the Gospel after the first few years; since we have no testimony to their subsequent labours at all more definite than that which we have above quoted concerning the work of St. Paul after his liberation.

But farther, unless we are prepared to dispute the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles[1], we must admit not only that St. Paul was liberated from his Roman imprisonment, but also that he continued his Apostolic labours for at least some years afterwards. It is now admitted, by nearly all those who are competent to decide on such a question[2], first, that the historical facts mentioned in the Epistles to Timotheus and Titus, cannot be placed in any portion of St. Paul's life before or during his first imprisonment in Rome; and, secondly, that the style in which those Epistles are written, and the condition of the Church described in them, forbids the supposition of such a date. Consequently, we must acknowledge (unless we deny the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles) that after St. Paul's Roman imprisonment he was travelling at liberty in Ephesus[3], Crete[4], Macedonia[5], Miletus[6], and Nicopolis[7], and that he was afterwards a second time in prison at Rome.[8]

But, when we have said this, we have told nearly all that we know of the Apostle's personal history, from his liberation to his death. We cannot fix with certainty the length of the time which intervened, nor the order in which he visited the different places where he is recorded to have laboured. The following data, however, we have. In the first place, his martyrdom is universally said to have occurred[9] in the reign of Nero. Secondly, Timotheus was still *a young man* (i. e. young for the charge committed to him)[10] at the time of Paul's second imprisonment at Rome. Thirdly, the three Pastoral Epistles were written within a few months of one another.[11] Fourthly, their style differs so much from the style of the earlier Epistles,

[1] For the proof of this date of the Pastoral Epistles, see the note on the subject in the Appendix.

[2] Dr. Davidson is an exception, and has summed up all that can be said on the opposite side of the question with his usual ability and fairness. With regard to Wieseler, see the note in the Appendix, above referred to.

[3] 1 Tim. i. 3.

[4] Titus i. 5.

[5] 1 Tim. i. 3.

[6] 2 Tim. iv. 20.

[7] Titus iii. 12.

[8] 2 Tim. i. 16, 17.

[9] See the references to Tertullian, Eusebius, Jerome, &c. given below, p. 504. note 2.

[10] 1 Tim. iii. 2., 2 Tim. ii. 22.

[11] See the note on the date of the Pastoral Epistles, in the Appendix.

that we must suppose as long an interval between their date and that of the Epistle to Philippi as is consistent with the preceding conditions.

These reasons concur in leading us to fix *the last year of Nero* as that of St. Paul's martyrdom. And this is the very year assigned to it by Jerome, and the next to that assigned by Eusebius; the two earliest writers who mention the date of St. Paul's death at all. We have already seen that St. Paul first arrived in Rome in the Spring of A.D. 61: we therefore have, on our hypothesis, an interval of five years, between the period with which St. Luke concludes (A.D. 63), and the Apostle's martyrdom.[1] And the grounds above mentioned lead us to the conclusion that this interval was occupied in the following manner.

In the first place, after the long delay, which we have before endeavoured to explain, St. Paul's appeal came on for hearing before the Emperor. The appeals from the provinces in civil causes were heard, not by the Emperor himself, but by his delegates, who were persons of consular rank: Augustus had appointed one such delegate to hear appeals from each province respectively.[2] But criminal appeals appear generally to have been heard by the Emperor in person[3], assisted by his council of assessors. Tiberius and Claudius had usually sat for this purpose in the Forum[4]; but Nero, after the example of Augustus, heard these causes in the Imperial Palace[5], whose ruins still crown the Palatine. Here, at one end of a splendid hall[6], lined with the precious marbles[7] of Egypt and of Lybia, we must imagine the Cæsar seated, in the midst of his Assessors. These councillors, twenty in number, were men of the highest rank and greatest influence. Among them were the two Consuls[8], and selected representatives of

[1] The above data show us the necessity of supposing as long an interval as possible between St. Paul's liberation and his second imprisonment. Therefore we must assume that his appeal was finally decided at the end of the "two years" mentioned in Acts xxviii. 30., — that is, in the Spring of A.D. 63.

[2] Sueton. Oct. 33.; but Geib (p. 680.) thinks this arrangement was not of long duration.

[3] Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν συνέδρων καὶ διεσκέψατο καὶ ἐδίκαζεν, ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ἐπὶ βήματος προκαθήμενος. (Dio, lv. 27.) This is said of Augustus.

[4] As to Tiberius, see Dio, lvii. 7.; and as to Claudius, Dio, lx. 4.

[5] Tiberius built a tribunal on the Palatine (Dio, lvii. 7.). See also Geib, p. 536.

[6] Dio mentions that the ceilings of the Halls of Justice in the Palatine were painted by Severus to represent the starry sky: καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς [τοὺς ἀστέρας] ἐς τὰς ὀροφας τῶν οἴκων τῶν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἐν οἷς ἐδίκαζεν ἐνέγραψεν (Dio, lxxvi. 11.). The old Roman practice was for the magistrate to sit under the open sky, which probably suggested this kind of ceiling. Even the Basilicas were not roofed over (as to their central nave) till a late period.

[7] Those who are acquainted with Rome will remember how the interior of many of the ruined buildings is lined with a coating of these precious marbles.

[8] Memmius Regulus and Virginius Rufus were the consuls of the year A.D. 63 (A.U.C. 816). Under some of the emperors, the consuls were

COIN OF NERO (WITH THE HARBOUR OF OSTIA).[1]

each of the other great magistracies of Rome.[2] The remainder consisted of Senators chosen by lot. Over this distinguished bench of judges presided the representative of the most powerful monarchy which has ever existed,—the absolute ruler of the whole civilized world. But the reverential awe which his position naturally suggested, was changed into contempt and loathing by the character of the Sovereign who now presided over that supreme tribunal. For Nero was a man whom even the awful attribute of "power equal to the gods"[3] could not render august, except in title. The fear and horror excited by his omnipotence and his cruelty, was blended with contempt for his ignoble lust of praise, and his shameless licentiousness. He had not as yet plunged into that extravagance of tyranny which, at a later period, exhausted the patience of his subjects, and brought him to destruction. Hitherto his public measures had been guided by sage advisers, and his cruelty had injured his own family rather than the state. But already, at the age of twenty-five, he had murdered his innocent wife and his adopted brother, and had dyed his hands in the blood of his mother. Yet even these enormities seem to have disgusted the Romans less than his prostitution of the Imperial purple, by publicly performing as a musician on the stage and a charioteer in the circus. His degrading want of dignity and insatiable appetite for vulgar applause, drew tears from the councillors and servants of his house, who could see him slaughter his nearest relatives without remonstrance.

Before the tribunal of this blood-stained adulterer, Paul the Apostle was now brought in fetters, under the custody of his military guard. We may be sure that he, who had so often stood undaunted before the dele-

often changed several times during the year; but Nero allowed them to hold office for six months. ("Consulatum in senos plerumque menses dedit." Sueton. Nero, 15.) So that these consuls would still be in office till July.

[1] From the British Museum. This is one of the large brass coins of Nero's reign, which exhibit admirable portraits of the emperor. We notice here that peculiar rig of ancient ships which was mentioned above, pp. 310 and 358.

[2] Such, at least, was the constitution of the council of assessors, according to the ordinance of Augustus, which appears to have remained unaltered. See Dio, liii. 21. Τοὺς ὑπάτους, κἀκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχόντων ἕνα παρ' ἑκάστων, ἔκ τε τοῦ λοιποῦ τῶν βουλευτῶν πλήθους πεντεκαίδεκα τοὺς κλήρῳ λάχοντας, συμβούλους ἐς ἐξάμηνον παρελάμβανεν. Also see Sueton. Tiber. 55., and the passages of Dio referred to in the notes above.

[3] "Diis æqua potestas" was the attribute of the emperors (Juv. iv.).

gates of the Imperial throne, did not quail when he was at last confronted with their master. His life was not in the hands of Nero; he knew that while his Lord had work for him on earth, HE would shield him from the tyrant's sword; and if his work was over, how gladly would he "depart and be with Christ, which was far better."[1] To him all the majesty of Roman despotism was nothing more than an empty pageant; the Imperial demigod himself was but one of "the princes of this world, that come to nought."[2] Thus he stood, calm and collected, ready to answer the charges of his accusers, and knowing that in the hour of his need it should be given him what to speak.

The prosecutors and their witnesses were now called forward, to support their accusation[3]; for although the subject-matter for decision was contained in the written depositions forwarded from Judæa by Festus, yet (as[4] we have before observed) the Roman law required the personal presence of the accusers and the witnesses, whenever it could be obtained. We already know the charges[5] brought against the Apostle. He was accused of disturbing the Jews in the exercise of their worship, which was secured to them by law; of desecrating their Temple; and, above all, of violating the public peace of the Empire by perpetual agitation, as the ringleader of a new and factious sect. This charge[6] was the most serious in the view of a Roman statesman; for the crime alleged amounted to *majestas*, or treason against the Commonwealth, and was punishable with death.

These accusations were supported by the emissaries of the Sanhedrin, and

[1] See his anticipations of his trial. Phil. i. 20—25., and Phil. ii. 17.

[2] 1 Cor. ii. 6.

[3] The order of the proceedings was (1) Speech of the prosecutor; (2) Examination and cross-examination of witnesses for the prosecution; (3) Speech of the prisoner; (4) Examination and cross-examination of the witnesses for the defence. See Geib, p. 601—643. The introduction of cross-examination was an innovation upon the old republican procedure. Geib, p. 631.

[4] As to the accusers, see above, p. 298. note 9. As to the witnesses, see Geib, p. 629. Written depositions were received at this period by the Roman Courts, but not where the personal presence of the witnesses could be obtained. Geib, 624. See also Acts xxiv. 19., οὓς ἐδεῖ ἐπὶ σοῦ παρεῖναι.

[5] See Acts xxiv. 5, 6., and xxv. 7, 8., and pages 290 and 299.

[6] It must be remembered that the old Republican system of criminal procedure had undergone a great change before the time of Nero. Under the old law (the system of *Quæstiones Perpetuæ*) different *charges* were tried in distinct *courts*, and by different magistrates. In modern language, a criminal indictment could then only contain one count. But this was altered under the emperors; "ut si quis sacrilegii simul et homicidii accusetur; quod nunc in publicis judiciis [*i. e.* those of the *Quæstiones Perpetuæ*, which were still not entirely obsolete] non accidit, quoniam Prætor certâ lege sortitur; Principum autem et Senatûs cognitionibus frequens est." (Quintil. Inst. Orat. iii. 10.) See Geib, p. 654.

probably by the testimony of witnesses from Judæa, Ephesus, Corinth, and the other scenes of Paul's activity. The foreign accusers, however, did not rely on the support of their own unaided eloquence. They doubtless hired the rhetoric of some accomplished Roman pleader (as they had done even before the provincial tribunal of Felix) to set off their cause to the best advantage, and paint the dangerous character of their antagonist in the darkest colours. Nor would it have been difficult to represent the missionary labours of Paul as dangerous to the security of the Roman state, when we remember how ill informed the Roman magistrates, who listened, must have been concerning the questions really at issue between Paul and his opponents; and when we consider how easily the Jews were excited against the government by any fanatical leader who appealed to their nationality, and how readily the kingdom of the Messiah, which Paul proclaimed, might be misrepresented as a temporal monarchy, set up in opposition to the foreign domination of Rome.

We cannot suppose that St. Paul had secured the services of any professional advocate to repel such false accusations[1], and put the truth clearly before his Roman judges. We know that he resorted to no such method on former occasions of a similar kind. And it seems more consistent with his character, and his unwavering reliance on his Master's promised aid, to suppose that he answered[2] the elaborate harangue of the hostile pleader by a plain and simple statement of facts, like that which he addressed to Felix, Festus, and Agrippa. He could easily prove the falsehood of the charge of sacrilege, by the testimony of those who were present in the Temple; and perhaps the refutation of this more definite accusation might incline his judges more readily to attribute the vaguer charges to the malice of his opponents. He would then proceed to show that, far from disturbing the exercise of the *religio licita* of Judaism, he himself adhered to that religion, rightly understood. He would show that far from being a seditious agitator against the state, he taught his converts everywhere to honour the Imperial Government, and submit to the ordinances[3] of the magistrate for conscience' sake. And, though he would admit the charge of belonging to the sect of the Nazarenes, yet he would remind his opponents that they themselves acknowledged the division of their nation into various sects,

[1] It was most usual, at this period, that both parties should be represented by advocates; but the parties were allowed to conduct their cause themselves, if they preferred doing so. Geib, p. 602.

[2] Probably, all St. Paul's judges, on this occasion, were familiar with Greek, and therefore he might address them in his own native tongue, without the need of an interpreter.

[3] Compare Rom. xiii. 1—7.

which were equally entitled to the protection of the law; and that the sect of the Nazarenes had a right to the same toleration which was extended to those of the Pharisees and the Sadducees.

We know not whether he entered on this occasion into the peculiar doctrines of that "sect" to which he belonged; basing them, as he ever did, on the[1] resurrection of the dead; and reasoning of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come. If so, he had one auditor at least who had more need to tremble than even Felix. But doubtless a seared conscience, and a universal frivolity of character, rendered Nero proof against emotions which for a moment shook the nerves of a less audacious criminal.

When the parties on both sides had been heard[2], and the witnesses all examined and cross-examined (a process which perhaps occupied several days[3]), the judgment of the court was taken. Each of the assessors gave his opinion in writing to the Emperor, who never discussed the judgment with his assessors, as had been the practice of better emperors, but after reading their opinions gave sentence according to his own pleasure[4], without reference to the judgment of the majority. On this occasion, it might have been expected that he would have pronounced the condemnation of the accused; for the influence of Poppæa had now[5] reached its culminating point, and she was, as we have said, a Jewish proselyte. We can scarcely doubt that the emissaries from Palestine would have sought access to so powerful a protectress, and demanded her aid[6] for the destruction of a traitor to the Jewish faith;

[1] Compare the prominence given to the Resurrection in the statement before the Sanhedrin (Acts xxiii. 6.), before Felix (Acts xxiv. 15.), before Festus (Acts xxv. 19.), and before Agrippa (Acts xxvi. 8.).

[2] We are told by Suetonius, as we have mentioned before, that Nero heard both parties on each of the counts of the indictment separately; and gave his decision on one count before he proceeded to the next. (Sueton. Nero, 15.) The proceedings, therefore, which we have described in the text, must have been repeated as many times as there were separate charges against St. Paul.

[3] Plin. Epist. ii. 11. "In tertium diem probationes exierunt;" and again, Ep. iv. 9., "Postero die egerunt pro Basso, Titius, Homullus, et Fronto, mirifice; quartum diem probationes occupaverunt."

[4] Suet. Nero, 15. "Quoties ad consultandum secederet, neque in commune quidquam neque propalam deliberabat, sed et conscriptas ab unoquoque sententias tacitus et secreto legens, quod ipsi libuisset, perinde atque pluribus idem videretur pronuntiabat." This judgment was not pronounced by Nero till the next day ("sequente die"). The sentence of a magistrate was always given in writing at this period (Geib, 665.), and generally delivered by the magistrate himself. But in the case of the emperor, he did not read his own sentence, but caused it to be read in his presence by his quæstor (Geib, 512.).

[5] Poppæa's influence was at its height from the birth to the death of her daughter Claudia, who was born at the beginning of 63, and lived four months.

[6] See last Chapter, p. 434. note 5.

nor would any scruples have prevented her from listening to their request, backed as it probably was, according to the Roman usage, by a bribe. If such influence was exerted upon Nero, it might have been expected easily to prevail. But we know not all the complicated intrigues of the Imperial Court. Perhaps some Christian freedman of Narcissus[1] may have counteracted, through the interest of that powerful favourite, the devices of St. Paul's antagonists; or possibly Nero may have been capriciously inclined to act upon his own independent view of the law and justice of the case, or to show his contempt for what he regarded as the petty squabbles of a superstitious people, by "driving the accusers from his judgment seat" with the same feelings which Gallio had shown on a similar occasion.

However this may be, the trial resulted in the acquittal of St. Paul. He was pronounced guiltless of the charges brought against him, his fetters were struck off, and he was liberated from his lengthened captivity. And now at last he was free to realise his long cherished purpose of evangelising the West. But the immediate execution of this design was for the present postponed, in order that he might first revisit some of his earlier converts, who again needed his presence.

Immediately on his liberation it may reasonably be supposed that he fulfilled the intention which he had lately expressed (Philem. 22. and Phil. ii. 24.) of travelling eastward through Macedonia, and seeking the churches of Asia Minor, some of which, as yet, had not seen his face in the flesh. We have already learnt, from the Epistle to the Colossians, how much his influence and authority was required among those Asiatic Churches. We must suppose him, therefore, to have gone from Rome by the usual route, crossing the Adriatic from Brundisium to Apollonia, or Dyrrachium, and proceeding by the great Egnatian road through Macedonia; and we can imagine the joy wherewith he was welcomed by his beloved children at Philippi, when he thus gratified the expectation which he had encouraged them to form. There is no reason to suppose, however, that he lingered in Macedonia. It is more likely that he hastened on to Ephesus, and made that city once more his centre of operations. If he effected his purpose[2], he now for the first time visited Colossæ, Laodicea, and other churches in that region.

Having accomplished the objects of his visit to Asia Minor, he was at length

[1] This Narcissus must not be confounded with the more celebrated favourite of Claudius. See Dio, lxiv. 3. The Narcissus here mentioned had Christian converts in his establishment; see Rom. xvi. 11. and note.

[2] See Philem. 22.

enabled (perhaps in the year following that of his liberation) to undertake his long meditated journey to Spain. By what route he went, we know not; he may either have travelled by way of Rome, which had been his original intention, or, more probably, avoiding the dangers which at this period (in the height of the Neronian persecution) would have beset him there, he may have gone by sea. There was constant commercial intercourse between the East and Massilia (the modern Marseilles); and Massilia was in daily communication with the Peninsula. We may suppose him to have reached Spain in the year 64, and to have remained there about two years; which would allow him time to establish the germs of Christian Churches among the Jewish proselytes who were to be found in all the great cities, from Tarraco to Gades, along the Spanish coast.[1]

From Spain St. Paul seems to have returned, in A. D. 66[2], to Ephesus; and here he found that the predictions which he had long ago uttered to the Ephesian presbyters were already receiving their fulfilment. Heretical teachers had arisen in the very bosom of the Church, and were leading away the believers after themselves. Hymenæus and Philetus were sowing, in a congenial soil, the seed which was destined in another century to bear so ripe a crop of error. The East and West were infusing their several elements of poison into the pure cup of Gospel truth. In Asia Minor, as at Alexandria, Hellenic philosophism did not refuse to blend with Oriental theosophy; the Jewish superstitions of the Kabbala, and the wild speculations of the Persian magi, were combined with the Greek craving for an enlightened and esoteric religion. The outward forms of superstition were ready for the vulgar multitude; the interpretation was confined to the aristocracy of knowledge, the self-styled Gnostics (1 Tim. vi. 20.); and we see the tendencies at work among the latter, when we learn that, like their prototypes at Corinth, they denied the future resurrection of the dead, and taught that the only true resurrection was that which took place when the soul awoke from the death of ignorance to the life of knowledge.[3] We recognise already the germ of those heresies which convulsed the Church in the succeeding century; and we may imagine the grief and indignation aroused in the breast of St. Paul, when he found the extent of the evil, and the number of Christian converts already infected by the spreading plague.

Nevertheless, it is evident from the Epistles to Timotheus and Titus, written about this time, that he was prevented by other duties from staying

[1] See Remond's *Ausbreitung des Judenthums*, § 31.

[2] This hypothesis best explains the subsequent transactions recorded in the Pastoral Epistles. See note in the Appendix on their date, and the Chronological Table given in the Appendix.

[3] See Vol. I. p. 483.

in this oriental region so long as his presence was required. He left his disciples to do that which, had circumstances permitted, he would have done himself. He was plainly hurried from one point to another. Perhaps also he had lost some of his former energy. This might well be the case, if we consider all he had endured during thirty years of labour. The physical hardships which he had undergone were of themselves sufficient to wear out the most robust constitution; and we know that his health was already broken many years before.[1] But in addition to these bodily trials, the moral conflicts which he continually encountered could not fail to tire down the elasticity of his spirit. The hatred manifested by so large and powerful a section even of the Christian Church; the destruction of so many early friendships; the faithless desertion of followers; the crowd of anxieties which pressed upon him daily, and "the care of all the Churches;" must needs have preyed upon the mental energy of any man, but especially of one whose temperament was so ardent and impetuous. When approaching the age of seventy[2], he might well be worn out both in body and mind. And this will account for the comparative want of vigour and energy which has been attributed to the Pastoral Epistles, if there be any such deficiency; and may perhaps also be in part the cause of his opposing those errors by deputy, which we might rather have expected him to uproot by his own personal exertions.

However, this may be, he seems not to have remained for any long time together at Ephesus, but to have been called away from thence, first to Macedonia[3], and afterwards to Crete[4]; and immediately on his return from thence, he appears finally to have left Ephesus for Rome, by way of Corinth.[5] But here we are anticipating our narrative: we must return to the first of these hurried journeys, when he departed from Ephesus to Macedonia, leaving the care of the Ephesian Church to Timotheus, and charging him especially with the duty of counteracting the efforts of those heretical teachers whose dangerous character we have described.

When he arrived in Macedonia, he found that his absence might possibly be prolonged beyond what he had expected; and he probably felt that Timotheus might need some more explicit credential from himself than a mere verbal commission, to enable him for a longer period to exercise that Apostolic authority over the Ephesian Church, wherewith he had invested him. It would also be

[1] See Gal. iv. 13—14., and 2 Cor. xii. 7—9.

[2] See Vol. I. p. 69., and compare Philem. 9. and the Chronological Table in the Appendix.

[3] 1 Tim. i. 3.

[4] Titus i. 5.

[5] 2 Tim. iv. 20.

desirable that Timotheus should be able, in his struggle with the heretical teachers, to exhibit documentary proof of St. Paul's agreement with himself, and condemnation of the opposing doctrines. Such seem to have been the principal motives which led St. Paul to despatch from Macedonia that which is known as "the First Epistle to Timothy;" in which are contained various rules for the government of the Ephesian Church, such as would be received with submission when thus seen to proceed directly from its Apostolic founder, while they would perhaps have been less readily obeyed, if seeming to be the spontaneous injunctions of the youthful Timotheus. In the same manner it abounds with impressive denunciations against the false teachers at Ephesus, which might command the assent of some who turned a deaf ear to the remonstrances of the Apostolic deputy. There are also exhortations to Timotheus himself, some of which perhaps were rather meant to bear an indirect application to others, at the time, as they have ever since furnished a treasury of practical precepts for the Christian Church.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHEUS.[1]

1.1 PAUL, an Apostle of Jesus Christ, by command of God our Salutation.
2 Saviour and Christ Jesus[2] our hope, TO TIMOTHEUS MY TRUE SON IN[3] FAITH.

Grace, Mercy, and Peace, from God our father, and Christ Jesus our Lord.

3 As I desired thee to remain in Ephesus[4], when I was Timotheus is reminded of the commission given him to oppose
setting out for Macedonia, that thou mightest command
4 certain persons not to teach[5] falsely, nor to pursue fables and

[1] For the date of this Epistle see the Appendix.

[2] Κυρίου is omitted in the best MSS.

[3] Not "*the* faith" (A. V.), which would require τῇ.

[4] This sentence is left incomplete. Probably St. Paul meant to complete it by "So I still desire thee," or something to that effect; but forgot to express this, as he continued to dictate the subjects of his charge to Timotheus.

[5] Ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν occurs nowhere but in this Epistle.

the false teachers.

endless[1] genealogies, which furnish ground for disputation, rather than for the exercising of the stewardship[2] of God in faith.

Now the end of the commandment is love, proceeding 1.5.
from a pure heart, and good conscience, and undissembled
faith. Which some have missed, and have turned aside to 6
vain babbling, desiring to be teachers of the Law[3], under- 7
standing neither what they say nor whereof they affirm.
But we know that the Law is good, if a man use it lawfully; 8
knowing this, that the[4] Law is not enacted for a[5] righteous 9
man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the impious and
sinful, for the unholy and profane, for parricides[6] and mur-
derers, for fornicators, sodomites, slave-dealers[7], liars, per- 10
jurers, and whatsoever else is contrary to sound doctrine.
Such is the glorious Glad-tidings of the blessed God, which 11
was committed to my trust.

The commission and calling of Paul.

And I thank Him who has strengthened my heart[8], 12
Christ Jesus our Lord, that He accounted me faithful, and
appointed me to minister unto His service, who was before 13
a blasphemer and persecutor, and doer of outrage; but I
received mercy, because I acted ignorantly, in unbelief. And 14
the grace of our Lord abounded beyond[9] measure, with

[1] See Vol. I. p. 484., and Titus iii. 9.

[2] Οἰκονομίαν (not οἰκοδομίαν) is the reading of the MSS. Compare 1 Cor. ix. 17., οἰκονομίαν πεπίστευμαι. It would seem from this expression that the false teachers in Ephesus were among the number of the presbyters, which would agree with the anticipation expressed in Acts xx. 30.

[3] We have before observed (Vol. I. p. 490.) that the expression νομοδιδάσκαλοι may be taken in two ways; either to denote Judaizers, who insisted on the permanent obligation of the Mosaic Law (which seems to suit the context best), or to denote Platonising expounders of the Law, like Philo, who professed to teach the true and deep view of the Law. To suppose (with Baur) that a Gnostic like Marcion, who rejected the Law altogether, could be called νομοδιδάσκαλος, is (to say the least of it) a very unnatural hypothesis.

[4] Νόμος is anarthral here (as often when thus used) in accordance with the rule laid down by Winer, § 18. 1. Compare Rom. ii. 12., iii. 31., iv. 13., &c.

[5] Compare Gal. v. 18., εἰ πνεύματι ἄγεσθε, οὐκ ἐστὲ ὑπὸ νόμον, and the note on that passage.

[6] This word in English includes both πατραλῴαις and μητραλῴαις.

[7] This is the literal translation of the word ἀνδραποδισταῖς.

[8] Ἐνδυν. Cf. Rom. iv. 20., and Eph. vi. 10.

[9] Compare Rom. v. 20., ὑπερεπερίσσευσεν ἡ χάρις.

1. 15. faith and love which is in Christ Jesus. Faithful is the saying[1], and worthy of all acceptation, "*Christ Jesus came into the*
16 *world to save sinners;*" of whom I am first. But for this cause I received mercy, that in me first Jesus Christ might shew forth all His long suffering, for a pattern of those who
17 should hereafter believe on Him unto life everlasting. Now to the king[2] eternal, immortal, invisible, the only[3] God, be honour and glory unto the ages of ages. Amen.

Timotheus is enjoined to fulfil his commission.

18 This charge I commit unto thee, son Timotheus, according to the former prophecies[4] concerning thee; that in the strength thereof thou mayest fight the good fight, holding
19 faith and a good conscience, which some have cast away, and
20 made shipwreck concerning the faith. Among whom are Hymenæus[5] and Alexander, whom I delivered over unto Satan[6] that they might be taught by[7] punishment not to blaspheme.

Directions for public worship and the behaviour of men and

II. 1 I exhort therefore, that first of all[8], supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for all men;
2 for kings[9] and all that are in authority, that we may lead a

[1] See note on iii. 15.

[2] This seems the best interpretation of *βασιλεῖ τῶν αἰώνων*; compare Apoc. xi. 15.

[3] *Σοφῷ* is omitted in the best MSS.

[4] These prophecies were probably made at the time when Timotheus was first called to the service of Christ. Compare Acts xiii. 1, 2, when the will of God for the mission of Paul and Barnabas was indicated by the Prophets of the Church of Antioch.

[5] These are probably the same mentioned in the second Epistle (2 Tim. ii. 17. and iv. 14.). Baur and De Wette argue that this passage is inconsistent with the hypothesis that 2 Tim. was written after 1 Tim.; because Hymenæus (who in this place is described as excommunicated and cut off from the Church) appears in 2 Tim. as a false teacher still active in the Church. But there is nothing at all inconsistent in this; for example, the incestuous man at Corinth, who had the very same sentence passed on him (1 Cor. v. 5.), was restored to the Church in a few months, on his repentance. De Wette also says that in 2 Tim. ii. 17. Hymenæus appears to be mentioned to Timotheus *for the first time;* but this (we think) will not be the opinion of any one who takes an unprejudiced view of that passage.

[6] On this expression, see the note on 1 Cor. v. 5.

[7] *Παιδευθῶσι* has this meaning. Cf. Luke xxiii. 16. and 2 Cor. vi. 9.

[8] "First of all," namely, at the beginning of public worship. This explanation, which is Chrysostom's, seems preferable to that adopted by De Wette, Huther, and others, who take it to mean "above all things." It is clear from what follows (verse 8.) that St. Paul is speaking of public prayer, which he here directs to be commenced by intercessory prayer.

[9] Here we see a precept directed against the seditious temper which prevailed (as we have

women thereat.

quiet and peaceable life in all godliness[1] and gravity. For 3
this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, 4
who wills that all men should be saved, and should come to
the knowledge[2] of the truth. For [over all] there is but[3] 5
one God, and one mediator between God and men, the
man[4] Christ Jesus, who gave Himself a ransom for all men, 6
to be testified in due time. And of this testimony I was 7
appointed herald and apostle (I speak the truth in Christ, I lie
not), a teacher of the Gentiles, in faith and truth. I desire, 8
then, that in every place[5] the men[6] should offer up prayers,
lifting up their hands[7] in holiness, putting away anger and
disputation. Likewise, also, that the women should come[8] 9
in seemly apparel, adorned with modesty and self-restraint[9];
not in braided hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly garments,
but (as befits women professing godliness) with the ornament 10
of good works. Let women learn in silence, with entire 11
submission. But I permit not a woman to teach, nor to claim 12
authority over the man, but to keep silence. (For Adam
was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived; 13
but the woman was deceived, and became a transgressor.) 14
But women will be saved[10] by the bearing of children; if they 15
continue in faith and love and holiness, with self-restraint.

already seen, Vol. I. p. 487. and 490.) among some of the early heretics. Compare Jude viii. and 2 Pet. ii. 9. and Rom. xiii. 1.

[1] Εὐσεβεία. This term for *Christian piety* is not used by St. Paul except in the Pastoral Epistles. See Appendix. It is used by St. Peter (2 Pet. i. 6.) and by Clemens Romanus in the same sense.

[2] For the meaning of ἐπίγνωσις compare 2 Tim. iii. 7. and Rom. x. 2. and 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

[3] Εἷς γὰρ θεός. This is the same sentiment as Rom. iii. 29, 30.

[4] The *manhood* of our Lord is here insisted on, because thereon rests his *mediation*. Compare Heb. ii. 14. and iv. 15.

[5] Chrysostom thinks that there is a contrast between Christian worship, which could be offered in *every place*, and the *Jewish* sacrifices, which could only be offered in the temple.

[6] The *men*, not the *women*, were to officiate.

[7] This was the Jewish attitude in prayer. Cf. Ps. lxiii. 4.

[8] After γυναῖκας we must supply προσεύχεσθαι (as Chrysostom does) or something equivalent.

[9] It is a peculiarity of the Pastoral Epistles to dwell very frequently on the virtue of σωφροσύνη or *self-restraint*. See list of the peculiarities of the Pastoral Epistles in Appendix.

[10] Διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας cannot mean "*in* child-bearing." (A. V.) The Apostle's meaning is that women are to be kept in the path of safety, not by taking upon themselves the office of the man (by taking a public part in the assemblies of the Church, &c.), but by the performance of the

III. 1 Faithful is the saying, "*if a man seeks the office of a* Directions for the appointment of Presbyters.
2 *Bishop*[1], *he desires a good work.*" A Bishop[2], then, must be free from reproach, the husband[3] of one wife, sober, self-
3 restrained, orderly, hospitable[4], skilled in teaching; not given to wine or brawls[5], but gentle, peaceable, and liberal;
4 ruling his own household well, keeping his children in sub-
5 jection with all gravity — (but if a man knows not how to rule his own household, how can he take charge of the Church of
6 God?) — not a novice, lest he be blinded with pride and fall
7 into the condemnation of the Devil. Moreover, he ought to have a good reputation among those who are without the Church; lest he fall into reproach, and into a snare of the Devil.[6]

8 Likewise, the Deacons must be men of gravity, not Directions for the appointment of Deacons.
double-tongued, not given to much wine, not greedy of gain,
9 holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience. And
10 let these also be first tried, and after trial be made Deacons,
11 if they are found irreproachable. Their wives[7], likewise,

peculiar functions which God has assigned to their sex.

[1] It should not be forgotten that the word ἐπίσκοπος is used in the Pastoral Epistles as synonymous with πρεσβύτερος. See Vol. I. p. 465. and Tit. i. 5. compared with i. 7.

[2] Τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, rightly translated in A. V. "A bishop," not *the b*, in spite of the article. See note on Tit. i. 7.

[3] Μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἀνδρα (Cf. iii. 12., v. 9., and Tit. i. 6.). Many different interpretations have been given to this precept. It has been supposed (1) to prescribe marriage, (2) to forbid polygamy, (3) to forbid second marriages. The true interpretation seems to us to be as follows: — In the corrupt facility of divorce allowed both by the Greek and Roman law, it was very common for man and wife to separate, and marry other parties, during the life of one another. Thus a man might have three or four living wives; or, rather, women who had all successively been his wives. An example of the operation of a similar code is unhappily to be found in our own colony of Mauritius: there the French Revolutionary law of divorce has been suffered by the English government to remain unrepealed; and it is not uncommon to meet in society three or four women who have all been the wives of the same man, and three or four men who have all been the husbands of the same woman. We believe it is this kind of *successive* polygamy, rather than *simultaneous* polygamy, which is here spoken of, as disqualifying for the Presbyterate. So Beza.

[4] Φιλοξενον. Compare Heb. xiii. 2. and v. 10., ἐξενοδόχησεν.

[5] Μὴ αἰσχροκερδῆ is omitted in the best MSS.

[6] See note on 2 Tim. ii. 26.

[7] We agree with Huther in thinking the authorised version correct here, notwithstanding the great authority of Chrysostom in ancient, and De Wette and others in modern times, who interpret γυναῖκας *deaconesses*. On that view, the verse is most unnaturally interpolated in the midst of the discussion concerning the Deacons.

must be women of gravity, not slanderers, sober and faithful, in all things. Let the Deacons be husbands of one wife, fitly III. 11
ruling their children and their own households. For those 13
who have well performed the office of a Deacon, gain for themselves a good position[1], and great boldness in the faith of Christ Jesus.

Reason for writing these directions to Timotheus.

These things I write to thee, although I hope to come to 14
thee shortly; but in order that (if I should be delayed) thou 15
mayest know how to conduct thyself in the house of God (for such is the Church of the living God[2]) as a pillar and main-stay of the truth. And, without contradiction, great is 16
the mystery of godliness — "*God*[3] *was manifested in the flesh, justified*[4] *in the Spirit; beheld by angels, preached among the Gentiles; believed on in the world, received up in glory.*"[5]

False teachers to be expelled; their characteristics and the mode of resisting them.

Now the Spirit declares expressly, that in after times IV. 1.
some will depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and teachings of dæmons, speaking[6] lies in hypocrisy, 2
having their conscience seared; hindering marriage[7], enjoin- 3

[1] This verse is introduced by *γάρ*, as giving a reason for the previous directions, viz. the great importance of having *good* Deacons; such men, by the fit performance of the office, gained a high position in the community, and acquired (by constant intercourse with different classes of men) a boldness in maintaining their principles, which was of great advantage to them afterwards, and to the Church of which they were subsequently to become Presbyters.

[2] In this much disputed passage, we adopt the interpretation given by Gregory of Nyssa. Ὁ *θεῖος ἀπόστολος τὸν Τιμόθεον στύλον καλὸν ἐτεκτήνατο, ποιήσας αὐτὸν στύλον καὶ ἑδραίωμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας.* (Greg. Nyss. de Vitâ Mosis.) So the passage was understood (as Mr. Stanley observes) by the Church of Lyons (A.D. 177), for in their Epistle the same expression is applied to Attalus the Martyr. So, also, St. Paul speaks of the chief Apostles at Jerusalem as *στύλοι* (Gal. ii. 9.); and so, in Apoc. iii. 12., we find the Christian who is undaunted by persecution described as *στύλον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ*. The objection to Gregory's view, that it would require *στύλον*, is untenable; for *στύλος* is quite as correctly put in the nominative, in apposition to the *σν* involved in *εἰδῇς*; and a Greek writer of the 4th century may be allowed to be at least as good a judge on this point as his modern opponents.

[3] We retain the received text here, considering the divided testimony of the MSS.

[4] Ἐδικαιώθη, justified against gainsayers, as being what he claimed to be.

[5] There can be little doubt that this is a quotation from some Christian hymn or creed. Such quotations in the Pastoral Epistles (of which there are five introduced by the same expression, *πίστος ὁ λόγος*) correspond with the late date generally assigned to these Epistles.

[6] Ψευδολόγων is most naturally taken with *δαιμονίων*; but St. Paul, while grammatically speaking of the dæmons, is really speaking of the false teachers who acted under their impulse.

[7] With regard to the nature of the heresies here spoken of, see Vol. I. p. 481—485. We observe a strong admixture of the Jewish ele-

ing abstinence from meats, which God created to be received with thanksgiving by those who believe and have[1] knowledge
IV. 4 of the truth. For all things created by God are good, and nothing is to be rejected, if it be received with thanksgiving.
5 For it is sanctified by the Word of God[2] and prayer.
6 In thus instructing the brethren, thou wilt be a good servant of Jesus Christ, nourishing thyself with the words of
7 the faith and good doctrine which thou hast followed. Reject the fables of profane and doting teachers, but train thyself[3]
8 for the contests of godliness. For the training of the body is profitable for a little; but godliness is profitable for all things, having promise of the present life, and of the life
9 to come. Faithful is the saying, and worthy of all accept-
10 ation, — "*For to this end we endure labour and reproach, because we have set our hope on the living God, who is the saviour of all*[4] *mankind, specially of the faithful.*"
11 These things enjoin and teach; let no man despise thy Duties of Timotheus.
12 youth[5], but make thyself a pattern of the faithful, in word,
13 in life, in love[6], in faith, in purity. Until I come, apply thy-

ment (exactly like that which prevailed, as we have seen, in the Colossian heresies) in the prohibition of *particular kinds of food* (*βρωμάτων*); compare verse 4., and Col. ii. 16. and Col. ii. 21, 22. This shows the very early date of this Epistle, and contradicts the hypothesis of Baur as to its origin. At the same time there is also an Anti-Judaical element, as we have remarked above, Vol. I. p. 484. note 7.

[1] See note on 1 Tim. ii. 4.

[2] We have a specimen of what is meant by this verse, in the following beautiful "Grace before Meat," which was used in the primitive Church: Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε, ὁ τρέφων με ἐκ νεότητός μου, ὁ διδοὺς τροφὴν πάσῃ σαρκί. πλήρωσον χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν, ἵνα πάντοτε πᾶσαν αὐταρκείαν ἔχοντες περισσεύωμεν εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, δι' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ κράτος, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. (Apostolical Constitutions, vii. 49.) The expression λόγου Θεοῦ probably implies that the thanksgiving was commonly made in some Scriptural words, taken, for example, out of the Psalms, as are several expressions in the above *Grace*.

[3] It seems, from a comparison of this with the following verse, that the false teachers laid great stress on a training of the body by ascetic practices. For the metaphorical language, borrowed from the contests of the Palæstra, compare 1 Cor. ix. 27., and Vol. II. p. 203.

[4] The prominence given to this truth of the universality of salvation in this Epistle (compare ii. 4.) seems to imply that it was denied by the Ephesian false teachers. So the Gnostics considered salvation as belonging only to the enlightened few, who, in their system, constituted a kind of spiritual aristocracy. See Vol. I. p. 482.

[5] Compare 2 Tim. ii. 22. and the remarks in Appendix I.

[6] The words *ἐν πνεύματι* are omitted in the best MSS.

self to public[1] reading, exhortation, and teaching. Neglect IV. 14
not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy[2] with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery.
Let these things be thy care; give thyself wholly to them; 15
that thy improvement may be manifest to all men. Give heed 16
to thyself and to thy teaching; continue stedfast therein.[3]
For in so doing, thou shalt save both thyself and thy hearers.

Rebuke not an aged[4] man, but exhort him as thou V. 1
wouldest a father; treat young men as brothers; the aged 2
women as mothers; the young as sisters, in all purity.

Widows are to be supported.

Pay due regard[5] to the widows who are friendless in 3
their widowhood. But if any widow has children or grand- 4
children, let them learn to shew their godliness first[6] towards
their own household, and to requite their parents; for this
is acceptable[7] in the sight of God. The widow who is 5
friendless and desolate in her widowhood, sets her hope on
God, and continues in supplications and prayers night and
day; but she who lives in wantonness is dead while she lives; 6
and hereof do thou admonish them, that they may be irre- 7
proachable. But if any man provide not for his own[8], and 8
especially for his kindred, he has denied the faith, and is
worse than an unbeliever.

Qualifications

A widow, to be placed upon the[9] list, must be not less 9

[1] Ἀνάγνωσις does not mean reading in the sense of *study*, but *reading aloud to others*; the books so read were (at this period) probably those of the Old Testament, and perhaps the earlier gospels.

[2] Compare with this passage 1 Tim. i. 18., and the note.

[3] This αὐτοῖς is very perplexing; but it may most naturally be referred to the preceding ταῦτα.

[4] Chrysostom has remarked that we must not take πρεσβυτέρῳ here in its official sense; compare the following πρεσβυτέρας.

[5] The *widows* were from the first supported out of the funds of the Church. See Acts vi. 1.

[6] Πρῶτον: i.e. before they pretend to make professions of godliness in other matters, let them shew its fruits towards their own kindred.

[7] The best MSS. omit καλὸν καὶ.

[8] *His own* would include his slaves and dependents. So Cyprian requires the Christian masters to tend their sick slaves in a pestilence. (Cyp. de Mortalitate.)

[9] It is a disputed point, *what list* is referred to in this word καταλεγέσθω; whether (1) it means *the list of widows to be supported out of the charitable fund*, or (2) *the list of deaconesses* (for which office the age of sixty seems too old), or (3) the τάγμα χηρῶν or body of *church-widows* who are mentioned by Tertullian (de

than sixty years of age, having been the wife of one husband [1]; of widows on the list.
v. 10 she must be well reported of for good deeds, as one who has brought up children, received strangers with hospitality, washed the feet of Christ's people, relieved the distressed,
11 and diligently followed every good work. But younger widows reject; for when they have become wanton against
12 Christ, they desire to marry; and thereby incur condemnation,
13 because they have broken their former [2] promise. Moreover, they learn [3] to be idle, wandering about from house to house; and not only idle, but tattlers also and busy-bodies, speaking
14 things which ought not to be spoken. I wish therefore that younger widows should marry, bear children, rule their households, and give no occasion to the adversary for reproach.
15 For already some of them have gone astray after Satan.
16 If there are widows dependent on any believer (whether man or woman), let those on whom they depend relieve them, and let not the Church be burdened with them; that it may relieve the widows who are destitute.

Veland. Virg. c. 9.), and by other writers, as a kind of female Presbyters, having a distinct ecclesiastical position and duties. The point is discussed by De Wette (*in loco*), Huther p. 167, and Wiesinger p. 507—522. We are disposed to take a middle course between the first and third hypotheses; by supposing, viz., that the *list* here mentioned was that of all the widows who were *officially recognised* as supported by the Church; but was not confined to such persons, but included also richer widows, who were willing to devote themselves to the offices assigned to the pauper widows. It has been argued that we cannot suppose that needy widows who did not satisfy the conditions of verse 9., would be *excluded* from the benefit of the fund; nor need we suppose this; but since *all* could scarcely be supported, certain conditions were prescribed, which must be satisfied before any one could be considered as officially *entitled* to a place on the list. From the class of widows thus formed, the subsequent τάγμα χηρῶν would naturally result. There is not the slightest ground for supposing that χηραὶ here means *virgins*, as Baur has imagined. His opinion is well refuted by Wiesinger, p. 520—522., and by De Wette *in loco*.

[1] For the meaning of this, see note on iii. 2.

[2] Πίστιν ἀθετεῖν means *to break a promise*, and is so explained by Chrysostom, and by Augustine (in Ps. 75.). Hence we see that, when a widow was received into the number of *church-widows*, a promise was required from her (or virtually understood) that she would devote herself for life to the employments which these widows undertook; viz. the education of orphans, and superintendence of the younger women. There is no trace here of the subsequent ascetic *disapprobation* of second marriages, as is evident from verse 14., where the younger widows are expressly desired to marry again. This also confirms our view of the ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς γυνή. See note on iii. 2.

[3] Ἀργαὶ μανθάνουσι. A peculiar construction, but not unexampled in classical Greek; see Huther, p. 174. Winer explains it in the same way.

Government of the Presbyters.

Let the Presbyters who perform their office well be 17
counted worthy of a twofold[1] honour, especially those[2] who
labour in speaking and teaching. For the Scripture saith, 18
"Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn;"[3]
and "*the labourer is worthy of his hire.*"[4]

Against a Presbyter receive no accusation except on the 19
testimony[5] of two or three witnesses. Rebuke the offenders 20
in the presence of all, that others also may fear. I adjure 21
thee, before God and[6] Christ Jesus and the chosen[7] angels,
that thou observe these things without prejudice against any
man, and do nothing out of partiality.

Ordination.

Lay hands hastily on no man, nor make thyself[8] a par- 22
taker in the sins committed by another. Keep thyself pure.

Particular and general cautions.

Drink no longer water only, but use a little wine, for the 23
sake of thy stomach, and thy frequent maladies.

[In thy decisions remember that] the sins of some men 24
are manifest before-hand, and lead the way to their con-
demnation; but the sins of others are not seen till after-
wards. Likewise, also, the good deeds of some men are 25
conspicuous; and those which they conceal cannot be kept
hidden.

[1] Τιμῆς here seems (from the next verse) to imply the notion of *reward*. Compare τιμᾶ in verse 3. above. Upon a carnal misinterpretation of this verse was founded the disgusting practice, which prevailed in the third century, of setting a double portion of meat before the Presbyters, in the feasts of love.

[2] In Vol. I. p. 466. we observed that the offices of πρεσβύτερος and διδάσκαλος were united, at the date of the Pastoral Epistles, in the same persons; which is shown by διδακτικός being a qualification required in a Presbyter, 1 Tim. iii. 2. But though this union must in all cases have been desirable, we find, from this passage, that there were still some πρεσβύτεροι who were not διδάσκαλοι, i. e. who did not perform the office of public instruction in the congregation. This is another strong proof of the early date of the Epistle.

[3] This quotation (Deut. xxv. 4.) is applied to the same purpose, 1 Cor. ix. 9. (where the words are quoted in a reverse order). The LXX. agrees with 1 Cor. ix. 9.

[4] Luke x. 7.

[5] This rule is founded on the Mosaic jurisprudence, Deut. xix. 5., and appealed to by St. Paul, 2 Cor. xiii. 1.

[6] Κυρίου is omitted by the best MSS.

[7] By the *chosen* angels are probably meant those especially selected by God as His messengers to the human race, such as Gabriel.

[8] The meaning of the latter part of this verse is, that Timotheus, if he ordained unfit persons (*e. g.* friends or relations) out of partiality, would thereby make himself a participator in their sins.

Duties of slaves.

VI. 1 Let those who are under the yoke as bondsmen, esteem their masters worthy of all honour, lest reproach be brought
2 upon the name of God and His doctrine. And let those whose masters are believers not despise them because they are brethren, but serve them with the more subjection, because they who claim [1] the benefit are believing and beloved. Thus teach thou, and exhort.

False teachers rebuked; their covetousness.

3 If any man teach falsely, and consent not to the sound words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the godly
4 doctrine, he is blinded with pride, and understands nothing, but is filled with a sickly [2] appetite for disputations and contentions about words, whence arise envy, strife, reproaches,
5 evil suspicions, violent collisions [3] of men whose mind is corrupted, and who are destitute of the truth; who think
6 that godliness [4] is a gainful trade.[5] But godliness with con-
7 tentment is truly gainful; for we brought nothing into the
8 world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out; but
9 having food and shelter, let us be therewith content. They who seek for riches fall into temptations and snares, and many foolish and hurtful desires, which drown men in ruin
10 and destruction. For the love of money is a root of all evils; and some, through coveting it, have been led astray from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows.

Exhortations to Timotheus.

11 But thou, O man of God, flee these things; and follow
12 after righteousness, godliness, faith, love, stedfastness[6], meekness. Fight the good fight[7] of faith, lay hold on eternal life, to which thou[8] wast called, and didst confess the

[1] The A. V. is inconsistent with the article *οἱ*. The verb *ἀντιλαμβάνομαι* has the sense of *claim* in classical Greek (Arist. Ran. 777.), though not elsewhere in the N. T.

[2] *Νοσῶν περὶ*—antithesis to *ὑγιαίνουσι* above. Compare Plato Phædr. *ὁ νοσῶν περὶ λόγων ἀκοήν.*

[3] The best MSS. read *διαπαρατριβαί*. The original meaning of *παρατριβή* is *friction.*

[4] The A. V. here reverses the true order, and violates the laws of the article.

[5] The words *ἀφίστασο ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων* are not found here in the best MSS.

[6] *Ὑπομονήν, stedfast endurance under persecution.*

[7] Here we have another of those metaphors from the Greek games, so frequent with St. Paul. See 2 Tim. iv. 7.

[8] *Καὶ* is omitted by the best MSS.

good[1] confession before many witnesses. I charge thee in vi. 13
the presence of God who gives life to all things, and Christ
Jesus who bore testimony under Pontius Pilate[2] to the good
confession, that thou keep that which thou art commanded, 14
spotlessly and irreproachably, until the appearing of our
Lord Jesus Christ; which shall in due time be made mani- 15
fest by the blessed and only[3] potentate, the King of kings, 16
and Lord of lords; who only hath immortality, dwelling in
light unapproachable; whom no man hath seen, nor can see;
to whom be honour and power everlasting. Amen.

Duties of the rich.

Charge those who are rich in this present world, not to 17
be high-minded, nor to trust in uncertain riches, but in[4]
God, who provides all things richly for our use. Charge 18
them to practise benevolence, to be rich in good works,
to be bountiful and generous, and thus to store up for them- 19
selves a good foundation for the time to come, that they may
lay hold on eternal[5] life.

Timotheus again reminded of

O Timotheus, guard[6] the treasure which is committed to 20
thy trust, and avoid the profane babblings and antitheses[7] of

[1] "*The* (not *a*) good confession" means the confession of faith in Jesus as the Christ. (Compare Rom. x. 10.) Timotheus had probably been a confessor of Christ in persecution, either at Rome or elsewhere; or it is possible that the allusion here may be to his baptism.

[2] For this use of μαρτυρῶ with the accusative, compare John iii. 32., ὁ ἑώρακε, τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖ. Our Lord testified before Pontius Pilate that He was the Messiah.

[3] Μόνος. This seems to allude to the same polytheistic notions of incipient Gnosticism which are opposed in Col. i. 16.

[4] Τῷ ζῶντι is omitted by the best MSS.

[5] The majority of MSS. read τῆς ὄντως ζωῆς, *the true life*, which is equivalent to the received text.

[6] The παρακαταθηκή here mentioned is probably the pastoral office of superintending the Church of Ephesus, which was committed by St. Paul to Timotheus. Cf. 2 Tim. i. 14.

[7] Ἀντιθέσεις. There is not the slightest ground (as even De Wette allows) for supposing, with Baur, that this expression is to be understood of the *contrariæ oppositiones* (or contrasts between Law and Gospel) of Marcion. If there be an allusion to any Gnostic *doctrines* at all, it is more probable that it is to the *dualistic* opposition between the principles of good and evil in the world, which was an Oriental element in the philosophy of some of the early Gnostics. But the most natural interpretation (considering the junction with κενοφωνίας, and the λογομαχίας ascribed to the heretics above, vi. 4.) is to suppose that St. Paul here speaks, not of the *doctrines*, but of the dialectical and rhetorical arts of the false teachers.

vi. 21 the falsely-named "Knowledge;"[1] which some professing, have erred concerning the faith. His commission.

Grace be with thee.[2] Concluding benediction.

The expectations which St. Paul expressed in the above letter of a more prolonged absence from Ephesus, could scarcely have been fulfilled; for soon after[3] we find that he had been in Crete (which seems to imply that, on his way thither, he had passed through Ephesus), and was now again on his way westwards. We must suppose, then, that he returned shortly from Macedonia to Ephesus, as he hoped, though doubtfully, to be able to do when he wrote to Timotheus. From Ephesus, as we have just said, he soon afterwards made an expedition to Crete. It can scarcely be supposed that the Christian Churches of Crete were first founded during this visit of St. Paul; on the contrary, many indications in the Epistle to Titus show that they had already lasted for a considerable time. But they were troubled by false teachers, and probably had never yet been properly organised, having originated, perhaps, in the private efforts of individual Christians, who would have been supplied with a centre of operations and nucleus of Churches by the numerous colonies of Jews established in the island.[4] St. Paul now visited them in company with Titus[5],

[1] From this passage we see that the heretics here opposed by St. Paul laid claim to a peculiar philosophy, or Γνῶσις. Thus they were *Gnostics*, at all events *in name*; how far their *doctrines* agreed with those of later Gnostics, is a farther question. We have before seen that there were those at Corinth (1 Cor. viii. 1. 10, 11.) who were blamed by St. Paul for claiming a high degree of γνῶσις; and we have seen him condemn the φιλοσοφία of the heretics at Colossæ (Col. ii. 8.), who appear to bear the closest resemblance to those condemned in the Pastoral Epistles. See Vol. I. p. 481—492.

[2] Ἀμήν is not found in the best MSS.

[3] See note on the date of the Pastoral Epistles in the Appendix.

[4] Philo mentions Crete as one of the seats of the Jewish dispersion; see Vol. I. p. 19.

[5] For the earlier mention of Titus, see above, pp. 124, 125. There is some interest in mentioning the traditionary recollections of him, which remain in the island of Crete. One Greek legend says that he was the nephew of a proconsul of Crete, another that he was descended from Minos. The cathedral of Megalo-Castron on the north of the island was dedicated to him. His name was the watchword of the Cretans, when they fought against the Venetians, who came under the standard of St. Mark. The Venetians themselves, when here, "seem to have transferred to him part of that respect, which, elsewhere, would probably have been manifested for Mark alone. During the celebration of several great festivals of the Church, the response of the Latin clergy of Crete, after the prayer for the Doge of Venice, was *Sancte Marce tu nos adjuva*; but, after that for the Duke of Candia, *Sancte Tite, tu nos adjuva*." Pashley's Travels in Crete, vol. i. p. 6 and 175.

whom he left in Crete as his representative on his departure. He himself was unable to remain long enough to do what was needful, either in silencing error, or in selecting fit persons as presbyters of the numerous scattered Churches, which would manifestly be a work of time. Probably he confined his efforts to a few of the principal places, and empowered Titus to do the rest. Thus, Titus was left at Crete in the same position which Timotheus had occupied at Ephesus during St. Paul's recent absence; and there would, consequently, be the same advantage in his receiving written directions from St. Paul concerning the government and organisation of the Church, which we have before mentioned in the case of Timotheus. Accordingly, shortly after leaving Crete, St. Paul sent a letter to Titus, the outline of which would equally serve for that of the former Epistle. But St. Paul's letter to Titus seems to have been still further called for, to meet some strong opposition which that disciple had encountered while attempting to carry out his master's directions. This may be inferred from the very severe remarks against the Cretans which occur in the Epistle, and from the statement, at its commencement, that the very object which its writer had in view, in leaving Titus in Crete, was that he might appoint Presbyters in the Cretan Churches; an indication that his claim to exercise this authority had been disputed. This Epistle seems to have been despatched from Ephesus at the moment when St. Paul was on the eve of departure on a westward journey, which was to take him as far as Nicopolis[1] (in Epirus) before the winter. The following is a translation of this Epistle.

THE EPISTLE TO TITUS.[2]

Salutation. PAUL, A BONDSMAN OF GOD, AND AN APOSTLE OF JESUS CHRIST sent forth[3] to bring God's chosen to faith, and to the[4] knowledge of the truth which is according to godliness[5], with hope of eternal life, which God, who cannot lie, promised before the times of old[6]; (but

1.1 2 3

[1] See below, p. 481., note 4.

[2] For the date of this Epistle, see the Appendix.

[3] The original here is perplexing, but seems to admit of no other sense than this; ἀπόστολος κατὰ τιμωρίαν would mean *an apostle sent forth on an errand of punishment;* so ἀπόστολος κατὰ πίστιν means *an apostle sent forth on an errand of faith.* Compare 2 Tim. i. 1. ἀπόστολος κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν ζωῆς.

[4] For ἐπίγνωσις, see note on 1 Tim. ii. 4.

[5] Εὐσεβεία. See note on 1 Tim. ii. 2.

[6] Πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων: i. e. *in the old dispensation*; cf. Rom. xvi. 25. and note on 2 Tim. i. 9.

He made known His word in due season, in the message[1] committed to my trust by the command of God our
1.4 Saviour), — TO TITUS, MY TRUE SON IN OUR COMMON FAITH.

Grace and Peace[2] from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour.

Commission of Titus to regulate the Cretan Churches.

5 This was the [very] cause[3] why I left thee in Crete, that thou mightest farther[4] correct what is deficient, and appoint Presbyters in every city, as I gave thee commission.

Qualifications of Presbyters.

6 No man must be appointed a Presbyter but he who is without reproach, the husband of one wife[5], having believing children, who are not accused of riotous living, nor disobe-
7 dient; for a[6] Bishop must be free from reproach, as being a steward of God; not self-willed, not easily provoked, not
8 a lover of wine, not given to brawls, not greedy of gain; but hospitable to[7] strangers, a lover of good men, self-restrained[8],
9 just, holy, continent; holding fast the words which are faithful to our teaching, that he may be able both to exhort others in the sound[9] doctrine, and to rebuke the gain-sayers.

10 For there are many disobedient babblers and deceivers, Titus must

[1] Literally, *proclamation.*

[2] The best MSS. omit ἔλεος here.

[3] This commencement seems to indicate (as we have above remarked) that, in exercising the commission given to him by St. Paul for reforming the Cretan Church, Titus had been resisted.

[4] Ἐπιδιορθώσῃς, not simply διορθώσῃς (as in A. V.).

[5] This part of the Presbyter's qualifications has been very variously interpreted. See note on 1 Tim. iii. 2.

[6] Τὸν ἐπίσκοπον: rightly translated in A. V. "*a*" (not *the*) "bishop," because the article is only used generically. So, in English, "the reformer must be patient:" equivalent to "*a* reformer," &c. We see here a proof of the early date of this Epistle, in the synonymous use of ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος; the latter word designating the *rank*, the former the *duties*, of the Presbyter. The best translation here would be the term *overseer*, which is employed in the A.V. as a translation of ἐπίσκοπος, Acts xx. 28.; but, unfortunately, the term has associations in modern English which do not permit of its being thus used here. Compare with this passage 1 Tim. iii. 2.

[7] Cf. 3 John 5, 6. In the early Church, Christians travelling from one place to another were received and forwarded on their journey by their brethren; this is the "hospitality" so often commended in the New Testament.

[8] See the list in Appendix of words peculiarly used in the Pastoral Epistles, and note on 1 Tim. ii. 9.

[9] See the list above referred to.

oppose the false teachers.

specially they of the circumcision, whose mouths need[1] bit i. 11
and bridle; for they subvert whole houses, by teaching evil,
for the love of shameful gain. It was said by one of them- 12
selves, a prophet[2] of their own, —

"Always liars and beasts are the Cretans, and inwardly sluggish."

This testimony is true. Wherefore rebuke[3] them sharply, 13
that they may be sound in faith, and may no more give heed 14
to Jewish fables[4], and precepts[5] of men who turn away from
the truth. To the pure all things are pure[6]; but to the 15
polluted and unbelieving nothing is pure, but both their
understanding and their conscience is polluted. They profess 16
to know God, but by their works they deny Him, being
abominable and disobedient, and worthless[7] for any good
work.

Directions to Titus how he is to instruct those of different ages and sexes.

But do thou speak conformably to the sound doctrine. ii. 1
Exhort the aged men to be sober, grave, self-restrained, sound 2
in faith, in love, in stedfastness. Exhort the aged women, 3
likewise, to let their deportment testify of holiness, to keep
themselves from slander and from drunkenness, and to give
good instruction; that they may teach discretion to the 4
younger women, leading them to be loving wives and

[1] Ἐπιστομίζειν (ἵππον): *to put a bit and bridle upon* a horse.

[2] Epimenides of Crete, a poet who lived in the 6th century B.C., is the author quoted. His verses were reckoned oracular, whence the title "prophet." So by Plato he is called ἀνὴρ θεῖος (Legg. i. 642.), and by Plutarch, θεοφιλής (Sol. c. 12.).

[3] Ἔλεγχε seems to refer to the previous ἐλέγχειν (verse 9.).

[4] Μύθοις. See note on 1 Tim. iv. 7.

[5] Ἐντολαῖς: these *precepts* were probably those mentioned, 1 Tim. iv. 3., and Col. ii. 16—22. The "Jewish" element appears distinctly in the Colossian heretics (cf. σαββάτων, Col. ii. 16.), although it is not seen in the Epistles to Timothy. Comp. iii. 9., and see Vol. I. p. 484.

[6] It would seem from this, that the heretics attacked taught their followers to abstain from certain acts, or certain kinds of food, as being *impure*. We must not, however, conclude from this that they were *Ascetics*. Superstitious abstinence from certain material acts is quite compatible with gross impurity of teaching and of practice, as we see in the case of Hindoo devotees, and in those impure votaries of Cybele and of Isis, mentioned so often in Juvenal and other writers of the same date. The early Gnostics, here attacked, belonged apparently to that class who borrowed their theosophy from Jewish sources, and the *precepts of abstinence* which they imposed may probably have been derived from the Mosaic law. Their immorality is plainly indicated by the following words.

[7] Ἀδόκιμοι: literally, *unable to stand the test; i.e.* when tested by the call of duty, they fail.

II 5 loving mothers, self-restrained, chaste, keepers at home,
amiable and obedient to their husbands, lest reproach be
6 brought upon the Word of God. In like manner, do thou
7 exhort the young men to self-restraint. And show thyself His own conduct.
in all things a pattern of good works; manifesting in thy
8 teaching uncorruptness, gravity[1], soundness of doctrine not
to be condemned, that our adversaries may be shamed,
9 having no evil to say against us.[2] Exhort bondsmen to obey Duties of slaves.
their masters, and to strive to please them in all things,
10 without gain-saying; not purloining, but showing all good
fidelity, that they may adorn the doctrine of God our
11 Saviour in all things. For the grace of God has been made General motives of Christianity.
12 manifest, bringing salvation to all[3] mankind; teaching us
to deny ungodliness and earthly lusts, and to live temperately,
13 justly, and godly in this present world; looking for that
blessed hope[4], the appearing of the glory of the great God,
14 and our[5] Saviour Jesus Christ; who gave Himself for us,
that He might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify us unto
Himself, as "a peculiar[6] people," zealous of good works.
15 These things speak, and exhort and rebuke with all authority.
Let no man despise thee.

III. 1 Remind[7] them to render submission to magistrates and Duty towards Government and towards unbelievers generally.
authorities, to obey the Government, to perform every good
2 work readily, to speak evil of no man, to avoid strife, to act
3 with forbearance, and to shew all meekness to all men. For

[1] The best MSS. omit *ἀφθαρσίαν*.

[2] Ἡμῶν (not ὑμῶν) is the reading of the best MSS.

[3] This statement seems intended to contradict the Gnostic notion that salvation was given to the enlightened alone. It should be observed that the ἡ of T. R. is omitted by the best MSS.

[4] Compare the same expectation expressed, Rom. viii. 18—25.

[5] The A. V. here is probably correct, notwithstanding the omission of the article before *σωτῆρος*. We must not be guided entirely by the rules of classical Greek, in this matter. Comp. 2 Thess. i. 12., and see Winer Gram. § 19. 5.

[6] Λαὸν περιούσιον. This expression is borrowed from the Old Testament. Deut. vii. 6., Deut. xiv. 2., and other places. (LXX.)

[7] St. Paul himself had no doubt insisted on the duty of obedience to the civil magistrate, when he was in Crete. The Jews throughout the Empire were much disposed to insubordination at this period.

we ourselves also were formerly without understanding, disobedient and led astray, enslaved to all kinds of lusts and pleasures, living in malice and in envy, hateful and hating one another. But when God our Saviour made manifest His iii. 4
kindness and love of men, He saved us, not through works 5
of righteousness which we had done, but according to His own mercy, by the laver [1] of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Spirit, which He richly poured forth upon us, by 6
Jesus Christ our Saviour; that, being justified by His grace, 7
we might become heirs, through [2] hope, of life eternal. Faith- 8
ful is the saying [3], and these things I desire thee to affirm, "*let them that have believed in God be careful to practise good works.*" These things are good and profitable to men; but 9
avoid foolish disputations [4], and genealogies [5], and strifes and contentions concerning the [6] Law, for they are profitless and vain. A sectarian [7], after two admonitions, reject, know- 10, 11
ing that such a man is perverted, and by his sins is self-condemned.

Titus must enforce good works and resist the false teachers.

Special directions for Titus's journey to Nicopolis.

When I send Artemas or Tychicus [8] to thee, endeavour 12
to come to me to Nicopolis [9]; for there I have determined to winter. Forward Zenas the lawyer and Apollos on their 13
journey zealously, that they may want for nothing. And 14

[1] Λουτρόν does not mean "*washing*" (A. V.), but *laver*; i. e. *a vessel in which washing takes place.*

[2] Κατ' ἐλπίδα is explained by Rom. viii. 24, 25.

[3] The "saying" referred to is supposed by some interpreters to be the statement which precedes (from 3 to 7). These writers maintain that the ἵνα makes it ungrammatical to refer the πιστὸς ὁ λόγος to the following, as is done in A. V. But this objection is avoided by taking ἵνα as a part of the quotation, and supposing it used with the subjunctive (like ὅπως in classical Greek) as equivalent to an imperative. Compare Eph. v. 23., ἡ γυνὴ ἵνα φοβῆται τὸν ἄνδρα.

[4] Ζητήσεις: see 1 Tim. vi. 4., and 2 Tim. ii. 23.

[5] See 1 Tim. i. 4.

[6] Compare ἐντολαί (i. 14.), and νομοδιδασκ. 1 Tim. i. 7.

[7] Αἱρετικόν. We have seen that αἵρεσις is used by St. Paul, in his earlier writings, simply for *a religious sect*, sometimes (as Acts xxvi. 5.) without disapprobation, sometimes (as 1 Cor. xi. 19.) in a bad sense; here we find its derivative αἱρετικός (which occurs nowhere else in the N. T.) already assuming a bad sense, akin to that which it afterwards bore. It should be also observed that these early heretics united *moral depravity* with erroneous teaching; their works bore witness against their doctrine; and this explains the subsequent ἁμαρτάνει, ὢν αὐτοκατάκριτος. See Vol. I. p. 485—487.

[8] Cf. Col. iv. 7.

[9] See p. 481. note 4.

let our people also [1] learn to practise good works, ministering to the necessities of others, that they may not be unfruitful.

III. 15 All that are with me salute thee. Salute those who love us in faith. Salutations.

Grace be with you all.[2] Concluding benediction.

We see from the above letter that Titus was desired to join St. Paul at Nicopolis, where the Apostle designed to winter. We learn, from an incidental notice elsewhere[3], that the route he pursued was from Ephesus to Miletus, where his old companion Trophimus remained behind from sickness, and thence to Corinth, where he left Erastus, the former Treasurer of that city, whom, perhaps, he had expected, or wished, to accompany him in his farther progress. The position of Nicopolis [4] would render it a good centre for operating upon the surrounding province; and thence St. Paul might make excursions to those Churches of Illyricum which he perhaps[5] founded himself at an earlier period. The city which was thus chosen as the last scene of the Apostle's labours, before his final imprisonment, is more celebrated for its origin than for its subsequent history. It was founded by Augustus, as a permanent memorial of the victory of Actium, and stood upon the site of the camp occupied by his land forces before that battle. We learn, from the accounts of modern travellers, that the remains upon the spot still attest the extent and importance of the "City of Victory." "A long lofty wall spans a desolate plain; to the north of it rises, on a distant hill, the shattered *scena* of a theatre; and, to the west, the extended, though broken, line of an aqueduct connects the distant mountains, from which it tends, with the main subject of the picture, the city itself."[6] To people this city, Augustus uprooted the neighbouring mountaineers from their native homes, dragging them by his arbitrary compulsion "from their healthy hills to this low and swampy

[1] *i. e.* The Cretan Christians were to aid in furnishing Zenas and Apollos with all that they needed.

[2] The ἀμήν is omitted in the best MSS.

[3] 2 Tim. iv. 20.

[4] It is here assumed that the Nicopolis spoken of Titus iii. 12. was the city of that name in Epirus. There were other places of the same name, but they were comparatively insignificant.

[5] See above, p. 128 and 192.

[6] See Wordsworth's Greece, p. 229—232., where a map of Nicopolis will be found, and an interesting description of the ruins. See also Leake's Northern Greece, vol. i. p. 178., and vol. iii. p. 491.; and Merivale's Rome, vol. iii. p. 327, 328.

plain." It is satisfactory to think (with the accomplished traveller from whom the above description is borrowed) that, "in lieu of the blessings of which they were deprived, the Greek colonists of Nicopolis were consoled with one greater than all, when they saw, heard, and talked with the Apostle who was debtor to the Greeks."

It seems most probable, however, that St. Paul was not permitted to spend the whole of this winter in security at Nicopolis. The Christians were now far more obnoxious to the Roman authorities than formerly. They were already distinguished from the Jews, and could no longer shelter themselves under the toleration extended to the Mosaic religion. So eminent a leader of the proscribed sect was sure to find enemies everywhere, especially among his fellow countrymen; and there is nothing improbable in supposing that, upon the testimony of some informer, he was arrested[1] by the Duumvirs of Nicopolis, and forwarded to Rome[2] for trial. The indications which we gather from the Second Epistle to Timotheus render it probable that this arrest took place not later than[3] mid-winter, and the authorities may have thought to gratify the Emperor by forwarding so important a criminal immediately to Rome. It is true that the navigation of the Mediterranean was in those times suspended during the winter; but this rule would apply only to longer voyages, and not to the short passage[4] from Apollonia to Brundisium. Hence, it is not unlikely that St. Paul may have arrived at Rome some time before spring.

In this melancholy journey he had but few friends to cheer him. Titus had reached Nicopolis, in obedience to his summons; and there were others, also, it would seem, in attendance on him; but they were scattered by the terror of his arrest. Demas forsook him, "for love of this present world,"[5]

[1] It may be asked, why was he not arrested sooner, in Spain or Asia Minor? The explanation probably is, that he had not before ventured so near Italy as Nicopolis.

[2] The law required that a prisoner should be tried by the magistrates within whose jurisdiction the offence was alleged to have been committed; therefore, a prisoner accused of conspiring to set fire to Rome must be tried at Rome (Geib, 487. 490, 491.). There can be no doubt that this charge must have formed one part of any accusation brought against St. Paul, after 64 A. D. Another part (as we have suggested below) may have been the charge of introducing a *religio nova et illicita*.

[3] The reason for supposing this is, that it leaves more time for the events which intervened between St. Paul's arrest and his death, which took place (if in Nero's reign) not later than June. If he had not been arrested till the spring, we must crowd the occurrences mentioned in the Second Epistle to Timothy into a very short space.

[4] Even an army was transported across the Hadriatic by Cæsar, during the season of the "Mare Clausum," before the battle of Philippi.

[5] 2 Tim. iv. 10.

and departed to Thessalonica; Crescens[1] went to Galatia on the same occasion. We are unwilling to suppose that Titus could have yielded to such unworthy fears, and may be allowed to hope that his journey to the neighbouring Dalmatia[2] was undertaken by the desire of St. Paul. Luke[3], at any rate, remained faithful, accompanied his master once more over the wintry sea, and shared the dangers of his imprisonment at Rome.

This imprisonment was evidently more severe than it had been five years before. Then, though necessarily fettered to his military guard, he had been allowed to live in his own lodgings, and had been suffered to preach the Gospel to a numerous company who came to hear him. Now, he is not only chained, but treated "as a malefactor."[4] His friends, indeed, are still suffered to visit him in his confinement, but we hear nothing of his preaching. It is dangerous and difficult[5] to seek his prison; so perilous to show any public sympathy with him, that no Christian ventures to stand by him in the court of justice.[6] And as the final stage of his trial approaches, he looks forward to death as his certain sentence.[7]

This alteration in the treatment of St. Paul exactly corresponds with that which the history of the times would have led us to expect. We have seen that his liberation took place early in A.D. 63; he was therefore far distant from Rome when the first Imperial persecution of Christianity broke out, in consequence of the great fire in the summer of the following year. Then, first, as it appears, Christians were recognised as a distinct body, separate both from Jews and heathens; and their number must have been already very great at Rome, to account for the public notice attracted towards a sect whose members were, most of them, individually so obscure in social position.[8] When the alarm and indignation of the people was excited by the tremendous ruin of a conflagration, which burnt down almost half the

[1] 2 Tim. iv. 10.

[2] Ibid. See above, p. 127.

[3] 2 Tim. iv. 11.

[4] 2 Tim. ii. 9. According to the legends of the Mediæval Church, St. Paul was imprisoned in the Mamertine prison, together with St. Peter; see the Martyrology of Baronius (Par. 1607), under March 14. But there is no early authority for this story, which seems irreconcileable with the fact that Onesiphorus, Claudia, Linus, Pudens, &c., had free access to St. Paul during his imprisonment. It seems more likely [see 2 Tim. i. 16.] that he was again under military custody, though of a severer nature than that of his former imprisonment. We have given a view of the Tullianum, or dungeon of the Mamertine prison, in Vol. I. p. 368. Very full details will be found in Sir W. Gell's work on Rome and its neighbourhood.

[5] 2 Tim. i. 16.

[6] 2 Tim. iv. 16.

[7] 2 Tim. iv. 6—8.

[8] 1 Cor. i. 26.

city, it answered the purpose of Nero (who was accused of causing the fire) to avert the rage of the populace from himself to the already hated votaries of a new religion. Tacitus[1] describes the success of this expedient, and relates the sufferings of the Christian martyrs, who were put to death with circumstances of the most aggravated cruelty. Some were crucified; some disguised in the skins of beasts, and hunted to death with dogs; some were wrapped in robes impregnated with inflammable materials, and set on fire at night, that they might serve to illuminate the circus of the Vatican and the gardens of Nero, where this diabolical monster exhibited the agonies of his victims to the public, and gloated over them himself, mixing among the spectators in the costume of a charioteer. Brutalised as the Romans were, by the perpetual spectacle of human combats in the amphitheatre, and hardened by popular prejudice against the "atheistical" sect, yet the tortures of the victims excited even their compassion. "A very great multitude," as Tacitus informs us, perished in this manner; and it appears from his statement that the mere fact of professing Christianity was accounted sufficient[2] to justify their execution; the whole body of Christians being considered as involved in the crime of firing the city. This, however, was in the first excitement

[1] The following is the well-known passage of Tacitus: — "Sed non ope humanâ, non largitionibus principis, aut Deum placamentis, decedebat infamia, quin jussum incendium crederetur. Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos et quæsitissimis pœnis affecit, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Christus, Tiberio imperitante, per Procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat; repressaque in præsens exitiabilis superstitio rursum erumpebat, non modò per Judæam, originem illius mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque. Igitur primum correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens, haud proinde in crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis, convicti sunt. Et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contecti laniatu canum interierint, aut crucibus affixi, aut flammandi atque, ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur. Hortos suos ei spectaculo Nero obtulerat, et circense ludicrum edebat, habitu aurigæ permixtus plebi, vel curriculo insistens. Unde, quamquam adversus sontes, et novissima exempla meritos, miseratio oriebatur, tanquam non utilitate publicâ, sed in sævitiam unius absumerentur." (Tac. Ann. xv. 44.)

[2] It was criminal, according to the Roman law, to introduce into Rome any *religio nova et illicita*. Yet, practically, this law was seldom enforced, as we see by the multitude of foreign superstitions continually introduced into Rome, and the occasional and feeble efforts of the Senate or the Emperor to enforce the law. Moreover, the punishment of those who offended against it seems only to have been expulsion from the city, unless their offence had been accompanied by aggravating circumstances. It was not, therefore, under this law that the Christians were executed; and, when Suetonius tells us that they were punished as professors of a *superstitio nova et malefica* (Suet. Nero, 16.), we must interpret his assertion in accordance with the more detailed and accurate statement of Tacitus, who expressly says that the victims of the Neronian persecution were condemned on the charge of *arson*. Hence the extreme cruelty of their punishment, and especially the setting them on fire.

which followed the fire, and even then, probably, but few among those who perished were[1] Roman citizens. Since that time some years had passed, and now a decent respect would be paid to the forms of law, in dealing with one who, like St. Paul, possessed the privilege of citizenship. Yet we can quite understand that a leader of so abhorred a sect would be subjected to a severe imprisonment.

We have no means of knowing the precise charge now made against the Apostle. He might certainly be regarded as an offender against the law which prohibited the propagation of a new and illicit religion (*religio nova et illicita*) among the citizens of Rome. But, at this period, one article of accusation against him must have been the more serious charge, of having instigated the Roman Christians to their supposed act of incendiarism, before his last departure from the capital. It appears that "Alexander the brass-founder" (2 Tim. iv. 14.) was either one of his accusers, or, at least, a witness against him. If this was the same with the Jewish[2] Alexander of Ephesus (Acts xix. 33.), it would be probable that his testimony related to the former charge. But there is no proof that these two Alexanders were identical. We may add, that the employment of Informer (*delator*)[3] was now become quite a profession at Rome, and that there would be no lack of accusations against an unpopular prisoner as soon as his arrest became known.

Probably no long time elapsed, after St. Paul's arrival, before his cause came on for hearing. The accusers, with their witnesses, would be already on the spot; and on this occasion he was not to be tried by the Emperor in person[4], so that another cause of delay[5], which was often interposed by the carelessness or indolence of the Emperor, would be removed. The charge now alleged against him, probably fell under the cognisance of the City Præfect

[1] No doubt most of the victims who perished in the Neronian persecution were foreigners, slaves, or freedmen; we have already seen how large a portion of the Roman Church was of Jewish extraction (see p. 157., n. 4.). It was illegal to subject a Roman citizen to the ignominious punishments mentioned by Tacitus; but probably Nero would not have regarded this privilege in the case of freedmen, although by their emancipation they had become Roman citizens. And we know that the Jewish population of Rome had, for the most part, a Servile origin; see Vol. I. p. 414., and Vol. II. p. 379.

[2] An Alexander is also mentioned, 1 Tim. i. 20., as a heretic, who had been excommunicated by St. Paul. This is, probably, the same person with the Alexander of 2 Tim. iv. 14.; and if so, motives of personal malice would account for his conduct.

[3] See Geib, p. 531, 532.

[4] Clemens Romanus says that Paul, on this occasion, was tried ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων. Had the Emperor presided, he would have said ἐπὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος.

[5] See above, p. 386.

(Præfectus Urbi), whose jurisdiction daily encroached, at this period, on that of the ancient magistracies.[1] For we must remember that, since the time of Augustus, a great though silent change had taken place in the Roman system of criminal procedure. The ancient method, though still the regular and legal system, was rapidly becoming obsolete in practice. Under the Republic, a Roman citizen could theoretically be tried on a criminal charge only by the Sovereign People; but the judicial power of the people was delegated, by special laws, to certain bodies of Judges, superintended by the several Prætors. Thus one Prætor presided at trials for homicide, another at trials for treason, and so on.[2] But the presiding magistrate did not give the sentence; his function was merely to secure the legal formality of the proceedings. The judgment was pronounced by the Judices, a large body of judges, (or rather jurors,) chosen (generally by lot) from amongst the senators or knights, who gave their vote, by ballot, for acquittal or condemnation. But under the Empire this ancient system, though not formally abolished, was gradually superseded. The Emperors from the first claimed supreme[3] judicial authority, both civil and criminal. And this jurisdiction was exercised not only by themselves, but by the delegates whom they appointed. It was at first delegated chiefly to the Præfect of the city; and though causes might, up to the beginning of the second century, be tried by the Prætors in the old way, yet this became more and more unusual. In the reign of Nero it was even dangerous for an accuser to prosecute an offender in the Prætor's instead of the Præfect's court.[4] Thus the trial of criminal charges was transferred from a jury of independent Judices to a single magistrate appointed by a despot, and controlled only by a Council of Assessors, to whom he was not bound to attend.

[1] "Omnia omnino crimina præfectura urbis sibi vindicavit," (L. i., pr. D. de Offic. Præf. Urb.), quoted by Geib, p. 440.

[2] This was the system of *Quæstiones Perpetuæ*. It is fully explained by Geib in his second book, p. 169—215., and the change in his third book, p. 393—411.

[3] The origin of this jurisdiction is not so clear as that of their *appellate* jurisdiction, which we have explained above (p. 300.). Some writers hold that the Emperor assumed the supreme judicial power as an incident of his quasi-dictatorial authority. Others (among whom is Geib, p. 420—422.) think that it was theoretically based upon a revival of that summary jurisdiction which was formerly (in the earliest ages of the Commonwealth) exercised by the great magistrates whose functions were now concentrated in the Emperor. Others again refer it to the Tribunician power conferred upon the Emperor, which was extended (as we have seen) so as to give him a supreme appellate jurisdiction; and by virtue of which he might perhaps bring before his tribunal any cause in the first instance, which would ultimately come under his judgment by appeal.

[4] Tacitus relates that Valerius Ponticus was banished under Nero, "quod reos, ne apud Præfectum urbis arguerentur, ad Prætorem detulisset." (Ann. xiv. 41.)

Such was the court before which St. Paul was now cited. We have an account of the first hearing of the cause from his own pen. He writes thus to Timotheus immediately after: — "When I was first heard in my defence, no man stood by me, but all forsook me,—I pray that it be not laid to their charge. —Nevertheless the Lord Jesus stood by me, and strengthened my heart; that by me the proclamation of the Glad-tidings might be accomplished in full measure, and that all the Gentiles might hear; and I was delivered out of the lion's mouth." We see, from this statement, that it was dangerous even to appear in public as the friend or adviser of the Apostle. No advocate would venture to plead his cause, no *procurator*[1] to aid him in arranging the evidence, no *patronus* (such as he might have found, perhaps, in the powerful Æmilian[2] house) to appear as his supporter, and to deprecate[3], according to ancient usage, the severity of the sentence. But he had a more powerful intercessor, and a wiser advocate, who could never leave him nor forsake him. The Lord Jesus was always near him, but now was felt almost visibly present in the hour of his need.

From the above description we can realise in some measure the external features of his last trial. He evidently intimates that he spoke before a crowded audience, so that "all the Gentiles might hear;" and this corresponds with the supposition, which historically we should be led to make, that he was tried in one of those great basilicas which stood in the Forum. Two of the most celebrated of these edifices were called the Pauline Basilicas, from the well-known Lucius Æmilius Paulus, who had built one of them and restored the other. It is not improbable that the greatest man who ever bore the Pauline name was tried in one of these. From specimens which still exist, as well as from the descriptions of Vitruvius, we have an accurate knowledge of the character of these halls of justice. They were rectangular buildings, consisting of a central nave and two aisles, separated from the nave by rows of columns.

[1] The procurator performed the functions of our attorney.

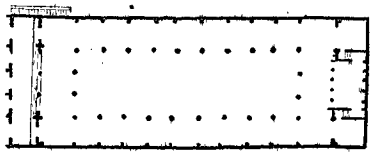
[2] We have already (Vol. I. p. 165.) suggested the possibility of a connection of clientship between Paul's family and this noble Roman house.

[3] It was the custom, both in the Greek and Roman courts of justice, to allow the friends of the accused to intercede for him, and to endeavour by their prayers and tears to move the feelings of his judges. This practice was gradually limited under the Imperial regime Geib, p. 590.

At one end of the nave was the tribune[1], in the centre of which was placed the magistrate's curule chair of ivory, elevated on a platform called the tribunal. Here also sat the Council of Assessors, who advised the Præfect upon the law, though they had no voice in the judgment.[2] On the sides of the tribune were seats for distinguished persons, as well as for parties engaged in the proceedings. Fronting the presiding magistrate stood the prisoner, with his accusers and his advocates. The public was admitted into the remainder of the nave and aisles (which was railed off from the portion devoted to the judicial proceedings); and there were also galleries along the whole length of the side aisles, one for men, the other for women.[3] The aisles were roofed over; as was the tribune. The nave was originally left open to the sky. The basilicas were buildings of great size, so that a vast multitude of spectators was always present at any trial which excited public interest.

Before such an audience it was, that Paul was now called to speak in his defence. His earthly friends had deserted him, but his Heavenly Friend stood by him. He was strengthened by the power of Christ's Spirit, and pleaded the cause not of himself only, but of the Gospel. He spoke of Jesus, of His death and His resurrection, so that all the heathen multitude might hear. At the same time, he successfully defended himself from the first[4] of the charges

[1] The features of the basilica will be best understood by the following ground-plan of that of Pompeii. Here the tribune is rectangular; in others it was semicircular.



GROUND PLAN OF THE BASILICA OF POMPEII. (FROM GELL'S POMPEII.)

[2] Geib, p. 664.

[3] Pliny gives a lively description of the scene presented by a basilica at an interesting trial: "Densa circumstantium corona judicium multiplici circulo ambibat. Ad hoc, stipatum tribunal, atque etiam superiore basilicæ parte, quâ fœminæ, quâ viri, et audiendi (quod erat difficile) et (quod facile) visendi studio imminebant." (Plin. Ep. vi. 33.)

[4] The hypothesis of an acquittal on the first charge agrees best with the ἐρρύσθην ἐκ στόματος λέοντος (2 Tim. iv. 17.). We have seen that it was Nero's practice (and therefore, we may suppose, the practice of the Præfects under Nero) to hear and decide each branch of the accusation separately (Suet. Ner. 15., before cited). Had the trial taken place under the ancient system, we might have supposed an *Ampliatio*, which took place when the judices held the evidence insufficient, and gave the

brought against him, which perhaps accused him of conspiring with the incendiaries of Rome. He was delivered from the immediate peril, and saved from the ignominious and painful death[1] which might have been his doom had he been convicted on such a charge.

He was now remanded to prison to wait for the second stage of his trial. It seems that he himself expected this not to come on so soon as it really did; or, at any rate, he did not think the final decision would be given till the following[2] winter, whereas it actually took place about midsummer. Perhaps he judged from the long delay of his former trial; or he may have expected (from the issue of his first hearing) to be again acquitted on a second charge, and to be convicted on a third. He certainly did not expect a final acquittal, but felt no doubt that the cause would ultimately result in his condemnation. We are not left to conjecture the feelings with which he awaited this consummation; for he has himself expressed them in that sublime strain of triumphant hope which is familiar to the memory of every Christian, and which has nerved the hearts of a thousand martyrs. "I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth is laid up for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me in that day." He saw before him, at a little distance, the doom of an unrighteous magistrate, and the sword of a bloodstained executioner; but he appealed to the sentence of a juster Judge, who would soon change the fetters of the criminal into the wreath of the conqueror; he looked beyond the transitory present; the tribunal of Nero faded from his sight; and the vista was closed by the judgment-seat of Christ.

Sustained by such a blessed and glorious hope—knowing, as he did, that nothing in heaven or in earth could separate him from the love of Christ—it mattered to him but little, if he was destitute of earthly sympathy. Yet still, even in these last hours, he clung to the friendships of early years; still the

verdict *Non liquet*, in which case the trial was commenced *de novo*; but Geib has shown that under the Imperial system the practice of *Ampliatio* was discontinued. So also was the *Comperendinatio* abolished, by which certain trials were formerly divided into a *prima actio* and *secunda actio*. (See Geib, p. 377, 378., and 665—667.) We cannot therefore agree with Wieseler in supposing this "πρώτη ἀπολογία" to indicate an *Ampliatio* or *Comperendinatio*. See Wieseler, p. 406. note 3.

[1] See the account given by Tacitus (above quoted) of the punishment of the supposed incendiaries. In the case of such a crime, probably, even a Roman citizen would not have been exempted from such punishments.

[2] 2 Tim. iv. 21.

faithful companionship of Luke consoled him, in the weary hours of constrained inactivity, which, to a temper like his, must have made the most painful part of imprisonment. Luke was the only one[1] of his habitual attendants who now remained to minister to him; his other companions, as we have seen, had left him, probably before his arrival at Rome. But one friend from Asia, Onesiphorus[2], had diligently sought him out, and visited him in his prison, undeterred by the fear of danger or of shame. And there were others, some of them high in station, who came to receive from the chained malefactor blessings infinitely greater than all the favours of the Emperor of the world. Among these was Linus, afterwards a bishop of the Roman Church; Pudens, the son of a senator; and Claudia, his bride, the daughter of a British king.[3] But however he may have valued these more recent friends, their society could not console him for the absence of one far dearer to him: he longed with a paternal longing to see once more the face of Timotheus, his beloved son. The disciple who had so long ministered to him with filial affection might still (he hoped) arrive in time to receive his parting words, and be with him in his dying hour. But Timotheus was far distant, in Asia Minor, exercising apparently the same function with which he had before been temporarily invested. Thither then he wrote to him, desiring him to come with all speed to Rome, yet feeling how uncertain it was whether he might not arrive too late. He was haunted also by another fear, far more distressing. Either from his experience of the desertion of other friends, or from some signs of timidity which Timotheus[4]

[1] 2 Tim. iv. 11. If we suppose Tychicus the bearer of the Second Epistle to Timothy (2 Tim. iv. 12.), he also would have been with St. Paul at Rome, till he was despatched to Ephesus.

[2] 2 Tim. i. 16.

[3] For the evidence of these assertions, see note on 2 Tim. iv. 21. We may take this opportunity of saying, that the tradition of St. Paul's visit to Britain rests on no sufficient authority. Probably all that can be said in its favour will be found in the Tracts of the late Bishop Burgess on the origin of the Ancient British Church. See especially pp. 21—54. 77—83. and 108—120.

[4] We cannot say with certainty where Timotheus was at this time; as there is no direct mention of his locality in the Second Epistle. It would seem, at first sight, probable that he was still at Ephesus, from the salutation to Priscilla and Aquila, who appear to have principally resided there. Still this is not decisive, since we know that they were occasional residents both at Rome and Corinth, and Aquila was himself a native of Pontus, where he and Timotheus may perhaps have been. Again it is difficult, on the hypothesis of Timotheus being at Ephesus, to account for 2 Tim. iv. 12. "Τύχικον ἀπέστειλα εἰς Ἔφεσον," which Timotheus need not have been told, if himself at Ephesus. Also, it appears strange that St. Paul should have told Timotheus that he had left Trophimus sick at Miletus, if Timotheus was himself at Ephesus, within thirty miles of Miletus. Yet both these objections may be explained away, as we have shown in the notes on 2 Tim. iv. 12., and 2 Tim. iv. 20. The message about bringing the articles from Troas shows only that Timotheus

himself had shown, he doubted whether he might not shrink from the perils which would surround him in the city of Nero. He therefore urges on him very emphatically the duty of boldness in Christ's cause, of stedfastness under persecution, and of taking his share in the sufferings of the Saints. And, lest he should be prevented from giving him his last instructions face to face, he impresses on him, with the earnestness of a dying man, the various duties of his Ecclesiastical office, and especially that of opposing the heresies which now threatened to destroy the very essence of Christianity. But no summary of its contents can give any notion of the pathetic tenderness and deep solemnity of this Epistle.

SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHEUS.[1]

1.1 PAUL, AN APOSTLE OF JESUS CHRIST BY THE WILL OF GOD Salutation.
— sent forth [2] to proclaim the promise of the life which
2 is in Christ Jesus — TO TIMOTHEUS MY BELOVED SON.
Grace, Mercy, and Peace from God our Father, and Christ Jesus our Lord.

3 I thank God (whom I worship, as [3] did my forefathers, Timotheus is reminded of his past history and exhorted to
with a pure conscience) whenever [4] I make mention of thee,
4 as I do continually, in my prayers night and day. And I

was in a place whence the road to Rome lay through Troas; and this would agree either with Ephesus, or Pontus, or any other place in the north-west of Asia Minor. [See the map shewing the Roman roads in this district, Vol. I. p. 299.] It is most probable that Timotheus was not fixed to any one spot, but employed in the general superintendence of the Pauline Churches throughout Asia Minor. This hypothesis agrees best with his designation as an *Evangelist* (2 Tim. iv. 5.). a term equivalent to *itinerant missionary.*

[1] For the date of this Epistle, see the Appendix.

[2] Ἀπόστολος κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν ζωῆς. See note on Tit. i. 1.

[3] Some interpreters have found a difficulty here, as though it were inconsistent with St. Paul's bitter repentance for the sins he had committed in the time of his Judaism. (Cf. 1 Tim. i. 13.) But there is no inconsistency. All that is said here is, that the *worship* (λατρεία) of God was handed down to St. Paul from his forefathers, or, in other words, that his religion was hereditary. This is exactly the view taken of the religion of *all* converted Jews in Rom. xi. 23, 24. 28. Compare also τῷ πατρώῳ θεῷ (Acts xxiv. 14.), and πάσῃ συνειδήσει ἀγαθῇ πεπολίτευμαι. (Acts xxiii. 1.) These latter passages remind us that the topic was one on which St. Paul had probably insisted, in his recent defence; and this accounts for its parenthetical introduction here.

[4] Literally, *as the mention which I make of thee in my prayers is continual.*

perseverance and courage by the hope of immortality.

long to see thee, remembering thy [parting] tears, that I might be filled with joy. For I have been [1] reminded of thy 1.5
undissembled faith, which dwelt first in thy grandmother Lois and thy mother Eunice, and (I am persuaded) dwells in thee also. Wherefore I call thee to remembrance, that thou 6
mayest stir up the gift of God, which is in thee by the laying on of my [2] hands. For God gave us not a spirit of cowardice, 7
but a spirit of power and love and self-restraint.[3] Be not 8
therefore ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, nor of me His prisoner; but share the affliction [4] of them who publish the Glad-tidings, according to the power of God. For He 9
saved us, and called us with a holy calling, not dealing with us according to our own works, but according to His own purpose and grace, which was bestowed upon us in Christ Jesus before the times [5] of old, but is now made manifest 10
by the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who has put an end to death, and brought life and immortality from darkness into light; and this He has done by the Glad-tidings, where- 11
unto I was appointed herald and apostle, and teacher of the Gentiles. Which also is the cause of these sufferings 12
that I now endure; nevertheless I am not ashamed; for I know in whom I have trusted, and I am persuaded that He is

[1] Ἀναβών is the reading of the best MSS. Perhaps a message or other incident had reminded St. Paul of some proof which Timotheus had given of the sincerity of his faith (as Bengel thinks); or, still more probably, he was reminded of the faith of Timotheus by its contrast with the cowardice of Demas and others. He mentions it here obviously as a motive to encourage him to persevere in courageous stedfastness.

[2] The grace of God required for any particular office in the early Church, was conferred after prayer and the laying on of hands. This imposition of hands was repeated whenever any one was appointed to a new office or commission. The reference here may, therefore, be to the original "ordination" of Timotheus, or to his appointment to the superintendence of the Ephesian Church. See Vol. I. p. 469., and compare Acts viii. 18. and 1 Tim. iv. 14.; also Vol. I. p. 289. note 7.

[3] Σωφρονισμός would restrain the passion of *fear*.

[4] Literally, *share affliction for the Glad-tidings*. The dative used as in Phil. i. 27. (De W.)

[5] Πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων (which phrase also occurs in Titus i. 2.) appears to mean the period of the Jewish dispensation. The grace of Christ was *virtually* bestowed on mankind in the Mosaic covenant, though only *made manifest* in the Gospel.

able to guard the treasure [1] which I have committed to Him, even unto that day.

I. 13 Hold fast the pattern of sound [2] words which thou hast heard from me, in the faith and love which is in Christ Jesus. Exhortation to fulfil his commission faithfully.
14 That goodly treasure which is committed to thy charge, guard by the Holy Spirit who dwelleth in us.

15 Thou already knowest that I was abandoned [3] by all the
16 Asiatics, among whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes. The Lord give mercy to the house of Onesiphorus [4]; for he often
17 refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain [5]; but when he was in Rome, sought me out very diligently and found
18 me. The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy from the Lord in that day. And all his services [6] at Ephesus, thou knowest better [7] than I. Conduct of certain Asiatic Christians at Rome.

II. 1 Thou, therefore, my son, strengthen thy heart [8] with
2 the grace that is in Christ Jesus. And those things which thou hast heard from me attested [9] by many witnesses, deliver Duty of Timotheus in Church government.

[1] Τὴν παρακαταθήκην μου. It is strange that so acute an interpreter as De Wette should maintain that this expression must necessarily mean the same thing as τὴν καλὴν παρακαταθήκην in verse 14. Supposing St. Paul to have said "God will keep the trust committed to Him; do thou keep the trust committed to thee," it would not follow that the *same* trust was meant in each case. Paul had committed himself, his soul and body, his true life, to God's keeping; this was the παρακαταθήκη which he trusted to God's care. On the other hand, the παρακαταθήκη committed to the charge of Timotheus was the ecclesiastical office entrusted to him. (Compare 1 Tim. vi. 20.)

[2] Ὑγιαινόντων λόγων. The want of the article shows that this expression had become almost a technical expression at the date of the Pastoral Epistles.

[3] This appears to refer to the conduct of certain Christians belonging to the province of Asia, who deserted St. Paul at Rome when he needed their assistance. Οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ is used instead of οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, because these persons had probably now returned home.

[4] An undesigned coincidence should be observed here, which is not noticed by Paley. Blessings are invoked on the *house* of Onesiphorus, *not on himself;* and in verse 18 a hope is expressed that he may find mercy *at the last day.* This seems to show that Onesiphorus was dead; and so, in iv. 19., greetings are addressed *not to himself, but to his house.*

[5] Τὴν ἅλυσιν. Hence we see that St. Paul was, in this second imprisonment, as in the first, under Custodia Militaris, and therefore bound to the soldier who guarded him by a chain. See above, p. 295.

[6] Μοι is omitted by the best MSS.

[7] Βέλτιον, because Timotheus had been more constantly resident at Ephesus than St. Paul.

[8] Ἐνδυν. Cf. Rom. iv. 20. and Eph. vi. 10.

[9] We agree with De Wette, Huther, and Wiesinger that the construction here is ἤκουσας διὰ μαρτύρων, but cannot agree with them in supposing διὰ equivalent to ἐνώπιον, nor in re-

into the keeping of faithful men, who shall be able to teach others in their turn.[1]

He is exhorted not to shrink from suffering.

Take thy[2] share in suffering, as a good soldier of Jesus II. 3
Christ. The soldier when[3] on service abstains from entangling 4
himself in the business of life, that he may please his commander. And again, the wrestler does not win the crown, unless he wrestles lawfully.[4] The husbandman who toils must 5 6
share the fruits of the ground before[5] the idler. Consider what 7
I say; for the Lord will[6] give thee understanding in all things.
Remember that Jesus Christ, of the seed[7] of David, is[8] raised 8
from the dead, according to the Glad-tidings which I proclaim. Wherein I suffer affliction even unto chains, as a 9
malefactor; nevertheless the Word of God is bound by no chains. Wherefore I endure all for the sake of the chosen, 10
that they also may obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus, with glory everlasting. Faithful is the saying, "*For*[9] 11
if we have died with Him[10], *we shall also live with Him; if we* 12
suffer, we shall also reign with Him; if we deny Him, He also will deny us; if we be faithless, yet He abideth faithful; He 13
cannot deny Himself."

ferring this passage to Timothy's ordination or baptism. The literal English must be, *those things which thou hast heard from me by the intervention of many witnesses*, which is surely equivalent to, "*by the attestation* of many witnesses." In a similar way St. Paul appeals to the attestation of other witnesses in 1 Cor. xv. 3—7.

[1] The καὶ seems to have this meaning here.

[2] Συγκακοπάθησον is the reading of the best MSS., instead of σὺ οὖν κακ.

[3] Observe the force of στρατευόμενος. Cf. Luke iii. 14.

[4] Νομίμως. See Vol. II. p. 204. The word ἀθλεῖν is not confined to *wrestling*, but includes the other exercises of the athletic contests also; but there is no English verb co-extensive with it.

[5] Πρῶτον. The Authorised Version, and not its margin, is here correct.

[6] Δώσει, not δῴη, is the reading of the best MSS. De Wette and others object to this verse, that it is impossible to suppose that St. Paul would imagine Timotheus so dull of apprehension as not to comprehend such obvious metaphors. But they have missed the sense of the verse, which is not meant to enlighten the understanding of Timotheus as to the *meaning* of the metaphors, but as to the *personal application* of them.

[7] *i. e.* though a man in flesh and blood; therefore His resurrection is an encouragement to His followers to be fearless.

[8] Ἐγηγερμένον, not ἐγέρθεντα.

[9] This is another of those quotations so characteristic of the Pastoral Epistles. It appears to be taken from a Christian hymn. The Greek may be easily sung to the music of one of the ancient ecclesiastical chants.

[10] Rom. vi. 8., εἰ ἀπεθάνομεν σὺν Χριστῷ πιστεύομεν ὅτι καὶ συζήσομεν αὐτῷ.

He must oppose the false teachers and their immoralities, and carefully preserve his own purity

II. 14 Call men to remembrance of these things, and adjure them before the Lord not to contend[1] about words, with no
15 profitable end, but for the subversion of their hearers. Be diligent to present thyself unto God as one proved trustworthy[2] by trial, a workman not to be ashamed, declaring
16 the word of truth without distortion.[3] But avoid the discussions of profane babblers; for they will go farther and
17 farther in ungodliness, and their word will eat like a cancer.
18 Among whom are Hymenæus and Philetus; who concerning the truth have erred, for they say that the resurrection is past[4] already, and overthrow the faith of some.

19 Nevertheless the firm[5] foundation of God stands unshaken, having this seal, "**The Lord knew them that were His**"[6] and "*Let every one that nameth the name of the Lord*
20 *depart from iniquity.*"[7] But in a great house there are not[8] only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and
21 clay; and some for honour, others for dishonour. If a man

[1] Compare 1 Tim. vi. 4.

[2] Δόκιμος, *tested and proved worthy by trial.* Cf. 2 Cor. xiii. 7.

[3] Ὀρθοτομεῖν (not found elsewhere in New Testament) means *to cut straight.* So in the LXX. δικαιοσύνη ὀρθοτομεῖ ὁδούς. (Prov. xi. 5.) The metaphor here, being connected with the previous ἐργάτην, appears to be taken from the work of a carpenter.

[4] See Vol. I. p. 483., and the passage of Tertullian quoted in the note there, which shows that the Gnostics taught that the *Resurrection* was to be understood of the rising of the soul from the death of ignorance to the light of knowledge. There is nothing here to render doubtful the date of this Epistle, for we have already seen that even so early as the First Epistle to Corinth, there were heretics who denied the resurrection of the dead. Baur's view—that the Pastoral Epistles were written against Marcion—is inconsistent with the present passage; for Marcion did *not* deny the resurrection of the *dead*, but only the resurrection of the *flesh*. (See Tertull. adv. Marcion, v. 10.)

[5] The Authorised Version here violates the laws of the article.

[6] Numbers, xvi. 5. (LXX. with κύριος for Θεός.) We must not translate ἔγνω "*knoweth*," as in A.V. The context of the passage, according to LXX. (which differs from the present Hebrew text), is, "*Moses spake unto Core, saying . . . The Lord knew them that were His, and that were holy, and brought them near unto Himself; and whom He chose unto Himself, He brought near unto Himself.*"

[7] This quotation is not from the Old Testament; Isaiah lii. 11. is near it in sentiment, but can scarcely be referred to, because it is quoted exactly at 2 Cor. vi. 17. The MSS. read κυρίου instead of the Χριστοῦ of T. R.

[8] The thought here is the same as that expressed in the parable of the fishes and of the tares,—viz. that the visible church will never be perfect. We are reminded of Rom. ix. 21. by the σκεύη εἰς ἀτιμίαν.

therefore purify himself from these, he shall be a vessel for honour, sanctified, and fitted for the master's use, being prepared for every good work.

Flee the lusts of youth [1]; and follow righteousness, faith, II. 22
love, and peace with those who call on the Lord out of a
pure heart; but shun the disputations of the foolish and 23
ignorant, knowing that they breed strife; and the bondsman 24
of the Lord [2] Jesus ought not to strive, but to be gentle
towards all, skilful in teaching, patient of wrong, instructing 25
opponents with meekness; if God perchance may give them
repentance, that they may attain the knowledge of the
truth, and may escape, restored [3] to soberness, out of the 26
snare of the [4] Devil, by whom [5] they have been taken captive
at his will.

Dangerous errors of the "*last days*"

Know this, that in the last [6] days evil times shall come. III. 1
For men shall be selfish, covetous, false boasters [7], haughty, 2
blasphemous, disobedient to parents, ungrateful, unholy,
without natural affection, ruthless, calumnious, incontinent, 3
merciless, haters of the good, treacherous, head-long with 4
passion, blinded with pride, lovers of pleasure rather than

[1] Compare 1 Tim. iii. 2., and the remarks upon the age of Timotheus in the Essay in the Appendix, on the date of these Epistles.

[2] Κυρίου. Compare δοῦλος Χριστοῦ, 1 Cor. vii. 22.

[3] Ἀνανήψωσιν. See 1 Cor. xv. 34.

[4] The expression διάβολος appears to be used here, and in Eph. iv. 27. and Eph. vi. 11., for *the devil*, who is elsewhere called Σατανᾶς by St. Paul. In the Gospels and Acts the two expressions are used with nearly equal frequency.

[5] The interpretation of this last clause is disputable. The construction is awkward, and there is a difficulty in referring αὐτοῦ and ἐκείνου to the same subject; but De Wette shows that this is admissible by a citation from Plato. Wiesinger refers αὐτοῦ to Timotheus, and ἐκείνου to God.

[6] Ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις (used without the article, as having become a familiar expression) generally denotes the termination of the Mosaic dispensation; see Acts ii. 17. 1 Pet. i. 5. 20. Heb. i. 2. Thus the expression generally denotes the time present; but here it points to a future immediately at hand, which is, however, blended with the present (see verses 6. 8.), and was, in fact, the end of the Apostolic age. Compare 1 John ii. 18., ἐσχάτη ὥρα ἐστίν. The *long duration* of this last period of the world's development was not revealed to the Apostles; they expected that their Lord's return would end it, in their own generation; and thus His words were fulfilled, that none should foresee the time of His coming. (Matt. xxiv. 36.)

[7] Several of the classes of sinners here mentioned occur also Rom. i. 30.

III. 5 lovers of God; having an outward form of godliness, but
6 renouncing its power. From such turn away. Of these
are they who creep into houses, and lead captive silly women,
7 laden with sins, led away by lusts of all kinds, perpetually
learning, yet never able to attain the knowledge[1] of the
8 truth. And as Iannes and Iambres[2] resisted Moses, so do
these men resist the truth, being corrupt in mind, and worth-
9 less[3] in all that concerns the faith. But they[4] shall not advance farther, for their folly shall be made openly manifest to all, as was that of Iannes and Iambres.

Exhortation to be stedfast in Paul's doctrine.

10 But thou hast been the follower[5] of my teaching and behaviour[6], my resolution[7], faith, patience, love, and stedfast-
11 ness; my persecutions and sufferings, such as befel me at Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra.[8] [Thou hast seen] what per-
12 secutions I endured; and out of them all the Lord delivered me. Yea, and all who determine to live a godly life in Christ
13 Jesus, will suffer persecution. But wicked men and impostors will advance from bad to worse, deceiving and being
14 deceived. But do thou continue in that which was taught thee, and whereof thou wast persuaded; knowing who were[9] thy teachers, and remembering that from a child thou hast
15 known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise
16 unto salvation, by the faith which is in Christ Jesus. All Scripture is inspired by God, and may profitably be used for

[1] For the meaning of *ἐπίγνωσις* (Cf. above, ii. 25.), see Rom. x. 2., and 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

[2] These, as we find in the Targum of Jonathan, were the traditional names of the Egyptian sorcerers who opposed Moses.

[3] *Ἀδόκιμοι*, see Tit. i. 16., and note.

[4] It has been thought that this *οὐ προκόψουσιν ἐπὶ πλεῖον* contradicts the assertion in ii. 16., *ἐπὶ πλεῖον προκόψουσιν ἀσεβείας*; but there is no contradiction, for the present passage speaks of *outward success*, the former of *inward deterioration*. Impostors will usually go on from bad to worse (as it is said just below, *προκόψουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον*, verse 13.), and yet their success in deceiving others is generally soon ended by detection.

[5] *Παρηκολούθηκας* cannot be accurately translated "*hast fully known*" (Authorised Version), but its meaning is not very different. Chrysostom explains it *τούτων σὺ μάρτυς*.

[6] In this meaning *ἀγωγὴ* is found in LXX.

[7] *Προθέσει*: compare Acts xi. 23.

[8] It has been before remarked how appropriate this reference is. See Vol. I. p. 211.

[9] *Τινων* is the reading of the best MSS.

teaching [1], for confutation [2], for correction [3], and for righteous discipline [4]; that the man of God may be fully prepared, and thoroughly furnished for every good work. III. 17

Solemn charge to perform his commission faithfully, in expectation of evil times, and of Paul's death.

I [5] adjure thee before God and Jesus Christ, who is about IV. 1
to judge the living and the dead — I adjure thee by His
appearing and His kingdom — proclaim the tidings, be 2
urgent in season and out of season, convince, rebuke, exhort,
with all forbearance and perseverance in teaching. For a 3
time will come when they will not endure the sound doctrine,
but according to their own inclinations they will heap up for
themselves teachers upon teachers, to please their itching
ears. And they will turn away their ears from the truth, 4
and turn aside to fables.

But thou in all things be sober [6], endure affliction, do 5
the work of an Evangelist [7], accomplish thy ministration in
full measure. For I am now ready [8] to be offered, and the 6
time of my departure is at hand. I have fought [9] the good 7
fight, I have finished my [10] course, I have kept the faith.
Henceforth is laid up for me the crown of righteousness, 8
which the Lord, the righteous [11] judge, shall give me in that

[1] St. Paul frequently uses the Old Testament for *teaching, i. e.* to enforce or illustrate his doctrine; *e. g.* Rom. i. 17.

[2] The numerous quotations from the Old Testament, in the Romans and Galatians, are mostly examples of its use for *confutation.*

[3] Ἐπανόρθωσιν means *the setting right of that which is wrong.* The Old Testament is applied for this purpose by St. Paul in 1 Cor. xiv. 21., 1 Cor. x. 1—10., and, generally, wherever he applies it to enforce precepts of morality.

[4] Παιδείαν τὴν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ. The word παιδεία has the meaning of *chastisement* or *discipline;* compare Heb. xii. 7. It is here used as a severer kind of ἐπανόρθωσις. Thus the Old Testament is applied in 1 Cor. v. 13.

[5] The best MSS. omit οὖν ἐγὼ and τοῦ κυρίου, and read καὶ instead of κατὰ in this verse.

[6] Νῆφε, not "*watch.*" (A. V.)

[7] Compare Eph. iv. 11. And see Vol. I. p. 468.

[8] Ἤδη σπένδομαι, literally, *I am already in the very act of being poured out as a sacrificial offering.* Compare Phil. ii. 17.

[9] It is impossible to translate ἀγῶνα ἠγώνισμαι fully in English. It is not strictly correct to render it "I have fought the *fight*," and seems to introduce a new metaphor; ἀγών means *a contest for a prize,* and the metaphor is taken from the Greek foot-races. *I have run the good race* would be perhaps more exact. The literal English is, *I have completed the glorious contest.* See pp. 203—205. above, and 1 Tim. vi. 12.

[10] Δρόμον, *the course marked out for the race.* This expression occurs only in two other places in the New Testament, both being in speeches of St. Paul.

[11] "The *righteous* judge" contrasted with the *unrighteous* judge, by whose sentence he was soon to be condemned.

day; and not to me only, but to all[1] who love His appearing.

IV. 9 Do thy utmost to come to me speedily; for Demas has Timotheus is required to come to Rome speedily.
10 forsaken me, for love of this present world, and has departed to Thessalonica[2]; Crescens is gone to Galatia, Titus to
11 Dalmatia; Luke alone is with me. Take Mark[3] and bring
12 him with thee, for his services[4] are profitable to me; But Tychicus[5] I have sent to Ephesus.

13 When thou comest, bring with thee the case[6] which I left at Troas with Carpus, and the books, but especially the parchments.

14 Alexander the brass-founder[7] charged[8] me with much Intelligence of the progress of Paul's trial.
evil in his declaration; the Lord reward him according to
15 his works. Be thou also on thy guard against him, for he
16 has been a great opponent of my arguments.[9] When I was first heard in my defence[10] no man stood by me, but all

[1] Πᾶσι is the best reading. See Tischendorf.

[2] Demas is mentioned as a "fellow-labourer" at Rome with St. Paul, Philem. 24., and joined with Luke, Col. iv. 14. Nothing further is known of him. Crescens is not mentioned elsewhere. In saying here that he was deserted by all but Luke, St. Paul speaks of his own companions and attendants; he had still friends among the Roman Christians who visited him (iv. 21.), though they were afraid to stand by him at his trial.

[3] Mark was in Rome during a part of the former imprisonment, Col. iv. 10. Philem. 24.

[4] Διακονίαν, not "*the* ministry." (Authorised Version.)

[5] If we suppose (see above, p. 490. note 4.) that Timotheus was at Ephesus, we must conclude that Tychicus was the bearer of this Epistle, and the aorist ἀπέστειλα, "*I send herewith*," used according to the idiom of classical letter-writers. See Winer, § 41. 5. p. 254.

[6] Φαιλόνης means either a travelling-case (for carrying clothes, books, &c.), or a travelling-cloak. The former seems the more probable meaning here, from the mention of *the books*.

[7] Χαλκεύς. Whether this Alexander is the same mentioned as put forward by the Jews at Ephesus in the theatre (Acts xix. 33.), and as excommunicated by St. Paul (1 Tim. i. 20.), we do not know. If these names all belong to the same person, he was probably of the Judaizing faction. See above, p. 83.

[8] Ἐνεδείξατο (not "*did*." Authorised Version). The verb ἐνδείκνυμαι, though of frequent occurrence in the New Testament (in the sense of *exhibit, display, manifest*), does not elsewhere occur in the same construction as here, with an accusative of the thing, and a dative of the person. The active form of the verb in classical Greek has a forensic sense,—viz. to *make a declaration against;* and as the verb is here used in an active sense (the active *form* of it not occurring in the New Testament), we may not unnaturally suppose that it is so used here. At any rate, the literal English is "*Alexander manifested many evil things against me.*"

[9] The "arguments" here mentioned are probably those used by St. Paul in his defence.

[10] On this πρωτη ἀπολογία, see above, p. 488. The ancient interpreters, Eusebius, Jerome, and

forsook me; (I pray that it be not laid to their charge). IV. 17.
Nevertheless the Lord Jesus[1] stood by me, and strengthened my heart[2], that by me the proclamation of the[3] Glad-tidings might be accomplished in full measure, and that all the Gentiles might hear; and I was delivered out of the lion's mouth.[4] And the Lord shall deliver me from every evil, and 18
shall preserve me unto His heavenly kingdom. To Him be glory unto the ages of ages. Amen.

Salutations and personal intelligence.

Salute Prisca and Aquila, and the household of One- 19
siphorus.

Erastus[5] remained at Corinth; but Trophimus I left 20
sick at Miletus.

Do thy utmost to come before winter. 21

There salute thee, Eubulus, and Pudens, and Linus[6], and Claudia[7], and all the brethren.

others, understood St. Paul here to refer to his acquittal at the end of his *first imprisonment* at Rome, and his subsequent preaching in Spain; but while we must acknowledge that the strength of the expressions πληροφορηθῇ and πάντα τὰ ἔθνη are in favour of this view, we think that on the whole the context renders it unnatural.

[1] Ὁ κύριος.

[2] Ἐνεδ. Cf. Rom. iv. 20., Eph. vi. 10.

[3] Τὸ κήρυγμα, scilicet τοῦ εὐαγγελίου.

[4] By *the lion's mouth* may be only meant *the imminence of the immediate peril;* but it *may* mean that St. Paul, at his first hearing, established his right, as a Roman citizen, to be exempted from the punishment of exposure to wild beasts, which was inflicted during the Neronian persecution on so many Christians. On the historical inferences drawn from this verse, see the preceding remarks.

[5] This verse is an insuperable difficulty to those who suppose this Epistle written in the first imprisonment at Rome; since it implies a recent journey, in which St. Paul had passed through Miletus and Corinth. (See Wieseler's vain attempt to get over this difficulty, Chronologie, p. 465—469.) It has been also thought inexplicable that Paul should mention to Timotheus (who was at Ephesus, so near Miletus) the fact that Trophimus was left there. But many suppositions might be made to account for this. For instance, Trophimus may have only stayed a short time at Miletus, and come on by the first ship after his recovery. This was probably the first communication from St. Paul to Timotheus since they parted; and there would be nothing unnatural even if it mentioned a circumstance which Timotheus knew already. For example, *A.* at Calcutta writes to *B.* in London, "*I left C. dangerously ill at Southampton,*" although he may be sure that *B.* has heard of *C.*'s illness long before he can receive the letter.

[6] Linus is probably the same person who was afterwards bishop of Rome, and is mentioned by Irenæus and Eusebius.

[7] *Pudens and Claudia.* The following facts relating to these names are taken from an ingenious essay on the subject entitled "*Claudia and Pudens,* by J. Williams, M. A. (London, 1848)."

There are two epigrams of Martial (iv. 13., and xi. 54.), the former of which describes the marriage of a distinguished Roman named *Pudens* to a foreign lady (peregrina) named *Claudia*, and the latter of which tells us that this *Claudia*

II. 22 The Lord Jesus Christ be with thy spirit. Grace be with you [1] all. Concluding benedictions.

was a *Briton*, and gives her the cognomen of *Rufina*. When the latter epigram was written, she had grown-up sons and daughters, but herself still retained the charms of youth. Both these epigrams were written during Martial's residence at Rome; and, therefore, their date must be between A.D. 66 and A.D. 100. (See Clinton's Fasti.) The former of the two epigrams was not *published* till the reign of Domitian, but it may very probably have been *written* many years earlier. Thus the Claudia and Pudens of Martial *may* be the same with the Claudia and Pudens who are here seen as friends of St. Paul in A.D. 68.

But, further, Tacitus mentions (Agric. 14.) that certain territories in the south-east of Britain were given to a British king *Cogidunus* as a reward for his fidelity to Rome: this occurred about A.D. 52, while *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, commonly called *Claudius*, was emperor.

Again, in 1723, a marble was dug up at Chichester, with the following inscription (in which the brackets indicate the part lost by the portion of the stone broken off).

[N]EPTUNO ET MINERVÆ
TEMPLUM
[PR]O SALUTE DOMUS DIVINÆ
AUCTORITATE TIB. CLAUD.
[CO]GIDUBNI REGIS LEGATI AUGUSTI IN. BRIT.
[COLLE]GIUM FABRORUM ET QUI IN EO
[A SACRIS SUNT] DE SUO DEDICAVERUNT DONANTE AREAM
[PUD]ENTE PUDENTINI FILIO.

Now, the *Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus* here mentioned as British king of Chichester, is proved by Mr. Williams to be undoubtedly the same mentioned by Tacitus; and we see that Cogidunus had (according to the practice in such cases) adopted the *nomen* and *prænomen* of his patron the emperor Claudius. Hence, this king's daughter must, according to Roman usage (see Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, p. 640.), have been called *Claudia*. It is also in exact accordance with that which was the common practice in such cases, that a daughter of king Cogidunus should have been sent to Rome (as a pledge of his fidelity) to be there educated. If this was done the young Claudia would no doubt be placed under the protection of Pomponia, the wife of Aulus Plautius, the conqueror of Britain; for this Plautius had been the Imperial legate in Britain, A.D. 43—52, and had been aided by the fidelity of Cogidunus. Now this Pomponia (as we learn from Tacitus, Annal. xiii. 32.) was accused in A.D. 57 of being tainted with "*a foreign superstition:*" which may not improbably have been *Christianity*. And if so, she may have converted her supposed *protégée* Claudia.

Another connecting link between Claudia and Pomponia may perhaps be found in the cognomen *Rufina* attached to Claudia by Martial. For a distinguished branch of the *Pomponian gens* at this period bore the cognomen *Rufus;* and if our Pomponia was of this *Rufine* branch, it would be agreeable to Roman usage that her *protégée* Claudia should be called *Rufina*. And this probability is increased when we find a *Rufus* (in Martial's Epigram) taking an interest in the marriage of Claudia. We know also that a Jewish Christian at Rome bore the name of Rufus (see Rom. xvi. 13., and note); and it may be conjectured that this Rufus had assumed his Roman name (as we know was commonly done by the Jews) from his being under the

[1] Ὑμῶν (not σου) is the reading of the best MSS., which also omit ἀμήν. In English we are compelled to insert *all* here, in order to shew that *you* is plural.

We know not whether Timotheus was able to fulfil these last requests of the dying Apostle; it is doubtful whether he reached Rome in time to receive his parting commands, and cheer his latest earthly sufferings. The only intimation which seems to throw any light on the question, is the statement in the Epistle to the Hebrews, that Timotheus had been liberated from imprisonment in Italy. If, as appears not improbable[1], that Epistle was written shortly after St. Paul's death, it would be proved not only that the disciple fearlessly obeyed his master's summons, but that he actually shared his chains, though he escaped his fate. This, also, would lead us to think that he must have arrived before the execution of St. Paul, for otherwise there would be no reason to account for his being himself arrested in Rome; since, had he come too late, he would naturally have returned to Asia at once, without attracting the notice of the authorities.

We may, therefore, hope that Paul's last earthly wish was fulfilled. Yet if Timotheus did indeed arrive before the closing scene, there could have been but a very brief interval between his coming and his master's death. For the letter which summoned him[2] could not have been despatched from Rome till the end of winter, and St. Paul's martyrdom took place in the middle of summer.[3] We have seen that this was sooner than he had expected; but we have no record of the final stage of his trial, and cannot tell the cause of its

protection of one of this powerful house of *Pomponius Rufus*, some of whom would thus again be connected with Roman Christianity.

Lastly, in the above inscription we find the name of *Pudens, son of Pudentinus*, united with that of *Cogidunus;* which would exactly correspond with the hypothesis that the former was a son-in-law of the latter.

There are only two difficulties in the identification of the Claudia and Pudens of St. Paul, with the Claudia and Pudens of Martial. First, that, had St. Paul's Claudia and Pudens been husband and wife, the name of *Linus* would not have been interposed between them. This, however, is not a conclusive objection, for the names of Linus and Pudens may easily have been transposed in rapid dictation. Secondly, that the Pudens of Martial and of the Sussex inscription acted as a pagan. To meet this, it may be supposed either that Pudens concealed his faith, or that his relatives, in their anxiety to shield him, did idolatrous acts in his name.

We may add that, according to the tradition of the Mediæval Church (which could hardly be acquainted with these epigrams of Martial) a certain *Timotheus*, son of a Roman senator named *Pudens*, took part in the conversion of the Britons to Christianity.

[1] See the next chapter. If our Chronology be right, Timothy's escape would be accounted for by the death of Nero, which immediately followed that of St. Paul.

[2] Supposing the letter to have been despatched to Timotheus on the 1st of March, he could scarcely have arrived at Rome from Asia Minor before the end of May.

[3] Nero's death occurred in June, A.D. 68. Accepting therefore, as we do, the universal tradition that St. Paul was executed in the reign of Nero, his execution must have taken place not later than the beginning of June. We have endeavoured to show (in the article on the Pastoral Epistles in the Appendix) that this date satisfies all the necessary conditions.

speedy conclusion. We only know that it resulted in a sentence of capital punishment.

The privileges of Roman citizenship exempted St. Paul from the ignominious death of lingering torture, which had been lately inflicted on so many of his brethren. He was to die by decapitation[1]; and he was led out to execution beyond the city walls, upon the road to Ostia, the port of Rome. As he issued forth from the gate, his eyes must have rested for a moment on that sepulchral pyramid which stood beside the road, and still stands unshattered, amid the wreck of so many centuries, upon the same spot. That spot was then only the burial-place of a single Roman; it is now the burial-place of many Britons. The mausoleum of Caius Cestius[2] rises conspicuously amongst humbler graves, and marks the site where Papal Rome suffers her Protestant sojourners to bury their dead. In England and in Germany, in Scandinavia and in America, there are hearts which turn to that lofty cenotaph as the Sacred Point of their whole horizon; even as the English villager turns to the gray church tower, which overlooks the grave-stones of his kindred. Among the works of man, that pyramid is the only surviving witness of the martyrdom of St. Paul; and we may thus regard it with yet deeper interest, as a monument unconsciously erected by a pagan to the memory of a martyr. Nor let us think that they who lie beneath its shadow are indeed resting (as degenerate Italians fancy) in unconsecrated ground. Rather let us say, that a spot where the disciples of Paul's faith now sleep in Christ, so near the soil once watered by his blood, is doubly hallowed; and that their resting-place is most fitly identified with the last earthly journey and the dying glance of their own Patron Saint, the Apostle of the Gentiles.

As the martyr and his executioners passed on, their way was crowded with a motley multitude of goers and comers between the metropolis and its harbour

[1] Such is the universal tradition; see note 2 in the next page. The constitutional mode of inflicting capital punishment on a Roman citizen was by the lictor's axe. The criminal was tied to a stake; cruelly scourged with the rods, and then beheaded. See Livy, ii. 6. "*Missi lictores ad sumendum supplicium, nudatos virgis cædunt, securique feriunt.*" Compare Juv. 8. "*legum prima securis.*" But the military mode of execution — decapitation by the sword — was more usual under Nero. Many examples may be found in Tacitus; for instance, the execution of Subrius Flavius (Tac. Ann. xv. 67.). The executioner was generally one of the *speculatores*, or imperial body-guards, under the command of a centurion, who was responsible for the execution of the sentence. See the interesting story in Seneca *de Irâ*, lib. i. cap. 16.

[2] The pyramid of Caius Cestius, which now marks the site of the Protestant burying-ground, was erected in, or just before, the reign of Augustus. It was outside the walls in the time of Nero, though within the present Aurelianic walls. See Beschreibung Roms, vol. iii. p. 435. Also Burton's Antiquities of Rome, p. 250.; and Burgess, vol. ii. p. 207.

—merchants hastening to superintend the unloading of their cargoes—sailors eager to squander the profits of their last voyage in the dissipations of the capital —officials of the government, charged with the administration of the Provinces, or the command of the legions on the Euphrates or the Rhine—Chaldean astrologers—Phrygian eunuchs—dancing-girls from Syria with their painted turbans —mendicant priests from Egypt howling for Osiris—Greek adventurers, eager to coin their national cunning into Roman gold—representatives of the avarice and ambition, the fraud and lust, the superstition and intelligence, of the Imperial world. Through the dust and tumult of that busy throng, the small troop of soldiers threaded their way silently, under the bright sky of an Italian midsummer. They were marching, though they knew it not, in a procession more truly triumphal than any they had ever followed, in the train of General or Emperor, along the Sacred Way. Their prisoner, now at last and for ever delivered from his captivity, rejoiced to follow his Lord[1] "without the gate." The place of execution was not far distant; and there the sword of the headsman[2] ended his long course of sufferings, and released that heroic soul from that feeble body. Weeping friends took up his corpse, and carried it for burial to those subterranean labyrinths[3], where, through many ages of oppression,

[1] Heb. xiii. 12., ἐξὼ τῆς πύλης ἔπαθε.

[2] The death of St. Paul is recorded by his cotemporary Clement, in the passage already quoted as the motto of this Chapter; also by the Roman presbyter Caius (about 200 A.D.) (who alludes to the Ostian road as the site of St. Paul's martyrdom), by Tertullian (Apol. v. and other passages referred to in the note at the end of this Chapter), Eusebius (in the passage above cited), Jerome, and many subsequent writers. The statement of Caius is quoted by Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. ii. 25.). That of Jerome is the most explicit, "Hic ergo decimo quarto Neronis anno (eodem die quo Petrus) Romæ pro Christo capite truncatus sepultusque est, in viâ Ostiensi." (Hieron. Catal. Script.) The statement that Paul was beheaded on the Ostian road agrees with the usage of the period, and with the tradition that his decapitation was by the sword, not the axe: "Paulum *gladio* occidit" (Orosius, Hist. vii. 7.); and similarly Lactantius *de Morte Persec.* It was not uncommon to send prisoners, whose death might attract too much notice in Rome, to some distance from the city, under a military escort, for execution. Wieseler compares the execution of Calpurnius Galerianus, as recorded by Tacitus, "custodia militari cinctus ne in ipsâ urbe conspectior mors foret, ad quadragesimum ab urbe Lapidem viâ Appiâ fuso per venas sanguine extinguitur" (Tac. Hist. iv. 11.). This happened A.D. 70. The great basilica of St. Paul now stands outside the walls of Rome, on the road to Ostia, in commemoration of his martyrdom, and the Porta Ostiensis (in the present Aurelianic wall) is called the gate of St. Paul. The traditional spot of the martyrdom is the *tre fontane* not far from the basilica; see the Note at the end of this chapter. The basilica itself (S. Paolo fuor de' muri) was first built by Constantine. The great work on it is *Nicolai della basilica di S. Paolo* (Rom. 1815). Till the Reformation it was under the protection of the Kings of England, and the emblem of the Order of the Garter is still to be seen among its decorations. (See Bunsen's Beschreibung Roms, vol. iii. p. 440.) The church is described by Prudentius (Peristeph. Hym. 12.): "Titulum Pauli via servat Ostiensis."

[3] Eusebius (ii. 25.) says that the original burial-places of Peter and Paul, in the Cata-

the persecuted Church found refuge for the living, and sepulchres for the dead.

Thus died the Apostle, the Prophet, and the Martyr; bequeathing to the Church, in her government and her discipline, the legacy of his Apostolic labours; leaving his Prophetic words to be her living oracles; pouring forth his blood to be the seed of a thousand Martyrdoms. Thenceforth, among the glorious company of the Apostles, among the goodly fellowship of the Prophets, among the noble army of Martyrs, his name has stood pre-eminent. And wheresoever the holy Church throughout all the world doth acknowledge God, there Paul of Tarsus is revered, as the great teacher of a universal redemption and a catholic religion—the herald of glad tidings to all mankind.

combs (κοιμητήρια), were still shown in his time. This shows the tradition on the subject. Jerome, however, in the passage above cited, seems to make the place of burial and execution the same. See also the following Note.

NOTE

On certain Legends connected with St. Paul's Death.

WE have not thought it right to interrupt the narrative of St. Paul's last imprisonment, by noticing the legends of the Roman martyrology upon the subject, nor by discussing the tradition which makes St. Peter his fellow-worker at Rome, and the companion of his imprisonment and martyrdom. The latter tradition seems to have grown up gradually in the Church, till at length, in the fourth century, it was accredited by Eusebius and Jerome. If we trace it to its origin, however, it appears to rest on but slender foundations. In the first place, we have an undoubted testimony to the fact that St. Peter died by martyrdom, in St. John's Gospel (Chap. xxi. 18, 19.). The same fact is attested by Clemens Romanus (a cotemporary authority) in the passage[1] which we have so often referred to. But in neither place is it said that Rome was the scene of the Apostle's labours or death. The earliest authority for this is Dionysius[2], Bishop of Corinth,

[1] Clem. Rom. i. 5.

[2] The passage of Ignatius (ep. ad Rom. c. 4.) sometimes quoted is quite inconclusive (οὐκ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν), even if it be genuine, which few passages in the epistles of Ignatius can be confidently assumed to be.

(about A.D. 170), who calls "Peter and Paul" the "*founders of the Corinthian and Roman Churches,*" and says that they both taught in Rome together, and suffered martyrdom "*about the same time*" (*κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν*).[1] The Roman Presbyter Caius (about A.D. 200), in the passage to which we have already referred (p. 504. note), mentions the tradition that Peter suffered martyrdom *in the Vatican* (which, if he suffered in the reign of Nero, he very probably would have done. See Tac. xv. 44. before quoted). The same tradition is confirmed by Irenæus[2], frequently alluded to by Tertullian[3], accredited (as we have before mentioned) by Eusebius[4] and Jerome[5], and followed by Lactantius[6], Orosius[7], and all subsequent writers till the Reformation. This apparent weight of testimony, however, is much weakened by our knowledge of the facility with which unhistoric legends originate, especially when they fall in with the wishes of those among whom they circulate; and it was a natural wish of the Roman Church to represent the "Chief of the Apostles" as having the seat of his government, and the site of his martyrdom, in the chief city of the world. It cannot indeed be denied, that St. Peter may possibly have suffered martyrdom at Rome; but the form which the tradition assumes in the hands of Jerome, viz. that he was bishop of Rome for twenty-five years[8], from A.D. 42 to 68, may be regarded as entirely fabulous; for, in the first place, it contradicts the agreement made at the Council of Jerusalem, that Peter should work *among the Jews* (Gal. ii. 9.; compare Rom. i. 13., where the Roman Christians are classed among *Gentile* churches); 2ndly, it is inconsistent with the First Epistle of St. Peter (which, from internal evidence, cannot have been written so early as 42 A.D.), where we find St. Peter labouring in Mesopotamia[9]; 3rdly, it is negatived by the silence of all St. Paul's Epistles written at Rome.

If Jerome's statement of St. Peter's Roman Episcopate is unhistorical, his assertion that the two Apostles suffered martyrdom *on the same day*[10] may be safely disregarded. We have seen that upon this tradition was grafted a legend that St. Peter and St. Paul were fellow-prisoners in the Mamertine.[11] It is likewise commemorated by a little chapel on the

[1] Dionysius, quoted in Euseb. H. E. ii. 25.

[2] Iren. adv. Hær. iii. 3.

[3] Tertull. Scorp. 15., and Præscript. adv. Hær. 36.

[4] In the place before cited, and in his Chronicon.

[5] See above, p. 504. note.

[6] De Mort. Persec. 2.

[7] Hist. vii. 7.

[8] Jerome says that St. Peter "secundo Claudii anno ad expugnandum Simonem magum Romam pergit" (Hieron. Sc. Ecc. sub Petro). Wieseler has shown how this notion probably originated from Justin's well-known mistake of *Semo Sancus* for *Simon Magus* (Wieseler, p. 572. &c.).

[9] It is scarcely necessary to notice the hypothesis that in 1 Pet. v. 13., where St. Peter sends salutations from "Babylon," he uses Babylon for Rome. We know from Josephus and Philo that Babylon in the Apostolic age contained an immense Jewish population, which formed a fitting field for the labours of St. Peter, the apostle of the circumcision. See Wieseler, p. 557. note 1.

[10] See the passage cited above, p. 504. note.

[11] See Martyrology of Baronius (Par. 1607) under March 14 (the passage before referred to, p. 483. note). "Romæ natalis sanctorum quadraginta septem martyrum qui baptizati sunt a B. Apostolo Petro, cum teneretur in custodiâ Mamertini cum co-apostolo suo Paulo, ubi novem menses detenti sunt." How obviously irreconcilable is this with 2 Tim. iv. 11., "Luke alone is with me."

Ostian Road, outside the gate of San Paolo, which marks the spot where the Apostles separated on their way to death.[1]

St. Peter's martyrdom is commemorated at Rome, not only by the great basilica which bears his name, but also by the little church of *Domine quo vadis* on the Appian Way, which is connected with one of the most beautiful legends[2] of the martyrology. This legend may be mentioned in advantageous contrast with that connected with the supposed site of St. Paul's death, marked by the church of *S. Paolo alle tre fontane*. According to the latter, these three fountains sprang up miraculously "abscisso Pauli capite triplici saltu sese sustollente."[3] The legend goes on to say, that a noble matron named Lucina buried the body of St. Paul on her own land, beside the Ostian Road.

[1] Beschreibung Roms, vol. iii. p. 439.

[2] The legend is that St. Peter, through fear of martyrdom, was leaving Rome by the Appian Road in the early dawn, when he met our Lord, and, casting himself at the feet of his Master, asked him "Domine quo vadis?" To which the Lord replied, "Venio iterum crucifigi." The disciple returned, penitent and ashamed, and was martyred.

[3] See the Acta Sanctorum, vol. vii., under June 29, in the "Acta S. Pauli Apostoli." The place is described as being "Ad Salvias Aquas, tertio ab Urbe lapide."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

HE BEING DEAD YET SPEAKETH. (Heb. xi. 4.)

Εἴ τις οὖν ἐκκλησία ἔχει ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστόλην ὡς Παύλου, αὕτη εὐδοκιμείτω καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ. . . . . τίς δὲ ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστόλην, τὸ μὲν ἀληθες Θεὸς οἶδεν. (ORIGENES ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. vi. 25.)

"Ad Hebræos epistolam Pauli, sive cujuscunque alterius eam esse putas." (HIERONYMUS, Comm. in Titum, c. 2.)

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS. — ITS INSPIRATION NOT AFFECTED BY THE DOUBTS CONCERNING ITS AUTHORSHIP. — ITS ORIGINAL READERS. — CONFLICTING TESTIMONY OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH CONCERNING ITS AUTHOR. — HIS OBJECT IN WRITING IT. — TRANSLATION OF THE EPISTLE.

THE origin and history of the Epistle to the Hebrews was a subject of controversy even in the second century. There is no portion of the New Testament whose authorship is so disputed; nor any of which the inspiration is more indisputable. The early Church could not determine whether it was written by Barnabas, by Luke, by Clement, or by Paul. Since the Reformation still greater diversity of opinion has prevailed. Luther assigned it to Apollos, Calvin to a disciple of the Apostles. The Church of Rome now maintains by its infallibility the Pauline authorship of the Epistle, which in the second, third, and fourth centuries, the same Church, with the same infallibility, denied. But notwithstanding these doubts concerning the origin of this canonical book, its inspired authority is beyond all doubt. It is certain, from internal evidence, that it was written by a cotemporary of the Apostles, and before the destruction of Jerusalem[1]; that its writer was the friend of Timotheus[2]; and that he was the teacher[3] of one of the Apostolic Churches. Moreover the Epistle was received by the Oriental Church as canonical from the first.[4] Every sound reasoner must agree with St. Jerome[5], that it matters nothing whether it were

[1] See Heb. vii. 25., xiii. 11—13., and other passages which speak of the Temple services as going on.

[2] See xiii. 23.

[3] See xiii. 19., ἀποκατασταθῶ ὑμῖν.

[4] Clemens Alex. ap. Euseb. (H. E. vi. 14.); Orig. ap. Euseb. (H. E. vi. 25.); and the passages of St. Jerome quoted below.

[5] "Illud nostris dicendum est, hanc epistolam quæ inscribitur *ad Hebræos* non solum ab ecclesiis orientis, sed ab omnibus retro ecclesiasticis Græci sermonis scriptoribus quasi Pauli apostoli suscipi, licet plerique eam vel Barnabæ vel Clementis arbitrentur; et NIHIL INTERESSE CUJUS

written by Luke, by Barnabas, or by Paul, since it is allowed to be the production of the Apostolic age, and has been read in the public service of the Church from the earliest times. Those, therefore, who conclude with Calvin, that it was not written by St. Paul, must also join with him in thinking the question of its authorship a question of little moment, and in "embracing it without controversy as one of the Apostolical Epistles." [1]

But when we call it an *Epistle*, we must observe that it is distinguished, by one remarkable peculiarity, from other compositions which bear that name. In ancient no less than in modern times, it was an essential feature of an epistle, that it should be distinctly addressed, by the writer, to some definite individual, or body of individuals; and a composition which bore on its surface neither the name of its writer, nor an address to any particular readers, would then, as now, have been called rather a treatise than a letter. It was this peculiarity [2] in the portion of Scripture now before us, which led to some of the doubts and perplexities concerning it which existed in the earliest times. Yet, on the other hand, we cannot consider it merely as a treatise or discourse; because we find certain indications of an epistolary nature, which show that it was originally addressed not to the world in general, nor to all Christians, nor even to all Jewish Christians, but to certain individual readers closely and personally connected with the writer.

Let us first examine these indications, and consider how far they tend to ascertain the *readers* for whom this Epistle was originally designed.

In the first place, it may be held as certain that the Epistle was addressed to *Hebrew* Christians. Throughout its pages there is not a single reference to any other class of converts. Its readers are assumed to be familiar with the Levitical worship, the Temple services, and all the institutions of the Mosaic ritual. They are in danger of apostasy to Judaism, yet are not warned (like the Galatians and others) against circumcision; plainly because they were already circumcised. They are called to view in Christianity the completion and perfect consummation of Judaism. They are called to behold in Christ the fulfilment of the Law, in His person the antitype of the priesthood, in His

SIT, cum ecclesiastici viri sit et quotidie ecclesiarum lectione celebretur." — Hieron. Ep. ad Dardanum, 129.

[1] "Ego eam inter Apostolicas sine controversiâ amplector. . . . Quis porro eam composuerit non magnopere curandum est. . . . . Ego ut Paulum agnoscam auctorem, adduci nequeo." — Calvin. in Ep. ad Heb.

[2] We need scarcely remark that the inscription which the Epistle at present bears was not a part of the original document. It is well known that the titles of all the Epistles were of later origin; and the title by which this was first known was merely *πρὸς Ἑβραίους*, and not *Παύλου πρὸς Ἑβραίους*.

offices the eternal realisation of the sacrificial and mediatorial functions of the Jewish hierarchy.

Yet, as we have said above, this work is not a treatise addressed to all Jewish Christians throughout the world, but to one particular Church, concerning which we learn the following facts:—First, its members had stedfastly endured persecution and the loss of property; secondly, they had shewn sympathy to their imprisoned brethren and to Christians generally (x. 32—34. and vi. 10.); thirdly, they were now in danger of apostasy, and had not yet resisted unto blood (xii. 3—4.; see also v. 11, &c., vi. 9, &c.); fourthly, their church had existed for a considerable length of time (v. 12.), and some of its chief pastors were dead (xiii. 7.); fifthly, their prayers are demanded for the *restoration to them* of the writer of the Epistle, who was therefore personally connected with them (xiii. 19.); sixthly, they were acquainted with Timotheus, who was about to visit them (xiii. 23.); seventhly, the arguments addressed to them presuppose a power on their part of appreciating that spiritualising and allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament which distinguished the Alexandrian[1] School of Jewish Theology; eighthly, they must have been familiar with the Scriptures in the Septuagint version, because every one of the numerous quotations is taken from that version, even where it differs materially from the Hebrew; ninthly, the language in which they are addressed is Hellenistic Greek, and not Aramaic.[2]

It has been concluded by the majority, both of ancient and modern critics, that the church addressed was that of Jerusalem, or at least was situate in Palestine. In favour of this view it is urged, *first*, that no church out of Palestine could have consisted so exclusively of Jewish converts. To this it may be replied that the Epistle, though *addressed* only to Jewish converts, and contemplating their position and their dangers exclusively, might still have been

[1] The resemblance between the Epistle to the Hebrews and the writings of Philo is most striking. It extends not only to the general points mentioned in the text, but to particular doctrines and expressions: the parallel passages are enumerated by Bleek.

[2] It may be considered as an established point, that the Greek Epistle which we now have is the original. Some of the early fathers thought that the original had been written in Aramaic; but the origin of this tradition seems to have been, 1st, the belief that the Epistle was written by St. Paul, combined with the perception of its dissimilarity in style to his writings; and 2ndly, the belief that it was addressed to the Palestinian Church. That the present Epistle is *not* a translation from an Aramaic original is proved, 1st, by the quotation of the Septuagint *argumentatively*, where it differs from the Hebrew; for instance, Heb. x. 38.: 2ndly, by the *paronomasias* upon *Greek* words, which could not be translated into Aramaic, *e. g.* that on διαθήκη (ix. 16.); 3rdly, by the free use of Greek compounds, such as πολυμερῶς, ἀπαύγασμα, εὐπερίστατος, &c., which could only be expressed in Aramaic by awkward periphrases; 4th, by the fact that even the earliest writers had never seen a copy of the supposed Aramaic original. Its existence was only hypothetical from the first.

sent to a church which contained Gentile converts also. In fact, even in the church of Jerusalem itself there must have been some converts from among the Gentile sojurners who lived in that city; so that the argument proves too much. Moreover, it is not necessary that every discourse addressed to a mixed congregation should discuss the position of every individual member. If an overwhelming majority belong to a particular class, the minority is often passed over in addresses directed to the whole body. Again, the Epistle may have been intended for the Hebrew members only of some particular church, which contained also Gentile members; and this would perhaps explain the absence of the usual address and salutation at the commencement. *Secondly*, it is urged that none but Palestinian Jews would have felt the attachment to the Levitical ritual implied in the readers of this Epistle. But we do not see why the same attachment may not have been felt in every great community of Hebrews; nay, we know historically that no Jews were more devotedly attached to the Temple worship than those of the dispersion, who were only able to visit the Temple itself at distant intervals, but who still looked to it as the central point of their religious unity and of their national existence.[1] Thirdly, it is alleged that many passages seem to imply readers who had the Temple services going on continually under their eyes. The whole of the ninth and tenth chapters speak of the Levitical ritual in a manner which naturally suggests this idea. On the other hand it may be argued, that such passages imply no more than that amount of familiarity which might be presupposed, in those who were often in the habit of going up to the great feasts at Jerusalem.[2]

Thus, then, we cannot see that the Epistle must necessarily have been addressed to Jews of *Palestine*, because addressed to *Hebrews*.[3] And, moreover, if we examine the preceding nine conditions which must be satisfied by its readers, we shall find some of them which could scarcely apply to the church of Jerusalem, or any other church in Palestine. Thus we have seen that the Palestinian Church was remarkable for its poverty, and was the recipient of the bounty of other churches; whereas those addressed here are themselves the liberal benefactors of others. Again, those here addressed have not yet *resisted unto blood;* whereas the Palestinian Church had produced many martyrs, in

[1] They shewed this by the large contributions which they sent to the Temple from all countries where they were dispersed; see above, p. 379.

[2] We cannot agree with Ebrard, that the Epistle contains indications that the Christians addressed had been excluded from the Temple.

[3] Bleek and De Wette have urged the title πρὸς Ἑβραίους to prove the same point. But Wieseler (p. 485—488.) has conclusively shewn that Ἑβραῖος was applied as properly to Hebrews of the dispersion, as to Hebrews of Palestine.

several persecutions. Moreover, the Palestinian[1] Jews would hardly be addressed in a style of reasoning adapted to minds imbued with Alexandrian culture. Finally, a letter to the church of Palestine would surely have been written in the language of Palestine; or, at least, when the Scriptures of Hebraism were appealed to, they would not have been quoted from the Septuagint version, *where it differs from the Hebrew.*

These considerations (above all, the last) seem to negative the hypothesis that this Epistle was addressed to a church situate in the Holy Land; and the latter portion of them point to another church, for which we may more plausibly conceive it to have been intended, namely, that of Alexandria.[2] Such a supposition would at once account for the Alexandrian tone of thought and reasoning, and for the quotations from the Septuagint[3]; while the wealth of the Alexandrian Jews would explain the liberality here commended; and the immense Hebrew population of Alexandria would render it natural that the Epistle should contemplate the Hebrew Christians alone in that church, wherein there may perhaps at first have been as few Gentile converts as in Jerusalem itself. It must be remembered, however, that this is only an hypothesis[4], offered as being embarrassed with fewer difficulties than any other which has been proposed.

Such then being the utmost which we can ascertain concerning the readers of the Epistle, what can we learn of its writer? Let us first examine the testimony of the Primitive Church on this question. It is well summed up by St. Jerome in the following passage[5]: — "That which is called the Epistle *to the*

[1] Cultivated individuals at Jerusalem (as, for instance, the pupils of Gamaliel) would have fully entered into such reasoning; but it would scarcely have been addressed to the mass of Jewish believers. Bleek (as we have before observed) has shewn many instances of parallelism between the Epistle to the Hebrews and the writings of Philo, the representative of Alexandrian Judaism.

[2] The canon of Muratori mentions an epistle *ad Alexandrinos* (which it rejects), and takes no notice of any epistle *ad Hebræos*. We cannot prove, however, that this epistle *ad Alexandrinos* was the same with our Epistle to the Hebrews.

[3] Bleek has endeavoured to prove (and we think successfully) that these are not only from the LXX., but from the Alexandrian MSS. of the LXX. But we do not insist on this argument, as it is liable to some doubt.

[4] It is to be regretted that Wieseler should have encumbered his able arguments in defence of this hypothesis (originally suggested by Schmidt) by maintaining that the constant allusions to the Temple and hierarchy in this Epistle refer to the Egyptian temple built by Onias at Leontopolis. This hypothesis is sufficiently refuted by Wieseler's own admission (501.), that even Philo the Alexandrian, when speaking of *the Temple,* knows but one, viz. the Temple on Mount Zion.

[5] "Epistola quæ fertur *ad Hebræos* non ejus [Pauli] creditur propter stili sermonisque distantiam; sed vel Barnabæ (juxta Tertullianum); vel Lucæ evangelistæ (juxta quosdam); vel Clementis (Romanæ postea ecclesiæ episcopi) quem aiunt sententias Pauli proprio ordinasse et ornasse sermone; vel certe, quia Paulus scribebat ad Hebræos, et propter invidiam sui apud eos nominis, titulum in principio salutationis amputaverat." — Hieron. Catal. Script.

Hebrews is thought not to be Paul's, because of the difference of style and language, but is ascribed either to Barnabas (according to Tertullian); or to Luke the Evangelist (according to some authorities); or to Clement (afterwards Bishop of Rome), who is said to have arranged and adorned Paul's sentiments in his own language; or at least it is thought that Paul abstained from the inscription of his name at its commencement, because it was addressed to the Hebrews, among whom he was unpopular." Here then we find that the Epistle was ascribed to four different writers—St. Barnabas, St. Luke, St. Clement, or St. Paul. With regard to the first, Tertullian expressly says that copies of the Epistle in his day bore the inscription, "the Epistle of Barnabas to the Hebrews."[1] The same tradition is mentioned by Philastrius.[1] The opinion that either Luke or Clement was the writer is mentioned by Clement of Alexandria[2], Origen[3], and others; but they seem not to have considered Luke or Clement as the independent authors of the Epistle, but only as editors of the sentiments of Paul. Some held that Luke had only translated the Pauline original; others that he or Clement had systematised the teaching of their master with a commentary[4] of their own. Fourthly, St. Paul was held to be, in some sense, the *author* of the Epistle, by the Greek[5] ecclesiastical writers generally; though no one, so far as we know, maintained that he had *written* it in its present form. On the other hand, the Latin Church, till the fourth century, refused to acknowledge the Epistle[6] as Paul's in any sense.

Thus there were, in fact, only two persons whose claim to the *independent authorship* of the Epistle was maintained in the Primitive Church, viz. St. Barnabas and St. Paul. Those who contend that Barnabas was the author, confirm the testimony of Tertullian by the following arguments from internal evidence. First, Barnabas was a Levite, and therefore would naturally dwell

[1] "Extat enim et BARNABÆ titulus AD HEBRÆOS." — De Pudic. 20. "Sunt alii quoque qui epistolam Pauli ad Hebræos non adserunt esse ipsius, sed dicunt aut Barnabæ esse apostoli, aut," &c. — Philast. Hæres. 89.

[2] Τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστόλην Παύλου μὲν εἶναι φησι, γεγράφθαι δὲ Ἑβραίοις Ἑβραϊκῇ φωνῇ. Λουκᾶν δὲ φιλοτίμως αὐτὴν μεθερμηνεύσαντα, ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. — Clem. Alex. ap. Euseb. H. E. vi. 14.

[3] After stating that the style is admitted not to be that of St. Paul, Origen adds his own opinion that the Epistle was written by some disciple of St. Paul, who recorded the sentiments (τὰ νοήματα) of the Apostle, and commented like a scholiast (ὡσπερεὶ σχολιογραφήσαντος) upon the teaching of his master. Then follows the passage which we have prefixed to this chapter as a motto; after which he mentions the tradition about Clement and Luke. — Origenes, ap. Euseb. Hist. Ec. vi. 25.

[4] See the preceding note.

[5] See the passage quoted above from Jerome's Epistle to Dardanus.

[6] Even Cyprian rejected it (De Exhort. Mart. cap. xi.), and Hilary is the first writer of the Western Church who received it as St. Paul's.

on the Levitical worship which forms so prominent a topic of this Epistle. Secondly, Barnabas was a native of Cyprus, and Cyprus was peculiarly connected with Alexandria; so that a Cyprian Levite would most probably receive his theological education at Alexandria. This would agree with the Alexandrian character of the argumentation of this Epistle. Thirdly, the writer of the Epistle was a friend of Timotheus (see above); so was Barnabas (cf. Acts xiii. and xiv. with 2 Tim. iii. 11.). Fourthly, the Hebraic appellation which Barnabas received from the Apostles — "*Son of Exhortation*" [1] — shews that he possessed the gift necessary for writing a composition distinguished for the power of its hortatory admonitions.

The advocates of the Pauline authorship urge, in addition to the external testimony which we have before mentioned, the following arguments from internal evidence. First, that the general plan of the Epistle is similar to that of Paul's other writings; secondly, that its doctrinal statements are identical with Paul's; thirdly, that there are many points of similarity between its phraseology and diction and those of Paul.[2] On the other hand, the opponents of the Pauline origin argue, first, that the rhetorical character of the composition is altogether unlike Paul's other writings; secondly, that there are many points of difference in the phraseology and diction; thirdly, that the quotations of the Old Testament are not made in the same form as Paul's[3]; fourthly, that the writer includes himself among those *who had received the Gospel from the original disciples of the Lord Jesus* (ii. 3.)[4], whereas St. Paul declares that the Gospel *was not taught*

[1] The name is translated by Winer, *Sohn kräftiger religiöser Ansprache*, and is derived from נבא = προφητεύειν, or παρακαλεῖν. See Winer's Realwörterbuch, and Wahl's Lexicon *in voce*, and Vol. I. p. 127. note 7.

[2] The ablest English champion of the Pauline authorship is Dr. Davidson, who has stated the arguments on both sides with that perfect candour which so peculiarly distinguishes him among theological writers. See Davidson's Introduction, vol. iii. p. 163—259. Ebrard, in his recent work on the Epistle, argues plausibly in favour of the hypothesis mentioned above, that it was written by St. Luke, under the direction of St. Paul. He modifies this hypothesis by supposing Luke to receive Paul's instructions at Rome, and then to write the Epistle in some other part of Italy. We think, however, that the argument on which he mainly relies (viz. that the writer of xiii. 19. could not have been the writer of xiii. 23.) is untenable.

[3] It should be observed that the three preceding arguments do not contradict the primitive opinion that the Epistle contained the embodiment of St. Paul's sentiments by the pen of Luke or Clement.

[4] Some have argued that this could not have been said by Barnabas, because they receive the tradition mentioned by Clement of Alexandria, that Barnabas was one of the seventy disciples of Christ. But this tradition seems to have arisen from a confusion between Barnabas and Barsabas (Acts i. 23.). Tertullian speaks of Barnabas as a disciple of the Apostles, "qui ab Apostolis didicit." — De Pudic. c. 20.

him by man, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ (Gal. i. 11, 12.); fifthly, that St. Paul's Epistles always begin with his name, and always specify in the salutation the persons to whom they are addressed.[1]

Several very able modern critics have agreed with Luther in assigning the authorship of this Epistle to Apollos, chiefly because we know him to have been a learned Alexandrian Jew[2], and because he fulfils the other conditions mentioned above, as required by the internal evidence. But we need not dwell on this opinion, since it is not based on external testimony, and since Barnabas fulfils the requisite conditions almost equally well.

Finally, we may observe that, notwithstanding the doubts which we have recorded, we need not scruple to speak of this portion of Scripture by its canonical designation, as "the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews." We have seen that Jerome expresses the greatest doubts concerning its authorship; and that Origen says, "the writer is known to God alone:" the same doubts are expressed by Eusebius and by Augustine; yet all these great writers refer to the words of the Epistle as *the words of Paul.* In fact, whether written by Barnabas, by Luke, by Clement, or by Apollos, it represented the views, and was impregnated by the influence, of the great Apostle, whose disciples even the chief of these apostolic men might well be called. By their writings, no less than by his own, he being dead yet spake.

We have seen that the Epistle to the Hebrews was addressed to Jewish converts, who were tempted to apostatise from Christianity, and return to Judaism. Its primary object was to check this apostasy, by shewing them the true end and meaning of the Mosaic system, and its symbolical and transitory character. They were taught to look through the shadow to the substance, through the type to the antitype. But the treatise, though first called forth to meet the needs of Hebrew converts, was not designed for their instruction only. The Spirit of God has chosen this occasion to enlighten the Universal Church concerning the design of the ancient covenant, and the interpretation of the Jewish Scriptures. Nor could the memory of St. Paul be enshrined in a nobler monument, nor his mission on earth be more fitly closed, than by this inspired record of the true subordination of Judaism to Christianity.

[1] We have not mentioned here the mistakes which some suppose the writer to have made concerning the internal arrangements of the Temple and the official duties of the High Priest. These difficulties will be discussed in the notes upon the passages where they occur. They are not of a kind which tend to fix the authorship of the Epistle upon one more than upon another of those to whom it has been assigned.

[2] Acts xviii. 24.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.[1]

God has revealed Himself finally to man, in the person of His Son,

God[2], who at sundry times and in divers manners 1. 1.
spake of old to our fathers by the prophets, hath[3] in these 2
last days[4] spoken unto us by[5] His Son, whom He appointed
heir of all things, by whom also He made the universe[6]; who 3
being an emanation[7] of His glory, and an express[8] image of
His substance[9], and upholding all things by the word of His
power, when He had by Himself made purification[10] for our
sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high;
being made so much greater than the angels, as He hath by 4
inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they.

who is higher than the Angels.

For to which of the Angels[11] said He at any time, "Thou 5
art my son, this day have I begotten thee;"[12] and again, "I
will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son."[13] But 6

[1] We have the following circumstances to fix the date of this Epistle: —

(1.) The Temple of Jerusalem was standing, and the services going on undisturbed (vii. 25., xiii. 11—13.). Hence it was written before the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70.

(2.) Its author was at liberty in Italy; and Timotheus was just liberated from imprisonment (xiii. 23, 24.). If St. Paul wrote it, this would fix the date at 63; but as we do not hear that Timotheus was then imprisoned in Italy (either in Acts, or in the Epistles to Timothy, where allusions might be expected to the fact), it would seem more probable that his imprisonment here mentioned took place about the time of St. Paul's death; and that he was liberated after the death of Nero. This would place the date of the Epistle in A. D. 68 or 69.

(3.) This date agrees with ii. 3., which places the readers of the Epistle among those who had not seen our Lord in the flesh; for ἡμεῖς there plainly includes the readers as well as the writer.

[2] In order to mark the difference of style and character between this and the preceding Epistles, the translator has in this Epistle adhered as closely as possible to the language of the authorised version.

[3] The Hellenistic peculiarity of using the aorist for the perfect (which is not uncommon in St. Paul's writings, see Rom. xi. 30., and Phil. iii. 12.) is very frequent in this Epistle.

[4] Ἐπ' ἐσχάτου is the reading of the best MSS. It should perhaps rather be translated, "*in the end of these days*," *these days* being contrasted with the future period ὁ μέλλων αἰών.

[5] Ἐν is more than "*by*" (so in preceding verse); *in the person of His Son* would be more accurate.

[6] Τοὺς αἰῶνας: so xi. 3.

[7] Ἀπαύγασμα, not "*brightness*" (A. V.), but *emanation*, as of light from the sun. The word and idea occur in Philo.

[8] Χαρακτήρ, literally, *impression*, as of a seal on wax. The same expression is used by Philo concerning ὁ ἀΐδιος λόγος.

[9] Ὑπόστασις, not "*person*" (A. V.), but *substance*. Cf. xi. 1.; and see note on iii. 14.

[10] The δι' ἑαυτοῦ and ἡμῶν of T. R. are not found in some of the best MSS.

[11] The Law (according to a Jewish tradition frequently confirmed in the New Testament) was delivered by angels (Acts vii. 53.; Gal. iii. 19.; Heb. ii. 3.). Hence the emphasis here laid upon the inferiority of the angels to the Messiah, whence follows the inferiority of the Law to the Gospel. This inference is expressed ii. 3.

[12] Ps. ii. 7. (LXX.)

[13] 2 Sam. vii. 14. (LXX.) (originally spoken of

when He bringeth back[1] the First-begotten into the world,
He saith, "And let all the angels of God worship him."[2]
I. 7. And of the angels He saith, "Who maketh his angels spirits,
and his ministers flames of fire."[3] But unto the Son He
8 saith, "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever; a sceptre
of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom. Thou hast
9 loved righteousness and hated iniquity. Therefore, God,
even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness
10 above thy fellows."[4] And "Thou, Lord, in the beginning
didst lay the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the
11 works of thine hands. They shall perish, but thou re-
12 mainest; and they all shall wax old as doth a garment, and
as a vesture shalt thou fold them up and they shall be
changed; but thou art the same, and thy years shall not
fail."[5]

13 But to which of the angels hath He said at any time,
"Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy
14 footstool."[6] Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth
to execute His service, for[7] the sake of those who shall
inherit salvation?

II. 1. Therefore, we ought to give the more earnest heed to
the things which we have heard, lest at any time we should

Solomon, in whom we see a type of Christ. Cf. Ps. lxxii.).

[1] Ὅταν πάλιν εἰσαγάγῃ, literally, *when he shall have brought back, quum rursus introduxerit,* not *iterum, quum introducit.* (De Wette contra Bleek.) The *ascension* of Christ having been mentioned, His *return* to judge the world follows.

[2] This quotation forms an exception to Bleek's assertion that the quotations in this Epistle are always from the Alexandrian text of the LXX. It is from Deut. xxxii. 43., verbatim according to the MSS. followed by the T. R.; but not according to the Codex Alex., which reads υἱοί, instead of ἄγγελοι. The LXX. here differs from the Hebrew, which entirely omits the words here quoted. The passage where the quotation occurs is at the conclusion of the final song of Moses, where he is describing God's vengeance upon His enemies. It seems here to be applied in a higher sense to the last judgment.

[3] Ps. civ. 4. Quoted according to LXX. The Hebrew is, "Who maketh the winds his messengers, and the flames his ministers." But the thought expressed here is, that God employs His angels in the physical operations of the universe. Πνεύματα is equivalent to ἄνεμοι, as at John iii. 8. and Gen. viii. 1. (LXX.)

[4] Ps. xlv. 6—7. (LXX.)

[5] Ps. cii. 26—28. (LXX.) It is most important to observe that this description, applied in the original to God, is here without hesitation applied to Christ.

[6] Ps. cx. 1. (LXX.) Applied to the Messiah by our Lord himself, by St. Peter (Acts ii. 35.), and by St. Paul (1 Cor. xv. 25.).

[7] The A.V. "*to minister for them,*" is incorrect.

let them slip.[1] For if the word declared by angels[2] was II. 2
stedfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a
due requital; how shall we escape, if we neglect so great 3
salvation? which was declared at first by the Lord, and was
established[3] unto us[4] on firm foundations by those who
heard Him, God also bearing them witness both with signs 4
and wonders and divers miracles, and with gifts of the Holy
Spirit, which He distributed[5] according to His own will.

For not unto angels hath He subjected the world[6] to 5
come, whereof we speak. But one in a certain place testified, 6
saying, "**What is man that thou art mindful of him, or the
son of man that thou regardest him? For a little[7] while** 7
**thou hast made him lower than the angels; thou hast
crowned him with glory and honour[8], thou hast put all** 8
things in subjection under his feet."[9] For in that He "put
all things in subjection" under Him, He left nothing that
should not be put under Him.

The humiliation of Jesus was needful, that He might be consecrated by sufferings as High Priest for man.

But now we see not yet all things in subjection under
Him. But we behold Jesus, who was "**for a little while made** 9
lower than the angels," crowned through[10] the suffering of
death with glory and honour; that by the free gift of God He
might taste death for all men. For it became Him, through[11] 10
whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing[12]

[1] The active signification here given in A. V. is defended by Buttman and Wahl. See Wahl in voce παραῤῥέω.

[2] Viz. the Mosaic Law. See the note on i. 5.

[3] Ἐβεβαιώθη, *was established on firm ground.*

[4] On the inferences from this verse, see above, p. 516.

[5] Μερισμοῖς. Cf. 1 Cor. xii. 11.

[6] The *world to come* here corresponds with the μέλλουσαν πόλιν of xiii. 14. The subjection of this to the Messiah (though not yet accomplished, see verse 9.) was another proof of His superiority to the angels.

[7] Βραχύ τι may mean *in a small degree*, or *for a short time;* the former is the meaning of the Hebrew original, but the latter meaning is taken here, as we see from verse 9th.

[8] The T. R. inserts καὶ κατέστησας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σοῦ, but this is not found in the best MSS.

[9] Ps. viii. 5—7. (LXX.) Quoted also (with a slight variation) as referring to our Lord, 1 Cor. xv. 27., and Eph. i. 22. The Hebrew Psalmist speaks of mankind, the New Testament teaches us to apply his words in a higher sense to Christ, the representative of glorified humanity.

[10] Compare Phil. ii. 8—9.

[11] Compare Rom. xi. 36., and 1 Cor. viii. 6. God is here described as the First Cause (δι' ὃν), and the sustainer (δι' οὗ) of the universe.

[12] Ἀγάγοντα is here used for ἀγάγοντι. So διακρινόμενον, Acts xi. 12.

many sons unto glory, to consecrate[1] by sufferings the captain[2] of their salvation.

11 For both He that sanctifieth, and they who are[3] sanctified, have all one Father; wherefore, He is not ashamed to
12 call them brethren, saying, "I will declare thy name to my brethren, in the midst of the congregation will I sing praises
13 unto thee."[4] And again, "I will put my trust in Him; lo,
14 I and the children which God hath given me."[5] Forasmuch then as "the children" are partakers of flesh and blood, He also himself likewise took part of the same, that by death He
15 might destroy the lord of death, that is, the Devil; and might deliver them who through fear of death were all their
16 lifetime subject to bondage. For He giveth His aid[6], not
17 unto angels, but unto the seed of Abraham. Wherefore, it behoved Him in all things to be made like unto His brethren, that He might become a merciful[7] and faithful High Priest in the things of God, to make expiation for the sins of the
18 people. For whereas He hath himself been tried[8] by suffering, He is able to succour them that are in trial.

[1] Τελειῶσαι, literally, *to bring to the appointed accomplishment, to develope the full idea of the character, to consummate.* The latter word would be the best translation, if it were not so unusual as applied to persons; but the word *consecrate* is often used in the same sense, and is employed in the A. V. as a translation of this verb, vii. 28.

[2] Ἀρχηγόν. The σωζόμενοι are here represented as an army, with Jesus leading them on. Compare xii. 2.

[3] Ἁγιαζόμενοι, literally, *who are in the process of sanctification.*

[4] Ps. xxii. 23. (LXX. with ἀπαγγελῶ for διηγήσομαι). Here again the Messianic application of this Psalm (which is not apparent in the original) is very instructive.

[5] This quotation from Is. viii. 17—18. (LXX.) appears in English to be broken into two (which destroys the sense), if the intermediate καὶ πάλιν be translated. Indeed, it may well be suspected that it has here been introduced into the MSS., by an error of transcription, from the line above.

[6] Ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι means *to assist* here. So it is used in Sirach iv. 12. The A. V. mistranslates the *present* tense as *past.*

[7] Perhaps it would be more correct to translate *that he might become merciful, and a faithful,* &c.

[8] Literally, *hath suffered when in trial.* Πειράζεσθαι does not mean usually *to be tempted to sin,* but *to be tried by affliction,* "*calamitatibus exerceri*" (Wahl). Cf. 1 Cor. x. 13., and James i. 2. Hence it is better not to translate it by *temptation,* which, in modern English, conveys only the former idea. A perplexity may perhaps be removed from some English readers by the information that St. James's direction to "count it all joy when we fall into divers *temptations,*" is, in reality, an admonition to rejoice in suffering for Christ's sake.

Christ is higher than Moses.

Wherefore, holy brethren, partakers of a heavenly calling, iii. 1
consider the apostle[1] and High Priest of our[2] Confession,
Christ[3] Jesus; who was faithful to Him that appointed Him, 2
as Moses also was "faithful in all the household of God."[4]
For greater glory is due to Him than unto Moses, inasmuch 3
as the founder of the household is honoured above the house-
hold. For every household hath some founder; but he that 4
hath founded all things is God. And Moses indeed was 5
"faithful in all the household of God" as "a Servant"[5] ap-
pointed to testify the words that should be spoken [unto
him]: but Christ as "a Son"[6] over His own household. 6

Warning against apostasy,

And His household are we, if we hold fast our con-
fidence, and the rejoicing of our hope, firmly unto the end.
Wherefore, as the Holy Spirit saith, "To-day if ye will hear 7
his voice, harden not your hearts as in the provocation, in the 8
day of temptation in the wilderness; when your fathers 9
tempted me, proved me, and saw my works forty years.
Wherefore I was grieved with that generation, and said, 10
They do alway err in their hearts, and they[7] have not
known my ways. So I sware in my wrath, they shall 11
not enter into my rest."[8] Take heed, brethren, lest there 12
be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief, in departing from
the living God. But exhort one another daily while it is 13
called To-day, lest any of you be hardened through the de-
ceitfulness of sin. For we are made partakers[9] of Christ, if 14
we hold our first foundation[10] firmly unto the end.

[1] Ἀπόστολος is here used in its etymological sense for *one sent forth.*

[2] For ὁμολογία compare iv. 14. and x. 23.

[3] We have not departed here from the T. R.; but the best MSS. omit Χριστόν.

[4] Numbers xii. 7. (LXX.) Ὁ θεράπων μου Μωϋσης ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ μου πιστός ἐστι. The metaphor is of a *faithful steward* presiding over his master's household (οἶκος, not οἰκία).

[5] Θεράπων, quoted from the same verse, Numbers xii. 7. (LXX.) (See above.)

[6] See the quotations in i. 5.

[7] Αὐτοὶ δέ (emphatic).

[8] The above quotation is from Ps. xcv. 7—11., mainly according to the Codex Alexandrinus of the LXX., but not entirely so, the τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη interpolated in verse 9th being the principal, though not the only variation. The peculiar use of εἰ here (and iv. 3.) is a Hebraism.

[9] Μέτοχοι. Compare iii. 1. and vi. 4. (μετόχους πνεύματος).

[10] Τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως, literally, *the be-*

III. 15. When it is said, "To-day, if ye will hear his voice,
16 harden not your hearts as in the provocation,"—who[1] were they that, though they had heard, did provoke? Were they
17 not all[2] whom Moses brought forth out of Egypt? And with whom was He grieved forty years? Was it not with them that had sinned, whose carcases[3] fell in the wilderness?
18 And to whom sware He that they should not enter into His
19 rest, but to them that were disobedient?[4] And[5] we see that they could not enter in [to the land of promise] because of unbelief.[6]

IV. 1. Therefore let us fear, since a promise still[7] remaineth of entering into His rest, lest any of you should be
2 found[8] to come short of it. For we have received glad tidings as well as they; but the report which they heard did not profit them, because it[9] met no belief in the hearers.
3 For we, THAT HAVE BELIEVED, are entering into the [promised] rest. And thus He hath said, "So I sware in my wrath, they shall NOT enter into my rest."[10] Although[11] His works
4 were finished, ever since the foundation of the world; for He hath spoken in a certain place of the seventh day in this wise,
5 "And God did REST on the seventh day from all his

ginning of our foundation. The original meaning of ὑπόστασις is *that whereon anything else stands, or is supported;* hence it acquired the meaning of *substantia*, or *substance* (in the metaphysical sense of the term). Cf. Heb. i. 3., and xi. 1.; hence, again, that of *subject-matter* (2 Cor. ix. 4.; 2 Cor. xi. 17.). There is no passage of the New Testament where it can properly be translated "*confidence.*"

[1] We take the accentuation adopted by Chrysostom, Griesbach, &c., τίνες (not τινὲς).

[2] The inference is that Christians, though delivered by Christ from bondage, would nevertheless perish if they did not persevere (see verses 6 and 14.). The interrogation is not observed in A. V.

[3] Κῶλα, literally, *limbs;* but the word is used by the LXX. for *carcases.* Numbers xiv. 32.

[4] Ἀπειθήσασι, not "*that believed not*" (A. V.). See note on Rom. xi. 30.

[5] Καὶ, not "*so*" (A. V.).

[6] The allusion is to the refusal of the Israelites to believe in the good report of the land of Canaan brought by the spies. (Numbers xiii. and xiv.)

[7] Καταλειπομένης. Compare ἀπολείπεται, verses 6 and 9. The reasoning is explained by what follows, especially verses 6—8.

[8] Δοκῇ, *should be seen.*

[9] Literally, *it was not mixed with belief.* The other reading, συγκεκερασμένους, would mean, "they were not united by belief to its hearers," where *its hearers* must mean the spies, who reported *what they had heard* of the richness of the land. Tischendorf, in his 2nd edition, retains the T. R.

[10] The A. V. here strangely departs from the correct translation of the εἰ εἰσελεύσονται, which it adopts above (iii. 11.).

[11] For the meaning of καίτοι here, see Wahl.

works;"[1] and in this place again "they shall NOT enter into my rest."[2] Since therefore it still remaineth that some must IV. 6
enter therein, and they who first received the glad tidings
thereof entered not, because of disobedience[3], He AGAIN 7
fixeth a certain day,—"TO-DAY"—declaring in David
after so long a time (as hath been said), "To-day, if ye will
hear his voice, harden not your hearts." For if Joshua had 8
given them rest, God would not have spoken afterwards of
ANOTHER day. Therefore there still remaineth a Sabbath- 9
rest[4] for the people of God. For he that is entered into 10
God's rest, must[5] himself also rest from his labours, as God
did from His. Let us therefore strive to enter into that 11
rest, lest any man fall after the same example of disobedience.[6]

for God's judgment cannot be evaded.

For the word of God[7] liveth and worketh, and is sharper 12
than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing
asunder of soul and spirit, yea, to the[8] inmost parts thereof,
and judging the thoughts and imaginations of the heart.
Neither is there any creature that is not manifest in His 13
sight. But all things are naked and opened unto the eyes of
Him with whom we have to do.

Christ is a

Seeing, then, that we have a great High Priest, who 14

[1] Gen. ii. 2. (LXX. slightly altered).

[2] The meaning of this is,—God's rest was a perfect rest,—He declared His intention that His people should enjoy His rest,—that intention has not yet been fulfilled,—its fulfilment therefore is still to come.

[3] Here it is said they entered not δι' ἀπειθείαν; in iii. 19., δι' ἀπιστίαν; but this does not justify us in translating these different Greek expressions (as in A. V.) by the same English word. The rejection of the Israelites was caused both by *unbelief* and by *disobedience;* the former being the source of the latter.

[4] Σαββατισμός, *a keeping of Sabbatical rest.*

[5] Literally, *hath rested,* the aorist used for perfect. To complete the argument of this verse, we must supply the minor premiss, *but God's people have never yet enjoyed this perfect rest;* whence the conclusion follows, *therefore its enjoyment is still future,* as before.

[6] The reasoning of the above passage rests upon the truth that the unbelief of the Israelites, and the repose of Canaan, were typical of higher realities; and that this fact had been divinely intimated in the words of the Psalmist.

[7] The *word of God* is *the revelation of the mind of God, imparted to Man.* See note on Eph. v. 26. Here it denotes *the revelation of God's judgment to the conscience.*

[8] The τε after ψυχῆς is omitted by the best MSS. The expression, ψυχῆς καὶ πνεύματος, ἁρμῶν τε καὶ μυελῶν, is literally, *of soul and spirit, both joint and marrow;* the latter being a proverbial expression for *utterly, even to the inmost parts.*

hath passed [1] through the heavens, Jesus the son of God, let
IV. 15. us hold fast our Confession. For we have not an High Priest
that cannot be touched with a feeling of our infirmities, but
who bore in all things the likeness of our trials [2], yet without
16 sin. Let us therefore come boldly to the throne of grace,
that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of
V. 1. need. For every High Priest taken from among men, is
ordained to act on behalf of men in the things of God, that
2 he may offer gifts and sacrifices for sins; and is able to bear
with the ignorant [3] and erring, being himself also encom-
3 passed with infirmity. And by reason thereof, he is bound,
as for the people [4], so also for himself, to make offering for
4 sins. And no man taketh this honour on himself, but he
5 that is [5] called by God, as was Aaron. So also Christ glorified
not Himself, to be made an High Priest; but He that said unto
Him "Thou art my son, to-day have I begotten thee." [6] As
6 He saith also in another place, "Thou art a priest for ever after
7 the order of Melchisedec." [7] Who in the days of his flesh
offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and
tears, unto Him that could save him from death, and was
8 heard because he feared God [8]; and though he was a Son, yet
9 learned he obedience [9] by suffering. And when his con-
secration [10] was accomplished, he became the author of eternal
10 salvation to all them that obey him; having been named
by God an High Priest "after the order of Melchisedec."

High Priest who can be touched with a feeling of our infirmities.

[1] Διεληλυθότα, not "*into*" (A. V.). The allusion is to the high priest passing through the courts of the temple to the Holy of Holies. Compare ix. 11. and 24.

[2] See note on ii. 18.

[3] The sin-offerings were mostly for *sins of ignorance*. See Leviticus, chap. v.

[4] See Levit. chap. iv. and chap. ix.

[5] If (with the best MSS.) we omit the article, the translation will be, "but when called by God," which does not alter the sense.

[6] Psalm ii. 7. (LXX.)

[7] Ps. cx. 4. (LXX.)

[8] Εὐλαβεία means *the fear of God*. Compare ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς, Acts ii. 5. The sentiment corresponds remarkably with that of chap. xii. 5—11.

[9] Ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθε. The readers of Æschylus and Herodotus are familiar with this junction of πάθος and μάθος. See Æsch. Agam. and Herod. i. 207.: τὰ δέ μοι παθήματα μαθήματα γέγονεν.

[10] Compare ii. 10. and the note there.

The readers are reproached for their decline in spiritual understanding,

Of whom I have many things to say, and hard of v. 11
interpretation, since ye have grown [1] dull in understanding.[2]
For when ye ought, after so long a time[3], to be teachers, ye 12
need again to be taught yourselves, what [4] are the first principles of the oracles of God; and ye have come to need milk, instead of meat.[5] For every one that feeds on milk 13
is ignorant of the doctrine of righteousness, for he is a babe;
but meat is for men full grown, who, through habit, have their 14
senses exercised to know good from evil. Therefore let me vi. 1
leave [6] the rudiments of the doctrine of Christ, and go on to the fulness of its teaching; not laying again the foundation,
—of Repentance from dead works [7], and Faith towards God; —Baptism [8], Instruction [9] and Laying on of hands [10]; 2
— and Resurrection of the dead, and Judgment everlasting.

warned of the danger of apostasy,

And this I will do [11] if God permit. For *it* is im- 3, 4
possible [12] again to renew unto repentance those who have been once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and been made partakers of the Holy Spirit, and have tasted 5

[1] Γεγόνατε, implying that they had declined from a more advanced state of Christian attainment.

[2] Ταῖς ἀκοαῖς. Compare Acts xvii. 20., and Mat. xiii. 15., τοῖς ὠσὶ βαρέως ἤκουσαν.

[3] Διὰ τὸν χρόνον, literally, *because of the time*, viz. the length of time elapsed since your conversion. See the preceding introductory remarks, p. 510.

[4] We read τίνα (with Lachmann, Tischendorf, &c.), not τινά.

[5] Στερεᾶς does not mean "*strong*" (A. V.), but *solid*, opposed to *liquid*. We use *meat* for *solid food* in general.

[6] The 1st person plural here, as at v. 11., vi. 3., vi. 9., vi. 11., is used by the writer; it is translated by the 1st person singular in English, according to the principle laid down, Vol. I. p. 419. note 3.

[7] *Dead works* here may mean either *sinful* works (cf. Eph. ii. 1., νεκροὺς ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις), or *legal* works; but the former meaning seems to correspond better with the μετανοία here, and with ix. 14.

[8] We take the punctuation sanctioned by Chrysostom, viz. βαπτισμῶν, διδαχῆς, ἐπιθέσεως.

[9] Διδαχῆς. This was the *Catechetical Instruction* which, in the Apostolic age, *followed* baptism, as we have already mentioned, Vol. I. p. 470.

[10] This is mentioned as following baptism, Acts viii. 17—19., xix. 6., and other places.

[11] Or, *let me do*, if we read ποιήσωμεν, with the best MSS.

[12] A reason is here given by the writer, why he will not attempt to teach his readers the rudiments of Christianity over again; namely, that it is useless to attempt, by the repetition of such instruction, to recall those who have renounced Christianity to repentance. The *impossibility* which he speaks of, has reference (it should be observed,) only to *human agents;* it is only said that *all human means of acting on the heart* have been exhausted in such a case. Of course

the goodness of the word of God[1], and the powers of the
VI. 6. world to come[2], and afterwards fall away; seeing they[3] cru-
cify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put Him
7 to an open shame. For the earth when it hath drunk
in the rain that falleth oft upon it, if it bear herbs profit-
able to those for whom it is tilled, partaketh of God's
8 blessing; but if it bear thorns and thistles, it is counted
worthless and is nigh unto cursing, and its end is to be
9 burned. But beloved, I am persuaded better things of you, and reminded of their motives to perseverance.
and things that accompany salvation, though I thus speak.
10 For God is not unrighteous to forget your labour, and the
love[4] which ye have shown to His name, in the services ye
11 have rendered and still render[5] to His people. But I desire
earnestly that every one of you might show the same zeal, to
12 secure the full possession[6] of your hope unto the end; that
ye be not slothful, but follow the example of them who
through faith and stedfast endurance inherit the promises.
13 For God when He made promise to Abraham, because He
14 could swear by no greater, sware by Himself, saying "Verily,
blessing I will bless thee, and multiplying I will multiply
15 thee;"[7] and so, having stedfastly endured[8], he obtained the
16 promise. For men, indeed, swear by the greater; and their

no limit is placed on the Divine power. Even in the passage, x. 26—31. (which is much stronger than the present passage) it is not said that such apostates are never brought to repentance; but only that it cannot be *expected* they ever should be. Both passages were much appealed to by the Novatians, and some have thought that this was the cause which so long prevented the Latin Church from receiving this Epistle into the Canon.

[1] *i. e.* have experienced the fulfilment of God's promises.

[2] *The powers of the world to come* appear to denote the miraculous operations of the spiritual gifts. They properly belonged to the *αἰὼν μέλλων*.

[3] These apostates to Judaism *crucified Christ afresh*, inasmuch as they virtually gave their approbation to His crucifixion, by joining His crucifiers.

[4] Τοῦ *κόπου* is omitted in the best MSS.

[5] Compare x. 32. and the remarks, p. 511. For *ἅγιοι*, see note on 1 Cor. i. 2.

[6] Such appears the meaning of *πρὸς πληροφορίαν* here. The English word *satisfaction*, in its different uses, bears a close analogy to *πληροφορία*.

[7] Gen. xxii. 17. (LXX. except that *σε* is put for *τὸ σπέρμα σου*).

[8] Abraham's *μακροθυμία* was shown just before he obtained this promise, in the offering up of Isaac.

oath establisheth [1] their word, so that they cannot gainsay it. Wherefore God, willing more abundantly to show unto VI. 17.
the heirs of the promise the immutability of His counsel, set an oath between Himself and them [2]; that by two 18
immutable things, wherein it is impossible for God to lie, we that have fled [to Him] for refuge might have a strong encouragement [3] to hold fast the hope set before us. Which hope we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure 19
and stedfast, and entering within the veil; whither Jesus, 20
our forerunner, is for us entered, being made "an High Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec." [4]

The Priesthood of Christ (typified by the Priesthood of Melchisedec) is distinguished from the Levitical Priesthood by its eternal duration and efficacy.

For this Melchisedec [5], "king of Salem," [6] "priest of the VII. 1
most high God," [6] who met Abraham returning from the slaughter of the kings and blessed him, to whom also 2
Abraham gave "a tenth part of all" [7] — who is first, by interpretation, KING OF RIGHTEOUSNESS [8], and secondly king of Salem [9], which is KING OF PEACE — without father, without 3
mother, without table of descent [10] — having [11] neither beginning of days nor end of life, but made like unto the Son of God — remaineth a priest for ever.

Now consider how great this man was, to whom even 4

[1] Literally, *their oath is to them an end of all gainsaying, unto establishment* [*of their word*].

[2] Μεσιτεύειν means *to interpose between two parties.* Bleek (in loco) gives instances of the use of the verb, both transitively and intransitively. The literal English of ἐμεσίτευσεν ὅρκῳ, is *he interposed with an oath between the two parties.* The "two immutable things" are God's promise, and His oath.

[3] This construction, joining παράκλησιν with κρατῆσαι, seems to agree better with the ordinary meaning both of παράκλησις (see Heb. xii. 5. and xiii. 22.), and of κρατῆσαι (see Heb. iv. 14.) than the A. V.

[4] Ps. cx. 4., quoted above, verse 6. and verse 10. and three times in the next chapter.

[5] The following passage cannot be rightly understood, unless we bear in mind throughout that Melchisedec is here spoken of, not as an historical personage, but as a *type of Christ.*

[6] Gen. xiv. 18. (LXX.)

[7] Gen. xiv. 20. (LXX.)

[8] This is the translation of his Hebrew name, מלכי צדק.

[9] שלם, *peace.*

[10] Ἀγενεαλόγητος. This explains the two preceding words; the meaning is, that the priesthood of Melchisedec was not, like the Levitical priesthood, dependent on his descent, through his parents, from a particular family, but was a personal office.

[11] Here, as in the previous ἀπάτωρ and ἀμήτωρ, the *silence* of Scripture is interpreted allegorically. Scripture mentions neither the father nor mother, neither the birth nor death of Melchisedec

Abraham the patriarch gave a tenth of the choicest[1] spoil.
VII. 5. And truly those among the sons of Levi who receive the office of the priesthood, have a commandment to take tithes according to the Law from the People, that is, from their brethren, though they come out of the loins of Abraham.
6 But he, whose descent is not counted from them, taketh tithes from Abraham, and blesseth[2] the possessor of the
7 promises. Now without all contradiction, the less is blessed
8 by the greater.[3] And here, tithes are received by men that
9 die; but there, by him of whom it is testified[4] that he liveth. And Levi also, the receiver of tithes, hath paid tithes (so to
10 speak) by[5] Abraham; for he was yet in the loins of his father when Melchisedec met him.

11 Now if all things[6] were perfected by the Levitical priesthood (since under it[7] the people hath received the Law[8]), what further need was there that another priest should rise "after the order of Melchisedec" and not
12 be called "after the order of Aaron." For the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of
13 the Law.[9] For He[10] of whom these things are spoken belongeth to another tribe, of which no man giveth attendance[11]
14 at the altar; it being evident that our Lord hath arisen[12] out of Judah, of which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning
15 priesthood. And this is far more evident when[13] another
16 priest ariseth after the likeness of Melchisedec; who is

[1] For this meaning of ἀκροθίνια, see Bleek in loco.

[2] Δεδεκάτωκε and εὐλόγηκε, *present-perfect.*

[3] Τοῦ κρείττονος, compare i. 4.

[4] Viz. testified in Ps. cx. 4. "Thou art a priest *for ever.*"

[5] Διὰ, not "*in*" (A. V.).

[6] Τελείωσις, a word of very frequent occurrence and great significance in this Epistle, is not fully represented by the English "*Perfection.*" Τελειόω is *to make* τέλειος, i.e. *to bring a thing to the fulness of its designed development.* Compare vii. 19., and note on ii. 10.

[7] Ἐπ' αὐτῇ, *under its conditions and ordinances.* Compare viii. 6.

[8] Νενομοθέτηται is the reading of the best MSS.

[9] Νόμος (as often), anarthral for *the Law.* Cf. note on Rom. iii. 20.

[10] Viz. the Messiah, predicted in Ps. cx. 4.

[11] Προσέσχηκε is the reading of the best MSS., and is *present-perfect* here, as well as μετέσχηκε.

[12] Ἀνατέταλκεν. Compare the passage of Isaiah quoted Mat. iv. 16.

[13] Εἰ used like εἴπερ here.

made not under the law of a carnal commandment, but with
the power of an imperishable life; for it is testified[1] of him, VII.17
"Thou art a priest FOR EVER after the order of Melchisedec." On the one hand[2], an old commandment is 18
annulled, because it was weak and profitless (for the Law 19
perfected[3] nothing); and on the other hand, a better hope
is brought in, whereby we draw near unto God.

And inasmuch as this Priesthood hath the confirmation 20
of an oath — (for Those priests are made without an oath, but 21
He with an oath, by Him that said unto him, "The Lord
sware and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever"[4])
— insomuch Jesus is[5] surety of a better covenant. 22

And They, indeed, are[6] many priests [one succeeding to 23
another's office], because death hindereth their continuance.
But He, because He remaineth for ever, giveth not His 24
priesthood to another.[7] Wherefore also He is able to save 25
them to the uttermost that come unto God by Him, seeing
He ever liveth to make intercession for them.

For such an High Priest became us, who is holy, harm- 26
less, undefiled, separate[8] from sinners, and ascended above
the heavens. Who needeth not daily[9], as those High 27

[1] The best MSS. read *μαρτυρεῖται*.

[2] Μὲν answering to the following δὲ (in verse 19.). The overlooking of this caused the error in the A. V.

[3] Compare τελείωσις, verse 11.

[4] In this quotation (again repeated) from Ps. cx. 4., the words "after the order of Melchisedec" are not found here in the best MSS.

[5] Γέγονεν, not "*was* made" (A. V.), but *has become* or *is*.

[6] *Are*, or *have become*, not "*were*" (A. V.); an important mistranslation, as the *present tense* shows that the Levitical Priesthood was still enduring while this Epistle was written.

[7] Ἀπαράβατος, *non transiens in alium* (Wahl).

[8] This seems to refer to the separation from all contact with the unclean, which was required of the High Priest; who (according to the Talmud) abstained from intercourse even with his own family, for seven days before the day of Atonement (Tract Jomah i. 1., quoted by Ebrard).

[9] This καθ' ἡμέραν has occasioned much perplexity, for the High Priest only offered the sin-offerings here referred to once a year, on the day of Atonement. (Levit. xvi. and Exod. xxx. 7—10.) We must either suppose (with Tholuck) that the καθ' ἡμέραν is used for διαπαντός *perpetually, i. e.* year after year; or we must suppose a reference to the High Priest as taking part in the occasional sacrifices made by all the Priests, for sins of ignorance (Levit. iv.); or we must suppose that the regular acts of the Priesthood are attributed to the High Priests, as representatives and heads of the whole order; or finally, we must take οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς as at Mat. ii. 4., Acts v. 24., and other places, for the heads of the twenty-four classes into which the Priests were divided, who officiated in turn. This latter view is perhaps the most natural. The Priests sacrificed a lamb every morning and

Priests [1], to offer up sacrifice, first for His own sins and then for the People's; for this He did once, when He offered up
VII. 28 Himself. For the Law maketh men High Priests, who have infirmity; but the word of the oath which was since the Law [2], maketh the Son, who is consecrated [3] for evermore.

The Mosaic Law, with its Temple, hierarchy, and sacrifices, was an imperfect shadow of the better covenant, and the availing atonement, of Christ.

VIII. 1 Now of the things which we have spoken [4], this is the sum. We have such an High Priest, who hath sat down on the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens;
2 a minister of the sanctuary [5], and of the true tabernacle, which
3 the Lord pitched, and not man. For every High Priest is ordained [6] to offer gifts and sacrifices; wherefore this High
4 Priest also must have somewhat [7] to offer. Now [8] if He were on earth, He would not be a Priest at all [9], since the Priests are they that make the offerings according to the Law [10];
5 who minister to that which is a figure [11] and shadow of heavenly things, as Moses is admonished [12] by God, when he is about to make the tabernacle; for "See," saith He, "that thou make all things according to the pattern shewed
6 thee in the mount." [13] But now He hath obtained a higher ministry, by so much as He is the mediator [14] of a better covenant, whereof the law is given [15] under better promises.
7 For if that first covenant were faultless, no place would

evening, and offered an offering of flour and wine besides. Philo regards the lambs as offered by the Priests *for the people*, and the flour *for themselves*. (Philo, Opp. i. 497.) He also says the High Priest offered εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν. (Opp. ii. 321.) See Winer, Realw. i. 505.

[1] Οἱ Αρχ. Literally, *the* [*ordinary*] *High Priests.*

[2] Viz. the oath in Ps. cx. 4., so often referred to in this Epistle.

[3] Τετελειωμένον. Compare ii. 10.

[4] Τοῖς λεγομένοις, literally, *the things which are being spoken.*

[5] Τῶν ἁγίων. Compare ix. 12. Εἰς τὰ ἅγια.

[6] The same thing is said v. 1.

[7] What the sacrifice was is not said here, but had been just before mentioned, vii. 27.

[8] Μὲν οὖν (not μὲν γὰρ) is the reading of the best MSS.

[9] Observe it is not οὐκ ἂν ἦν (as A. V. translates), but οὐδ' ἂν ἦν.

[10] Our Lord being of the tribe of Judah, could not have been one of the Levitical Priesthood. So it was said before, vii. 14.

[11] Viz. the Temple ritual.

[12] Κεχρημάτισται, cf. Acts x. 22. and Heb. xi. 7.

[13] Exod. xxv. 40. (LXX.)

[14] Moses was called by the Jews the *Mediator* of the Law. See Gal. iii. 19. and note.

[15] Ἥτις νενομοθέτηται, cf. vii. 11., not "*was* established" (A. V.), but *hath been* or *is.*

be sought[1] for a second; whereas He findeth fault[2], and VIII. 8
saith unto them, "Behold the days come, saith the Lord,
when I will accomplish[3] for the house of Israel and for
the house of Judah a new covenant. Not according to the 9
covenant which I gave[4] unto their fathers, in the day when
took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of
Egypt; because they continued not in my covenant, and I
also turned my face from them, saith the Lord. For this is 10
the covenant which I will make unto the house of Israel
after those days, saith the Lord: I will give[5] my laws unto
their mind, and write them upon their hearts; and I will be
to them a God, and they shall be to me a people. And they 11
shall not teach every man his neighbour[6] and every man his
brother, saying Know the Lord; for all shall know me,
from the least unto the greatest. For I will be merciful to 12
their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities will
I remember no more."[7] In that He saith "A new covenant," 13
He hath made the first old; and that which is old[8] and
stricken in years, is ready to vanish away.

Now the first covenant also had ordinances of worship, IX. 1
and its Holy Place was in this world.[9] For a tabernacle was 2
made [in two portions]; the first (wherein was the candle-
stick[10], and the table[11], and the shewbread[12]), which is called

[1] Εἰ ἦν, οὐκ ἂν ἐζητεῖτο (two imperfects), hence the A. V. is incorrect.

[2] Μεμφόμενος refers to the preceding ἄμεμπτος. The αὐτοῖς should be joined with λέγει.

[3] Συντελέσω, here substituted for the διαθήσομαι of the LXX. Ἐπὶ is not "with." (A.V.)

[4] It must be remembered that διαθήκη does not (like the English *covenant*) imply reciprocity. It properly means *a legal disposition*, and would perhaps be better translated *dispensation* here. A covenant between two parties is συνθήκη. The *new dispensation* is a gift from God, rather than a covenant between God and man (see Gal. iii. 15—20.). Hence perhaps the alteration of ἐποίησα here for the διεθέμην of LXX. as well as that mentioned in the preceding note.

[5] Διδοὺς, not "*put.*" (A. V.)

[6] The best MSS. read πολίτην instead of πλήσιον, which does not, however, alter the sense.

[7] Jer. xxxi. 31—34. (LXX. with the above-mentioned variations.)

[8] Παλαιούμενον refers to time (*growing out of date*), and γήρασκον to the *weakness* of old age.

[9] Τό τε ἅγιον κοσμικόν, not "A sanctuary" (A. V.), and observe the order of the words, shewing that κοσμικόν is the predicate.

[10] Exod. xxv. 31. and xxxvii. 17.

[11] Exod. xxv. 23. and xxxvii. 10.

[12] Exod. xxv. 30. and Levit. xxiv. 5.

IX. 3 the[1] sanctuary; and, behind the second veil, the taber-
4 nacle called the Holy of Holies, having the golden altar of incense[2], and the ark of the covenant[3] overlaid round about with gold, wherein[4] was the golden pot[5] that had the manna, and Aaron's rod[6] that budded, and the tables[7] of the cove-
5 nant; and over it the cherubims[8] of glory shadowing the Mercy-seat.[9] Whereof we cannot now speak particularly.
6 Now these things being thus ordered, unto the first tabernacle the priests go[10] in continually, accomplishing the

[1] See the note on ix. 24.

[2] *Θυμιατήριον.* This has given rise to much perplexity. According to Exod. xxx. 6., the Incense-altar was not in the Holy of Holies, but on the outer side of the veil which separated the Holy of Holies from the rest of the Tabernacle. Several methods of evading the difficulty have been suggested; amongst others, to translate *θυμιατήριον, censer,* and understand it of the censer which the High Priest brought into the Holy of Holies once a year; but this was not kept in the Holy of Holies. Moreover *θυμιατήριον* is used for the Incense-altar by Philo and Josephus. The best explanation of the discrepancy is to consider that the Incense-altar, though not *within* the Holy of Holies, was closely connected therewith, and was sprinkled on the day of Atonement with the same blood with which the High Priest made atonement in the Holy of Holies. See Exod. xxx. 6—10., and Levit. xvi. 11. &c.

[3] Exod. xxv. 11.

[4] Here we have another difficulty; for the pot of manna and Aaron's rod were not kept in the Ark, in Solomon's time, when it contained nothing but the tables of the Law. See 1 Kings viii. 9., 2 Chron. v. 10. It is, however, probable that these were originally kept in the Ark. Compare Exod. xvi. 33., and Numbers xvii. 10., where they are directed to be laid up "*before the Lord,* and "*before the testimony,* [*i. e.* the tables of the Law]," which indicates, at least, a close juxta-position to the Ark. More generally, we should observe that the intention of the present passage is not to give us a minute and accurate description of the furniture of the tabernacle, but to allude to it rhetorically; the only point insisted upon in the application of the description (see verse 8), is the symbolical character of the Holy of Holies. Hence the extreme anxiety of commentators to explain away every minute inaccuracy is superfluous.

[5] Exod. xvi. 32., &c.

[6] Numbers xvii. 10.

[7] Exod. xxv. 16.

[8] Exod. xxv. 18.

[9] Exod. xxv. 17. Ἱλαστήριον is the LXX. translation of the Hebrew כפרת. (See Wahl in voce.)

[10] The writer of the Epistle here appears to speak as if the Tabernacle were still standing. Commentators have here again found or made a difficulty, because the Temple of Herod was in many respects different from the Tabernacle, and especially because its *Holy of Holies* did not contain either the Ark, the Tables of the Law, the Cherubim, or the Mercy-seat (all which had been burnt by Nebuchadnezzar with Solomon's Temple), but was empty. See above, p. 258. Of course, however, there was no danger that the original readers of this Epistle should imagine that its writer spoke of the Tabernacle as still standing, or that he was ignorant of the loss of its most precious contents. Manifestly he is speaking of *the Sanctuary of the First Covenant* (see ix. 1.) as originally *designed.* And he goes on to speak of the existing Temple-worship, as the continuation of the Tabernacle-worship, which, in all essential points, it was. The translators of the Authorised Version (perhaps in consequence of this difficulty) have mistranslated many verbs in the following passage, which are in the *present* tense, as though

offices[1] of their worship. But into the second goeth the ix. 7
High Priest alone, once a year, not without blood, which he
offereth for himself and for the errors[2] of the people. Whereby 8
the Holy Spirit signifieth that the way into the Holy Place
is not yet made fully manifest[3], while still the outer[4] taber-
nacle standeth. But it is a figure for the present time[5], under[6] 9
which gifts and sacrifices are offered that cannot perfect the
purpose of the worshipper, according to the conscience[7];
being carnal ordinances, commanding meats and drinks, 10
and diverse washings, imposed until a time of reformation.[8]

But when Christ appeared, as High Priest of the good 11
things to come, He passed through the greater and more
perfect tabernacle[9] not made with hands (that is, not of
man's building[10]), and entered, not by the blood of goats 12
and calves, but by His own blood, once for all into the Holy

they were in the *past* tense. Thus εἰσίασιν is translated "*went*," προσφέρει "*offered*," προσφέρονται "*were offered*," προσφέρουσιν (x. 1.) "*they offered*," &c. The English reader is thus led to suppose that the Epistle was written after the cessation of the Temple-worship.

[1] Τὰς λατρείας, not τὴν λατρείαν (A. V.).

[2] Ἀγνοημάτων. Compare v. 2. and the note.

[3] On the mistranslation of πεφανερῶσθαι in A. V., see note 10 above. It may be asked, how could it be said, after Christ's ascension, that *the way into the Holy Place* was not *made fully manifest*. The explanation is, that while the Temple-worship, with its exclusion of all but the High Priest from the Holy of Holies, still existed, the way of salvation would not be *fully manifest* to those who adhered to the outward and typical observances, instead of being thereby led to the Antitype.

[4] That πρώτης has this meaning here is evident from ix. 2.

[5] The A.V. here interpolates "*then*" in order to make this correspond with the mistranslated tenses already referred to.

[6] Καθ' ἥν, *according to which figure*. Ἥν is the reading of the best MSS., and adopted by Griesbach, Lachmann, and Tischendorf's 1st edition; it suits better with κατὰ than the other reading, ὅν, to which Tischendorf has returned in his 2nd edition.

[7] Κατὰ συνείδησιν τελειῶσαι τὸν λατρεύοντα. This is explained x. 2. as equivalent to "τὸ μηδεμίαν ἔχειν ἔτι συνείδησιν ἁμαρτιῶν τοὺς λατρεύοντας ἅπαξ κεκαθαρμένους." Τελειῶσαι τὸν λατ. is *to bring him to the accomplishment of the τέλος of his worship*, viz., remission of sins. It is not adequately represented by *to make perfect*, as we have before remarked; *to consummate* would be again the best translation, if it were less unusual.

[8] The reading of this verse is very doubtful. The best MSS. (which we follow) read δικαιώματα instead of καὶ δικαιώμασιν; but this reading perhaps originated from a desire to correct the solœcism which otherwise is presented by ἐπικείμενα. Accordingly, Tischendorf in his 2nd edition returns to the reading of the T. R., which is also defended by De Wette. The construction is ἐπικείμενα ἐπὶ β. καὶ π. κ.τ.λ.; literally, *imposed with conditions of* (ἐπὶ) *meats &c., until a time of reformation.*

[9] This *greater Tabernacle* is the visible heavens, which are here regarded as the outer sanctuary.

[10] Literally, *this building*. This parenthesis has very much the appearance of having been originally a marginal gloss upon οὐ χειροποιήτου.

IX. 13 Place, having obtained an everlasting redemption.[1] For if the blood of bulls and goats, and the ashes of an heifer[2] sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purification of the flesh;
14 how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered Himself without spot to God, purify our[3] conscience from dead works, that we may worship the living God.

15 And for this cause He is the mediator of a new testament; that when death had[4] made redemption for the transgressions under the first testament[5], they that are called might
16 receive the promise of the eternal inheritance. For where a testament is, the death of the testator must be declared[6];
17 because a testament is made valid by death, for it hath no force at all during the lifetime of the testator.

18 Wherefore[7] the first testament also hath its dedication[8]
19 not without blood. For when Moses had spoken to all the people every precept according to the Law, he took[9] the

[1] There is nothing in the Greek corresponding to the words "*for us*" (A. V.).

[2] The uncleanness contracted by touching a corpse, was purified by sprinkling the unclean person with the *water of sprinkling* (ὕδωρ ῥαντισμοῦ), which was made with the ashes of a red heifer. See Numbers xix. (LXX.)

[3] Ἡμῶν (not ὑμῶν) is the reading of the best MSS.

[4] Literally, *after death had occurred for the redemption of, &c.*; γενομένου must be joined with εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν.

[5] The Authorised Version is unquestionably correct, in translating διαθήκη *testament* in this passage. The attempts which have been made to avoid this meaning, are irreconcilable with any natural explanation of ὁ διαθέμενος. The simple and obvious translation should not be departed from, in order to avoid a difficulty; and the difficulty vanishes when we consider the rhetorical character of the Epistle. The statement in this verse is not meant as a logical argument, but as a rhetorical illustration, which is suggested to the writer by the ambiguity of the word διαθήκη.

[6] Φέρεσθαι is omitted in A. V. The legal maxim is the same as that of English Law, *Nemo est hæres viventis.*

[7] This ὅθεν does not refer to the preceding illustration concerning the death of the testator, but to the reasoning from which that was only a momentary digression. Compare verse 18. with verses 12—14.

[8] Ἐγκαινίζειν is "to *dedicate*" in the sense of to *inaugurate*; cf. Heb. x. 20.; so the feast commemorating the *opening* or *inauguration* of the Temple by Judas Maccabæus (after its pollution by Antiochus Epiphanes) was called ἐγκαίνια. (John x. 22.)

[9] See Exod. xxiv. 3—8. The sacrifice of goats (besides the cattle) and the sprinkling of the book are not in the Mosaic account. It should be remembered that the Old Testament is usually referred to *memoriter* by the writers of the New Testament. Moreover, the advocates of verbal inspiration would be justified in maintaining that these circumstances actually occurred, though they are not mentioned in the books of Moses. See, however, Vol. I. p. 188. note 2.

blood of the calves and goats, with water and scarlet wool and hyssop, and sprinkled both the book itself[1] and all the people, saying, "This is the blood of the testament which IX. 20
God hath enjoined unto you."[2] Moreover he sprinkled with 21
blood the tabernacle[3] also, and all the vessels of the ministry, in like manner. And according to the Law, almost 22
all things are purified with blood, and without shedding of blood is no remission. It was, therefore, necessary that the 23
patterns of heavenly things should thus be purified, but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these. For Christ entered not into the sanctuary[4] made with hands, 24
which is a figure of the true, but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us. Nor yet that He 25
should offer Himself often, as the High Priest entereth the sanctuary every year with blood of others; for then must 26
He often have suffered since the foundation of the world: but now once, in the end[5] of the ages, hath He appeared[6], to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself.[7] And as it is 27
appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment, so Christ was once offered "to bear the sins of many,"[8] 28
and unto them that look for Him shall He appear a second time, without sin[9], unto salvation.

For the Law having a shadow of the[10] good things to X. 1
come, and not the very image of the reality[11], by the un-

[1] Αὐτὸ is not translated in A. V.

[2] Exod. xxiv. 8. (LXX., but ἐνετείλατο, substituted for διέθετο).

[3] Apparently referring to Levit. viii., verses 19. 24. and 30.

[4] Ἅγια, not "*the holy places*" (A. V.), but *the holy place, or sanctuary.* Compare viii. 2., ix. 2., ix. 25., xiii. 11. It is without the article here, as is often the case with words similarly used. See Winer Gram. § 18. 1.

[5] Συντελεία τῶν αἰώνων means the termination of the period preceding Christ's coming. It is a phrase frequent in St. Matthew, with αἰῶνος instead of αἰώνων, but not occurring elsewhere. The A. V. translates αἰώνων here by the same word as κόσμου above.

[6] Πεφανέρωται; literally, *He hath been made manifest to the sight of men.*

[7] The A. V. is retained here, being justified by ἑαυτὸν προσήνεγκεν, verse 14.

[8] Isaiah liii. 12. (LXX.), ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν ἀνήνεγκε.

[9] Χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας. Tholuck compares κεχωρισμένος ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτώλων (vii. 28.). The thought is the same as Rom. vi. 10.

[10] Τῶν is omitted in A. V.

[11] Τῶν πραγμάτων, *the real things.*

x. 2 changing sacrifices which year by year they offer continually[1], can never perfect[2] the purpose of the offerers.[3]
For then, would they not have ceased to be offered? because
the worshippers, once purified, would have had no more
3 conscience of sins. But in these sacrifices there is a re-
4 membrance of sins made every year. For it is not possible
that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins.
5 Wherefore, when He cometh into the world, He saith
"Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body
6 hast thou prepared me.[4] In burnt-offerings and sacrifices
7 for sin thou hast had no pleasure. Then said I, Lo, I
come (in the volume of the book it is written of me) to do
8 thy will, O God."[5] When He had said before "Sacrifice
and offering and burnt-offerings and sacrifices for sin thou
wouldest not, neither hadst pleasure therein" (which are
9 offered under the law); "Then" (saith[6] He), "Lo, I come
to do thy will, O God." He taketh away the first[7], that he
10 may establish the second. And in[8] that "will" we are
sanctified, by the offering of the "body"[9] of Jesus Christ,
once for all.

11 And every priest[10] standeth daily ministering, and
offering oftentimes the same sacrifices, which can never

[1] Ταῖς αὐταῖς is omitted in A. V.

[2] Τελειῶσαι. Compare ix. 9., and note. The τέλος of the worshippers was *entire purification from sin*; this they could not attain under the Law, as was manifest by the perpetual iteration of the self-same sacrifices, required of them.

[3] Τοὺς προσερχομένους, *those who come to offer.*

[4] In the Hebrew original the words are, "*thou hast opened* [*or pierced*] *my ears.*" The LXX (which is here quoted) translates this "σῶμα κατηρτίσω μοι." Perhaps the reading of the Hebrew may formerly have been different from what it now is; or perhaps the σῶμα may have been an error for ὠτία, which is the reading of some MSS.

[5] Ps. xl. 6—8. (LXX. with some slight variations.)

[6] Εἴρηκεν, not "*said he*" (A. V.), but *he hath said*, or *saith he.*

[7] *The first*, viz. the sacrifices; *the second*, viz. the will of God.

[8] *In* (ἐν) *the will of God* Christians are already *sanctified* as well as *justified*, and even *glorified* (see Rom. viii. 30.); *i. e.* God wills their sanctification, and has done His part to ensure it.

[9] Σῶμα, alluding to the σῶμα κατηρτίσω of the above quotation.

[10] The MSS. are divided between ἱερεύς and ἀρχιερεύς; if the latter reading be correct, the same explanation must be given as in the note on vii. 27.

take away sins. But HE, after He had offered one sacrifice x. 12
for sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God; from 13
henceforth expecting "till his enemies be made his footstool."[1]
For by one offering He hath perfected[2] for ever the purifi- 14
cation of them whom He sanctifieth. Whereof the Holy 15
Spirit also is a witness to us. For after He had said be-
fore, "This is the covenant that I will make with them after 16
those days, saith the Lord; I will give my Laws upon their
hearts, and write them upon their minds,"[3] He saith also 17
"Their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more."[4]
Now where remission of these is, there is no more offering 18
for sin.

Renewed warning against apostasy,

Having therefore, brethren, boldness to enter the holy 19
place through the blood of Jesus[5], by a new and living 20
way which He hath opened[6] for us, passing through the
veil (that is to say, His flesh)[7]; and having an High Priest[8] 21
over the house of God; let us draw near with a true 22
heart, in full assurance of faith; as our hearts have been
"sprinkled"[9] from the stain of an evil conscience, and
our bodies have been washed with pure water. Let us hold 23

[1] Ps. cx. 1. (LXX.), quoted above, i. 13. (See note there.)

[2] Τετελείωκεν . . . τοὺς ἁγιαζομένους. Literally, *He hath consummated them that are being sanctified.* The verb *to perfect* does not, by itself, represent τελειόω. See notes on x. 1., ix. 10., and ii. 10. We should also observe, that ἁγιαζομένους is not equivalent to ἡγιασμένους.

[3] Jer. xxxi. 33. (LXX.) The part of the quotation here omitted is given above, viii. 10—12. It appears, from the slight variations between the present quotation and the quotation of the same passage in Chap. viii., that the writer is quoting from memory.

[4] Jer. xxxi. 34. (LXX.), being the conclusion of the passage quoted before, viii. 12. The omission of λέγει with the καί which joins the two detached portions of the quotation, though abrupt, is not unexampled; compare 1 Tim. v. 18.

[5] Ἐν τῷ αἵματι. Compare ix. 25.

[6] Ἐνεκαίνισεν. See note on ix. 18.

[7] The meaning of this is, that the flesh (or manhood) of Christ was a veil which hid His true nature; this veil He rent, when He gave up His body to death; and through His incarnation, thus revealed under its true aspect, we must pass, if we would enter into the presence of God. We can have no real knowledge of God but through His incarnation.

[8] Ἱερέα μέγαν. The same expression is used for High Priest by Philo and LXX.

[9] Ἐῤῥαντισμένοι (alluding to ix. 13. and 21.), viz. *with the blood of Christ;* compare αἵματι ῥαντισμοῦ, xii. 24. Observe the force of the perfect participle in this and λελουμένοι; both referring to accomplished facts. See x. 2.

fast the confession of our hope[1], without wavering, for
x. 24 faithful is He that gave the promise. And let us consider[2]
the example one of another, that we may be provoked unto
25 love and to good works. Let us not forsake the assembling[3]
of ourselves together, as the custom of some is, but let us
exhort one another; and so much the more, as ye see
26 The Day approaching.[4] For if we sin wilfully[5], after we
27 have received the knowledge[6] of the truth, there remaineth
no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for
of judgment, and "a wrathful fire that shall devour the
28 adversaries."[7] He that hath despised the Law of Moses dieth[8]
without mercy, upon the testimony of two or three witnesses.
29 Of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be
thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of
God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith
he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite
30 unto the Spirit of Grace. For we know Him that hath said
"Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord";[9] and

[1] Ἐλπίδος, not "*faith.*" (A. V.)

[2] Κατανοῶμεν. This is Chrysostom's interpretation, which agrees with the use of the verb iii. 1.

[3] It was very natural that the more timid members of the Church should shrink from frequenting the assembly of the congregation for worship, in a time of persecution.

[4] "The Day" of Christ's coming was seen approaching at this time by the threatening prelude of the great Jewish war, wherein He came to judge that nation.

[5] Ἑκουσίως. This is opposed to the "ἐὰν ἁμάρτῃ ἀκουσίως" (Levit. iv. 2. LXX.), the *involuntary* sins for which provision was made under the Law. The particular sin here spoken of is that of *apostasy from the Christian faith*, to which these Hebrew Christians were particularly tempted. See the whole of this passage from x. 26. to xii. 29.

[6] Ἐπίγνωσιν. Compare Rom. x. 2., Phil. i. 9., &c.

[7] Is. xxvi. 11. Ζῆλος λήψεται λαὸν ἀπαίδευτον, καὶ νῦν πῦρ τοὺς ὑπεναντίους ἔδεται (LXX.) Those who look for this quotation in A. V. will be disappointed, for the A. V., the Hebrew, and the LXX., all differ.

[8] Ἀποθνήσκει, the *present*, translated as *past* in A. V. The reference is to Deut. xvii. 2—7., which prescribes that an idolater should be put to death on the testimony of two or three witnesses. The writer of the Epistle does not mean that idolatry was actually thus punished *at the time he wrote* (for though the Sanhedrin was allowed to judge charges of a religious nature, they could not inflict death without permission of the Roman Procurator, which would probably have been refused, except under very peculiar circumstances, to an enforcement of this part of the law); but he speaks of the punishment *prescribed* by the Law.

[9] Deut. xxxii. 35. This quotation is not exactly according to LXX. or Hebrew, but is exactly in the words in which it is quoted by St. Paul, Rom. xii. 19. The LXX. is ἐν ἡμερᾷ ἐκδικήσεως ἀνταποδώσω.

again, "The Lord shall judge His people."[1] It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.[2] x. 31

and exhortation not to let faith be conquered by fear.

But call to remember the former days, in which, after ye were illuminated, ye endured[3] a great fight of afflictions; for not only were ye made a gazing-stock by reproaches and tribulations, but ye took part also in the sufferings of others who bore the like. For ye showed compassion to the prisoners[4], and took joyfully the spoiling of your goods, knowing that ye have[5] in heaven a better and an enduring substance. Cast not away, therefore, your confidence, which hath great recompence of reward. For ye have need of stedfastness, that after ye have done the will of God, ye might receive the promise. For yet a little while and "He that cometh shall be come, and shall not tarry."[6] Now "By faith shall the righteous live;"[7] and "If he[8] draw back through fear, my soul hath no pleasure in him."[9] But we are not men of fear unto perdition, but of faith unto salvation.[10] 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39

Faith defined

Now faith is the substance[11] of things hoped for, the evi- xi. 1

[1] Deut. xxxii. 36. (LXX.)

[2] The preceding passage (from verse 26) and the similar passage, vi. 4—6., have proved perplexing to many readers; and were such a stumbling-block to Luther, that they caused him even to deny the canonical authority of the Epistle. Yet neither passage asserts the *impossibility* of an apostate's repentance. What is said, amounts to this — that for the conversion of a deliberate apostate, God has (according to the ordinary laws of His working) no further means in store than those which have been already tried in vain. It should be remembered, also, that the parties addressed are not those who had already apostatised, but those who were in danger of so doing, and who needed the most earnest warning.

[3] If this Epistle was addressed to the Church of Jerusalem, the afflictions referred to would be the persecutions of the Sanhedrin (when Stephen was killed), of Herod Agrippa (when James the Greater was put to death), and again the more recent outbreak of Ananus, when James the Less was slain. But see the preceding remarks, p. 511.

[4] Τοῖς δεσμίοις (not δεσμοῖς μου) is the reading of all the best MSS.

[5] Not "knowing *in yourselves*" (A. V.) The reading of the best MSS. is ἔχειν ἑαυτούς or ἑαυτοῖς, *that ye have yourselves*, or *for yourselves*, i. e. *as your own*.

[6] Habak. ii. 3. (LXX.) Not fully translated in A. V.

[7] Habak. ii. 4. (LXX.), quoted also Rom. i. 17. and Gal. iii. 11.

[8] The "*any man*" of A. V. is not in the Greek. Ὑποστέλλομαι, *me subduco* (Wahl), is exactly the English *flinch*.

[9] Habak ii. 4. (LXX.) But this passage in the original precedes the last quotation, which it here follows.

[10] Περιποίησιν ψυχῆς, properly *gaining of the soul, vitæ conservatio*, and thus equivalent to *salvation*. See Wahl on περιποιοῦμαι and περιποίησις.

[11] For the meaning of ὑπόστασις, see note on iii. 14.

dence of things not seen. For therein the elders obtained a good report.[1] — as that principle which enables men to prefer things invisible to things visible.

3 By faith we understand that the universe[2] is framed[3] by the word of God, so that the world which we behold[4] springs not from things that can be seen.

4 By faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain, whereby he obtained testimony that he was righteous, for God testified[5] unto his gifts; and by it he being dead yet speaketh.[6] — Its operation historically exemplified.

5 By faith Enoch was translated, that he should not see death, and "he was not found, because God translated him."[7] For before his translation he had this testimony, that "he 6 pleased God;"[8] but without faith it is impossible to please Him; for whosoever cometh unto God must have faith[9] that God is, and that He rewardeth them that diligently seek Him.

7 By faith Noah, being warned by God concerning things not seen as yet, through fear of God[10] prepared an ark, to the saving of his house. Whereby he condemned the world and became heir of the righteousness of faith.

8 By faith Abraham when he was called[11], obeyed the command to go forth into a place[12] which he should afterward receive for an inheritance; and he went forth, not knowing 9 whither he went. By faith he sojourned in the land of pro-

[1] Ἐμαρτυρήθησαν, cf. Acts vi. 3. This verse is explained by the remainder of the chapter. The faith of the Patriarchs was a type of Christian faith, because it was fixed upon *a future and unseen good.*

[2] Τοὺς αἰῶνας, so i. 2.

[3] Observe κατήρτισθαι and γεγονέναι are *perfects*, not *aorists.*

[4] Τὸ βλεπόμενον is the reading of the best MSS. The doctrine negatived is that which teaches that each successive condition of the universe is generated (γεγονέναι) from a preceding condition (as the plant from the seed) by a mere material development, which had no beginning in a Creator's will.

[5] Gen. iv. 4. The Jewish tradition was, that fire from heaven consumed Abel's offering.

[6] This has been supposed (compare xii. 24.) to refer to Gen. iv. 10., but it may be taken more generally.

[7] Gen. v. 24. (LXX.)

[8] Gen. v. 24. (LXX.), εὐηρέστησεν Ἐνὼχ τῷ Θεῷ.

[9] Πιστεῦσαι refers to the preceding πίστεως.

[10] Compare Heb. v. 7.

[11] If we read ὁ κ. (with some of the best MSS.) the translation will be "*He that was called Abraham* [*instead of Abram*]."

[12] Some of the best MSS. read τόπον without the article.

mise as in a strange country, dwelling in tents, with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs with him of the same promise. For he xi. 10
looked for the city which hath sure[1] foundations, whose builder and maker is God.

By faith also Sarah herself received power to conceive 11
seed, even when[2] she was past age, because she judged Him faithful who had promised. Therefore sprang there of one, 12
and him as good as dead, "So many as the stars of the sky in multitude,"[3] and as the sand, which is by the sea-shore[4] innumerable.

These all died in faith, not having received the promises, 13
but having seen them afar off, and embraced them[5], and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims upon earth. For 14
they that say such things, declare plainly that they seek a country. And truly if they speak[6] of that country from 15
whence they came forth, they might have opportunity to return; but now they desire a better country, that is, an 16
heavenly. Wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God; for He hath prepared for them a city.

By faith Abraham, when he was tried, offered[7] up Isaac, 17
and he that had believed[8] the promises offered up his only begotten son, though it was said unto[9] him, "In Isaac shall thy 18
seed be called;"[10] accounting that God was able to raise him 19

[1] Cf. xii. 28.

[2] Ἔτεκεν is not in the best MSS.

[3] Exod. xxxii. 13. (LXX.)

[4] The same comparison is found Is. x. 22., quoted Rom. ix. 27.

[5] Πεισθέντες is an interpolation not found in the best MSS. It was originally a marginal gloss on ἀσπασάμενοι. The latter word cannot be adequately translated in English, so as to retain the full beauty of the metaphor.

[6] Ἐμνημόνευον. Compare ἐμνημόνευσε, verse 22. The meaning is, "If, in calling themselves strangers and pilgrims, they refer to the fact of their having left their native land." In other words, if Christians regret the world which they have renounced, there is nothing to prevent their returning to its enjoyments. Here again we trace a reference to those who were tempted to apostatise. For the explanation of the two imperfects, see Winer, § 43. 2.

[7] Προσενήνοχεν, literally, *hath offered.*

[8] Ἀναδεξάμενος is more than "*received.*" (A. V.) His belief in the promises to his posterity enhanced the sacrifice which he made.

[9] Πρὸς, not "*of.*" (A. V.) Πρὸς ὃν is equivalent to καίπερ πρὸς αὐτόν.

[10] Gen. xxi. 12. (LXX.), quoted also Rom. ix. 7.

up, even from the dead; from whence also (in a figure) he received him.

XI. 20 By faith Isaac blessed Jacob and Esau, CONCERNING THINGS TO COME.

21 By faith Jacob, WHEN HE WAS DYING, blessed both the sons of Joseph; and "he worshipped, leaning upon the top of his staff."[1]

22 By faith Joseph, IN THE HOUR OF HIS DEATH, spake[2] of the departing of the children of Israel; and gave commandment concerning his bones.

23 By faith Moses when he was born was hid three months by his parents, because "they saw that the child was goodly;"[3]
24 and they were not afraid of the king's commandment. By faith Moses, "when he was come to years,"[4] refused to be
25 called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, choosing rather to suffer affliction with the People of God, than to enjoy the pleasures
26 of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach[5] of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt; for he looked beyond[6]
27 unto the reward.[7] By faith he forsook[8] Egypt, not fearing the wrath of the king; for he endured, as seeing Him who is
28 invisible. By faith he hath established[9] the passover, and the sprinkling of blood, that the destroyer of the first-born might not touch the children of Israel.[10]

29 By faith they passed through the Red Sea as through dry land; which the Egyptians tried to pass, and were swallowed up.

[1] Gen. xlvii. 31. (LXX.) The present Hebrew text means not *the top of his staff*, but the *head of his bed;* but the LXX. followed a different reading. The "faith" of Jacob consisted in fixing his hopes upon future blessings, and worshipping God, even in the hour of death.

[2] Ἐμνημόνευσε. See verse 15. Joseph's "faith" relied on the promise that the seed of Abraham should return to the promised land. (Gen. xv. 16.)

[3] Exod. ii. 2. (LXX.) Ἰδοντες αὐτὸ ἀστεῖον. The Hebrew speaks of his mother only.

[4] Exod. ii. 11. (LXX.)

[5] The reproach of Christ's people is here called the reproach of Christ. Compare Col. i 24. and 2 Cor. i. 5.; also see 1 Cor. x. 4.

[6] Ἀπέβλεπε, literally, *he looked away from that which was before his eyes.*

[7] Μισθαπ. Cf. verse 6.

[8] See Exod. ii. 15.

[9] Πεποίηκε, *perfect.*

[10] Αὐτῶν. See Winer, Gram. § 22. 4.

By faith the walls of Jericho fell down, after they were compassed about for seven days. xi. 30

By faith the harlot Rahab perished not with the disobedient[1], because she had received the spies with peace. 31

And what shall I more say? for the time would fail me to tell of Gideon, and of Barak, of Sampson and of Jephthae, of David, and Samuel, and the prophets; who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions[2], quenched the violence of fire[3], escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness[4] were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens. Women[5] received their dead raised to life again; and others were tortured[6], not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better[7] resurrection. Others also had trial of cruel mockings[8] and scourgings, with chains also and imprisonment. They were stoned[9], were sawn[10] asunder, were tempted[11], were slain with the sword. They wandered about in sheep skins and goat skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented. They wandered in deserts, and in 32 33 34 35 36 37 38

[1] Ἀπειθήσασι, not "*them that believed not.*" (A. V.) They had heard the miracles wrought in favour of the Israelites (Josh. ii. 10.), and yet refused obedience.

[2] Referring to Daniel. (Dan. vi. 17.)

[3] Referring to Dan. iii. 27.

[4] This and the two following clauses may be most naturally referred to the Maccabees.

[5] Referring to the widow of Sarepta (1 Kings xvii.) and the Shunamite (2 Kings iv.).

[6] This refers both to Eleazar (2 Mac. vi.), and to the seven brothers, whose torture is described, 2 Mac. vii. The verb ἐτυμπανίσθησαν points especially to Eleazar, who was bound to the τύμπανον, an instrument to which those who were to be tortured by scourging were bound. (2 Mac. vi. 19.) The "not accepting deliverance" refers to the mother of the seven brothers and her youngest son (2 Mac. vii.).

[7] *Better*, viz. than that of those who (like the Shunamite's son) were only raised to return to this life. This reference is plain in the Greek, but cannot be rendered equally obvious in English, because we cannot translate the first ἀναστάσεως in this verse by *resurrection.*

[8] Ἐμπαιγμῶν. Still referring to the seven brothers, concerning whose torments this word is used. (2 Mac. vii. 7.)

[9] Zechariah, the son of Jehoiadah, was stoned. (2 Chron. xxiv. 20.) But it is not necessary (nor indeed possible) to fix each kind of death here mentioned on some person in the Old Testament. It is more probable that the Epistle here speaks of the general persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes.

[10] According to Jewish tradition this was the death of Isaiah; but see the preceding note.

[11] The received text is here retained; but there can scarcely be a doubt that the reading should be (as has been conjectured) either ἐπυράσθησαν or ἐπυρώθησαν, *they were burned.* This was the death of the seven brothers.

mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth; of whom[1] the world was not worthy.

XI 39 And these all, having obtained a good report through
40 faith, received not the promise. God having provided some better thing for us, that they, without us, should not be made perfect.[2]

XII. 1 Wherefore, seeing we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us[3] also lay aside every weight, and the sin which clingeth closely round us[4], and run with
2 courage[5] the race that is set before us; looking onward[6] unto Jesus, the forerunner[7] and the finisher of our faith; who for the joy that was set before Him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne
3 of God. Yea, consider Him that endured such contradiction of sinners against Himself, lest ye be wearied and faint in
4 your minds. Ye have not yet resisted unto blood[8], in your
5 conflict against sin; and ye have forgotten the exhortation which reasoneth[9] with you as with sons, saying, "**My Son, despise not thou the chastening of the Lord, nor faint when**
6 **thou art rebuked of him. For whom the Lord loveth he**
7 **chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.**"[10] If

Exhortation to imitate such examples, and to follow Jesus in stedfast endurance of suffering.

[1] Literally, *wandering — they of whom the world was not worthy — in deserts and in mountains, &c.; i.e.* They, for whom all that the world could give would have been too little, had not even a home wherein to lay their head.

[2] Τελειωθῶσι. See notes on ii. 10., vii. 11., ix. 9.; literally, *attain their consummation*, including *the attainment of the full maturity of their being*, and *the attainment of the full accomplishment of their faith;* which are indeed identical. They were not to attain this χωρὶς ἡμῶν, *i.e.* not until we came to join them.

[3] Καὶ ἡμεῖς, *let us, as they did.* The Agonistic metaphor here (see Vol. II. p. 204.) would be more naturally addressed to the Church of Alexandria than to that of Jerusalem.

[4] Εὐπερίστατος occurs nowhere else. Sin seems here to be described under the metaphor of a garment fitting closely to the limbs, which must be cast off (ἀποθεμ.), if the race is to be won. A garment would be called εὐπερίστατος, which *fitted well all round.*

[5] Ὑπομονὴ (as it has been before remarked) is not accurately represented by "*patience;*" it means *stedfast endurance*, or *fortitude.*

[6] Ἀφορῶντες. Compare ἀπέβλεπε (xi. 26.).

[7] Ἀρχηγὸν, literally, *foremost leader.* Compare ii. 10. Compare also πρόδρομον (vi. 20.).

[8] If this Epistle was addressed to the Christians of Jerusalem, the writer speaks here only of the existing generation; for the Church of Jerusalem had "resisted unto blood" formerly, in the persons of Stephen, James the Greater, and James the Less. But see introductory remarks, p. 512.

[9] Διαλέγεται.

[10] Prov. iii. 11—12. (LXX. nearly verbatim.) Philo quotes the passage to the same purpose as this Epistle.

ye endure chastisement[1], God dealeth with you as with sons; for where is the son that is not chastened by his xii. 8
father? but if ye be without chastisement, whereof all [God's children] have been[2] partakers, then are ye bastards and not sons. Moreover, we were chastened[3] by the fathers of our flesh, 9
and gave them reverence; shall we not much rather submit ourselves to the Father of our[4] spirits, and live. For they, in- 10
deed, for a few days chastened us, after their own pleasure; but He for our profit, that we might be partakers of His holiness. Now no chastisement for the present seemeth to be joyous, 11
but grievous; nevertheless afterward, unto them that are exercised thereby, it yieldeth the fruit of righteousness in peace.[5]

Wherefore "**Lift up the hands which hang down and** 12
the feeble knees,"[6] and "**make even paths for your feet;**"[7] 13
that the halting limb be not lamed[8], but rather healed.

Warning against sensuality.

Follow peace with all men, and holiness without which 14
no man shall see the Lord. And look diligently lest any 15
man fall[9] short of the grace of God; "**lest any root of bitter-**

[1] Throughout this passage it appears that the Church addressed was exposed to persecution. The intense feeling of Jewish nationality called forth by the commencing struggle with Rome, which produced the triumph of the *zealot* party, would amply account for a persecution of the Christians at Jerusalem at this period; as is argued by those who suppose the Epistle addressed to them. But the same cause would produce the same effect in the great Jewish population of Alexandria.

[2] Observe the perfect γεγόνασι, referring to the examples of God's children mentioned in the preceding chapter.

[3] Εἴχομεν παιδευτάς. The A. V. does not render the article correctly.

[4] Ἡμῶν is understood (without repetition) from the parallel σαρκὸς ἡμῶν.

[5] Καρπὸν εἰρηνικὸν δικαιοσύνης. God's chastisements lead men to conformity to the will of God (which is δικαιοσύνη); and this effect (καρπός) of suffering is (εἰρηνικός) full of peace. There can be no peace like that which follows upon the submission of the soul to the chastisement of our heavenly Father; if we receive it as inflicted by infinite wisdom and perfect love.

[6] This quotation is from Is. xxxv. 3., from LXX. (as appears by the words παρειμένας and παραλελυμένα), but quoted from memory and not verbatim. The LXX. has ἰσχύσατε, χεῖρες ἀνειμέναι καὶ γόνατα παραλελυμένα. The quotation here approaches more nearly than this to the Hebrew original, and might therefore (if not quoted *memoriter*) be considered an exception to the rule, which otherwise is universal throughout this Epistle, of adhering to the LXX. in preference to the Hebrew.

[7] Prov. iv. 26. (LXX. nearly verbatim.)

[8] Ἐκτραπῇ, *be dislocated.* The meaning of this exhortation seems to be, that they should abandon all appearance of Judaizing practices, which might lead the weaker brethren into apostasy.

[9] The most natural construction here is, to supply ᾖ, as in verse 16.

ness springing up trouble you,"[1] and thereby many be defiled;
XII. 16 lest there be any fornicator, or profane person, as Esau, who
17 for a single meal sold his birthright; for ye know that afterward, when he desired to inherit the blessing, he was rejected; finding no room for repentance, though he sought it[2] earnestly with tears.

In proportion to the superiority of the Gospel over the Law, will be the danger of despising it.

18 For ye are not come to a mountain that may be touched[3] and that burneth with fire, nor to "blackness and darkness
19 and tempest,"[4] and "sound of trumpet,"[5] and "voice of words"[6]—the hearers whereof entreated that no more might
20 be spoken unto them[7]; for they could not bear that which was commanded.[8] ("And if so much as a beast touch the mountain
21 it shall be stoned;"[9] and so terrible was the sight that Moses
22 said "I exceedingly fear and quake."[10])—But ye are come unto Mount Sion, and to the city of the living God, the heavenly
23 Jerusalem[11], and to myriads[12] of angels in full assembly, and

[1] Deut. xxix. 18. This quotation is a strong instance in favour of Bleek's view, that the writer of this Epistle used the Alexandrian text of the LXX. For the Codex Alexandrinus (which however is corrupt here) reads *μή τις ἐστὶν ἐν ὑμῖν ῥίζα πικρίας ἄνω φύουσα ἐνοχλῇ*, where the Codex Vaticanus has *ἐν χολῇ* (for *ἐνοχλῇ*), which corresponds more closely with the Hebrew.

[2] Although, with Chrysostom and De Wette, we refer this *αὐτὴν grammatically* to *μετανοίαν*, yet we think the view of Bleek *substantially* correct, in referring it to *τὴν εὐλογίαν*. That is, in saying that Esau *sought repentance with tears*, the writer obviously means that he sought *to reverse the consequences of his fault, and obtain the blessing*. If we refer to Genesis, we find that it was, in fact, Jacob's blessing (*τὴν εὐλογίαν*, Gen. xxvii. 35—38. LXX.), which Esau sought with tears.

[3] *Ψηλαφωμένῳ, present participle; κεκαυμένῳ, perfect participle* (not as A. V.) For the particulars here mentioned, see Exod. xix.

[4] Deut. iv. 11. *σκότος, γνόφος, θύελλα* (LXX.).

[5] Exod. xix. 16., *φωνὴ τῆς σάλπιγγος ἤχει.* (LXX.)

[6] Deut. iv. 12., *φωνὴν ῥημάτων* (LXX.).

[7] Deut. v. 25. (LXX.), where *προσθώμεθα* accounts for *προστεθῆναι* here.

[8] We put a full stop after *διαστελλόμενον*, because that which the Israelites "could not bear" was not the order for killing the beasts, but the utterance of the commandments of God. See Ex. xx. 19.

[9] Quoted from Ex. xix. 12. (LXX., but not verbatim). The words *ἢ βόλιδι κατατοξευθήσεται* of the received text have been here interpolated from the Old Testament, and are not in any of the uncial MSS.

[10] Deut. ix. 19., *ἔκφοβός εἰμι* (LXX.). This is the passage in the Old Testament which comes nearest to the present. It was the *remembrance* of that terrible sight which caused Moses to say this; much more must he have been terrified by the reality.

[11] This is (see Gal. iv. 26.) the Church of God, which has its *μητρόπολις* in heaven, though some of its citizens are still pilgrims and strangers upon earth.

[12] We cannot suppose (with most interpreters) that *μυρίασιν* is to be taken by itself, as if it

to the congregation of the first-born[1] whose names are written in heaven, and to God[2] the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men[3] made perfect[4], and to Jesus the mediator xii. 24
of a new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling[5], which speaketh better things than that of Abel.[6]

See that ye reject[7] not Him that speaketh. For if they 25
escaped not, who rejected Him that spake[8] on earth, much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from Him that speaketh from heaven. Whose voice then shook the earth, 26
but now He hath promised, saying, "Yet once more only[9] will I shake[10] not the earth alone but also heaven."[11] And 27
this "Yet once more only" signifieth the removal of those things that are shaken, as being perishable[12], that the things unshaken may remain immoveable. Wherefore, since we re- 28
ceive a kingdom that cannot be shaken, let us be filled with thankfulness[13]; whereby we may offer acceptable worship unto

were *ταῖς ἁγίαις μυρίασιν* (cf. Jude 14.), and *ἀγγέλων πανηγύρει* put in apposition to it; nor can we take *πανηγύρει καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ* together, which would make *πανηγύρει* redundant. But we take *μυρίασιν ἀγγέλων πανηγύρει* together, taking *πανηγύρει* as in apposition to *μυρίασιν ἀγγέλων*, or else as equivalent to *ἐν πανηγύρει*, which gives the same sense. *Πανήγυρις* properly means a *festive* assembly, which reminds us of "the marriage supper of the lamb."

[1] *Πρωτοτόκων.* These appear to be the Christians already dead and entered into their rest; *ἀπογεγραμμένων* means *registered* or *enrolled.* Cf. Luke ii. 1., and Phil. iv. 3.

[2] The order of the Greek would lead us more naturally to translate *to a judge, who is God of all;* but we have retained the A. V. in deference to the opinion of Chrysostom.

[3] These *δίκαιοι* (being distinguished from the *πρωτότοκοι* above) are probably the worthies of the ancient dispensation, commemorated chap. xi.

[4] *Τετελειωμένων*, literally, *who have attained their consummation.* This they had not done until Christ's coming. See xi. 40.

[5] Contrasted with the *ὕδωρ ῥαντισμοῦ* of Numbers xix. (LXX.) Compare ix. 13—14. and x. 22.

[6] Or, if we read *κρεῖττον* and *τὸν* (with the best MSS.), "*better than Abel.*" The voice of Abel cried for vengeance (Gen. iv. 10.). Compare xi. 4.; the blood of Christ called down forgiveness.

[7] It is impossible to translate *παραιτεῖσθαι* by the same English word here and in verse 19th; hence the reference of the one passage to the other is less plain than in the original.

[8] *Χρηματίζοντα*, literally, "*that spake oracularly.*"

[9] *Ἅπαξ, once, and once only.* Cf. ix. 26. and x. 2.

[10] *Σείσω* is the reading of the best MSS.

[11] Hagg. ii. 6. (LXX., but not verbatim.)

[12] *Πεποιημένων*, used here as *χειροποιητός* is (ix. 11., ix. 24.), and as we often use, "*things created*" as equivalent to *things perishable.*

[13] *Ἔχωμεν χάριν.* Compare *χάριν ἔχει*, Luke xvii. 9. If the meaning were "Let us hold fast [the] grace [which we have received]," it would be *κατέχωμεν τὴν χάριν.*

XII. 29 God, with reverence[1] and godly fear. For "our God is a consuming fire."[2]

XIII. 1 Let brotherly love continue. Be not forgetful to enter- Exhortation to several moral duties, especially to courageous profession of the faith, and obedience to the leaders of the Church.
2 tain strangers, for thereby some[3] have entertained angels
3 unawares. Remember the prisoners as though ye shared their prison; and the afflicted, as being yourselves also in the
4 body. Let marriage be held honourable[4] in all things, and let the marriage-bed be undefiled; for[5] whoremongers and
5 adulterers God will judge. Let your conduct be free from covetousness, and be content with what ye have; for HE
6 hath said "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee."[6] So that we may boldly say, "The Lord is my helper, and I will not fear. What can Man do unto me?"[7]

7 Remember them that were your leaders[8], who spoke to you the Word of God; look upon[9] the end of their life, and follow the example of their faith.

8 Jesus Christ[10] is the same yesterday and to-day and for
9 ever. Be not carried away[11] with manifold and strange doctrines. For it is good that the heart be established by grace; not by meats[12], which profited not them that were occupied

[1] Εὐλαβείας καὶ δέους is the reading of the best MSS.

[2] Deut. iv. 24. (LXX. nearly verbatim.)

[3] Viz. Abraham and Lot.

[4] Τίμιος ὁ γάμος must be taken imperatively on the same grounds as ἀφιλάργυρος ὁ τρόπος which immediately follows.

[5] The MSS. A, D, and some others read γάρ here, which is adopted by Lachmann and Bleek.

[6] Deut. xxxi. 6. Κύριος ὁ θεὸς * * * οὔτε μή σε ἀνῇ, οὔτε μή σε ἐγκαταλίπῃ (LXX.). This is said by Moses. In Josh. i. 5. (LXX.) we find a direct promise from God, almost in the same words, οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψω σε, οὐδ' ὑπερόψομαί σε, addressed to Joshua. The citation here, being not verbatim, may be derived from either of these places. Philo cites the same words as the text.

[7] Ps. cxviii. 6. (LXX.)

[8] Ἡγουμένους is not *rulers*, but *leaders*. Compare Acts xv. 22. Ἄνδρας ἡγουμένους ἐν τοῖς ἀδέλφοις. The word is here (cf. verse 17. and 24.) applied to the presbyters or bishops of the Church. See Vol. I. p. 466. note 6.

[9] Ἀναθεωροῦντες, a very graphic word, not to be fully rendered by any English term. The meaning is "*contemplate the final scene* [*perhaps martyrdom*], *which closed their life and labours* (ἀναστροφή)."

[10] The A. V. here gives an English reader the very erroneous impression that "Jesus Christ" is in the objective case, and in apposition to "the end of their conversation."

[11] Παραφέρεσθε is the reading of the best MSS.

[12] Βρώμασιν. The connection here is very difficult. The reference seems to be, in the first place, to Judaizing doctrines concerning clean and unclean meats; but thence the thought passes on to the sacrificial meats, on which the priests were partly supported. Some think this

therein. We have an altar whereof they that minister unto XIII.10
the tabernacle have no right to eat. For[1] the bodies of 11
those beasts whose blood the High Priest bringeth[2] into the
Holy Place[3], are burned "without the camp."[4] Wherefore 12
Jesus also, that He might sanctify the People by His own
blood, suffered without the gate. Therefore let us go forth 13
unto Him "without the camp," bearing His reproach. For 14
here we have no continuing city, but we seek one to come.[5]

By Him therefore let us offer unto God continually a 15
sacrifice of praise[6], that is, "the fruit of our lips"[7] making
confession unto His name. And be not unmindful of bene- 16
volence and liberality; for such are the sacrifices which are
acceptable unto God.

Render unto them that are your leaders obedience and 17
submission; for they on their part[8] watch for the good of
your souls, as those that must give account; that they may
keep their watch with joy and not with lamentation; for
that would be unprofitable for you.

The writer asks their prayers, gives them his own, and communicates in-

Pray for me; for I trust[9] that I have a good conscience, 18
desiring in all my conduct to live rightly. But I the rather 19
beseech you to do this, that I may be restored to you the
sooner.[10]

verse addressed to those who had themselves been priests, which would be an argument for supposing the epistle addressed to the Church of Jerusalem. (Compare Acts vi. 7.)

[1] The connection seems to be, that the victims sacrificed on the day of Atonement were commanded (Levit. xvi. 27.) to be *wholly burned*, and therefore *not eaten*. "Cremabantur, inquit; non ergo comedebantur a sacerdotibus." (Gomarus.)

[2] Viz. on the day of Atonement. Compare Chaps. ix. and x.

[3] The words *περὶ ἁμαρτίας* are omitted in the best MSS.

[4] Levit. xvi. 27. (LXX. verbatim). The camp (*παρεμβόλη*) of the Israelites was afterwards represented by the Holy City; so that the bodies of these victims were burnt outside the gates of Jerusalem. See above, p. 262. note 6.

[5] *Τὴν*, literally, *the city which is to come*. Compare x. 34. and the *βασιλείαν ἀσάλευτον*, xii. 28.

[6] The Christian sacrifice is "a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," contrasted with the propitiatory sacrifices of the old law, which were for ever consummated by Christ. See x. 4—14.

[7] Hosea xiv. 2. (LXX.) (The present Hebrew text is different.)

[8] *Αὐτοί*, emphatic.

[9] This seems to be addressed to a party amongst these Hebrew Christians who had taken offence at something in the writer's conduct.

[10] We have already observed that this implies that a personal connection existed between the

XIII.20 Now the God of peace, who raised up[1] from the dead the great "**shepherd of the sheep,**"[2] even our Lord Jesus, formation from Italy.
21 through the blood of an everlasting covenant, — make you perfect in every good work to do His will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in His sight, by Jesus Christ. To whom be glory for ever.[3] Amen.

22 I beseech you, brethren, to bear with these words of exhortation; for I have written shortly.[4]

23 Know that our brother Timotheus is set at liberty; and with him, if he come speedily, I will see you.

24 Salute all them that are your leaders, and all Christ's people.

25 They of Italy[5] salute you.

Grace be with you all. Amen.

writer and the readers of this Epistle. The opinion of Ebrard, that this verse is written by St. Luke in St. Paul's person, and verse 23d in his own person, appears quite untenable; no intimation of a change of person is given (compare Rom. xvi. 22.); nor is there any inconsistency in asking prayers for a prosperous journey, and afterwards expressing a positive intention of making the journey.

[1] Ἀνάγειν is not *to bring again* (A.V.), but to *bring up from below, to raise up.* (Rom. x. 7.)

[2] This is an allusion to a passage in Isaiah (Is. lxiii. 11. LXX.) where God is described as "*He who brought up from the sea the shepherd of the sheep* [*viz. Moses*]."

[3] Τῶν αἰώνων is probably to be omitted both here and Rom. xi. 36. and xvi. 27.

[4] They are asked to excuse the apparent harshness of some portions of the letter, on the ground that the writer had not time for circumlocution.

[5] Οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας. We agree with Winer (Gram. sect. 63. p. 484.) in thinking that this ἀπὸ may be most naturally understood as used *from the position of the readers.* This was the view of the earlier interpreters, and is agreeable to Greek analogy. In fact, if we consider the origin in most languages of the gentilitial prepositions (von, de, of, &c.), we shall see that they conform to the same analogy. Hence we infer from this passage that the writer was in Italy.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I.

ON THE DATE OF THE PASTORAL EPISTLES.

BEFORE we can fix the time at which these Epistles were written, we must take the following data into account.

1. The three Epistles were nearly *cotemporaneous* with one another. This is proved by their resembling each other in language, matter, and style of composition, and in the state of the Christian Church which they describe; and by their differing in all these three points from all the other Epistles of St. Paul. Of course the full force of this argument cannot be appreciated by those who have not carefully studied these Epistles; but it is now almost universally admitted by all[1] who have done so, both by the defenders and impugners of the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles. Hence if we fix the date of one of the three, we fix approximately the date of all.

2. They were written *after St. Paul became acquainted with Apollos*, and therefore *after St. Paul's first visit to Ephesus.* (See Acts xviii. 24. and Titus iii. 13.)

3. Hence they could not have been written till after the conclusion of that portion of his life which is related in the Acts; because there is no part of his history, between his first visit to Ephesus and his Roman imprisonment, which satisfies the historical conditions implied in the statements of any one of these Epistles. Various attempts have been made, with different degrees of ingenuity, to place the Epistles to Timothy and Titus at different points in this interval of time; but all have failed, even to satisfy the conditions required for placing any single Epistle correctly.[2] And no one has ever attempted to place all three *together*, at any period of St. Paul's life before the end of his first Roman imprisonment; yet this cotemporaneousness of the three Epistles is, as we have seen, a necessary condition of the problem.

[1] We have noticed Dr. Davidson's contrary opinion before; and we should add that Wieseler may be considered another exception, only that he does not attempt to reply to the grounds stated by other critics for the cotemporaneousness of the three Epistles, but altogether ignores the question of internal evidence from style and Church organisation, which is the conclusive evidence here. Subjoined to this appendix will be found an alphabetical list of the words and phrases peculiar to the Pastoral Epistles.

[2] Wieseler's is the most ingenious theory which has been suggested for getting over this difficulty; but it has been shown by Huther that neither of the three Epistles can be placed as Wieseler places them without involving some contradiction of the facts mentioned in them respectively. (See Huther's Pastoralbriefe, pp. 12—25.)

4. The Pastoral Epistles were written not merely *after* St. Paul's first Roman imprisonment, but *considerably* after it. This is evident from the marked difference in their style from the Epistle to the Philippians, which was the last written during that imprisonment. So great a change of style (a change not merely in the use of single words, but in phrases, in modes of thought, and in method of composition) must require an interval of certainly not less than four or five years to account for it. And even that interval might seem too short, unless accompanied by circumstances which should further explain the alteration. Yet five years of exhausting labour, great physical and moral sufferings, and bitter experience of human nature, might suffice to account for the change.

5. The development of Church organisation implied in the Pastoral Epistles leads to the same conclusion as to the lateness of their date. The detailed rules for the choice of presbyters and deacons, implying numerous candidates for these offices; the exclusion of *new converts* (νεόφυτοι [1]) from the presbyterate; the regular catalogue of Church widows; are all examples of this.

6. The *Heresies* condemned in all three Epistles are likewise of a nature which forbids the supposition of an early date. They are of the same class as those attacked in the Epistle to the Colossians, but appear under a more matured form. They are apparently the same heresies which we find condemned in other portions of Scripture written in the later part of the Apostolic age, as, for example, the Epistles of Peter and Jude. We trace distinctly the beginnings of the Gnostic Heresy, which broke out with such destructive power in the second century, and of which we have already seen the germ in the Epistle to the Colossians.

7. The preceding conditions might lead us to place the Pastoral Epistles at any point after A. D. 66 (see condition 4. above), *i. e.* in the last thirty-three years of the first century. But we have a limit assigned us in this direction, by a fact mentioned in the Epistles to Timothy, viz. that Timotheus was still a young man (1 Tim. iv. 12., 2 Tim. ii. 22.) when they were written. We must of course understand this statement relatively to the circumstances under which it is used: Timotheus was young for the authority entrusted to him; he was young to exercise supreme jurisdiction over all the Presbyters (many of them old men) of the Churches of Asia. According even to modern notions (and much more according to the feelings of antiquity on the subject), he would still have been very young for such a position at the age of thirty-five. Now Timotheus was (as we have seen Vol. I. pp. 210. and 285.) a youth still living with his parents when St. Paul first took him in A. D. 51 (Acts xvi. 1—3.) as his companion. From the way in which he is then mentioned (Acts xvi. 1—3.: compare 2 Tim. i. 4.), we cannot imagine him to have been more than seventeen or eighteen at the most. Nor, again, could he be much younger than this, considering the part he soon afterwards took in the conversion of Macedonia (2 Cor. i. 19.). Hence we may suppose him to have been eighteen years old in A. D. 51. Consequently, in 68 (the last year of Nero), he would be thirty-five [2] years old.

[1] 1 Tim. iii. 6.

[2] No objection against the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles has been more insisted on than that furnished by the reference to the *youth* of Timo-

8. If we are to believe the universal tradition of the early Church, St. Paul's martyrdom occurred in the reign of Nero.[1] Hence, we have another limit for the date of the Pastoral Epistles, viz. that it could not have been later than A.D. 68, and this agrees very well with the preceding datum.

It will be observed that all the above conditions are satisfied by the hypothesis adopted in Chapter XXVII., that the Pastoral Epistles were written, the two first just before, and the last during, St. Paul's final imprisonment at Rome. Before examining the details which fix the order of these Epistles amongst themselves, we shall briefly consider the arguments of those who, during the present century, have denied the genuineness of these Epistles altogether. These objections, which were first suggested by Schleiermacher (who rejected 1 Tim. only), have been recently supported by Baur (with his usual unfairness and want of exegetical discrimination) and (much more ably and candidly) by De Wette. The chief cause assigned by these writers for rejecting the Epistles are as follows: —

Objection.	*Answer.*
1. The Pastoral Epistles cannot, on historical grounds, be placed in any portion of St. Paul's life before the end of his first Roman imprisonment, *from which he was never liberated.*	1. This rejection rests on the arbitrary assumption, which we have already attempted to refute in Chap. XXVII., that St. Paul was not liberated from his first imprisonment.
2. The language is unlike that of St. Paul's other Epistles.	2. The change of style is admitted; but it may be accounted for by change of circumstances and lapse of time. New words very soon are employed, when new ideas arise to require them. The growth of new heresies, the development of Church organisation, the rapid alteration of circumstances in a great moral revolution, may fully account for the use of new terms, or for the employment of old terms in a new sense. Moreover the language of letters to individual friends might be expected to differ somewhat from that of public letters to churches.
3. The mode of composition, the frequent introduction of hortatory commonplaces, and the want of connection, are un-Pauline.	3. The change in these respects (such as it is) is exactly what we might expect to be caused by advancing age, the diminution of physical vigour, and the partial failure of that inexhaustible energy which had supported a feeble bodily frame through years of such varied trials.
4. The Epistles are without a definite object, or do not keep that object consistently in view.	4. This objection we have sufficiently answered in the preliminary remarks prefixed to

theus in the two passages above mentioned. How groundless such objections are, we may best realise by considering the parallel case of those young Colonial Bishops, who are almost annually leaving our shores. Several of these have been not more than thirty-four or thirty-five years of age at the time of their appointment; and how naturally might they be addressed, by an elderly friend, in the very language which St. Paul here addresses to Timotheus.

[1] See the authorities for this statement above, p. 504.

Objection.	*Answer.*
	the translation of the several Epistles. We may add, that De Wette fixes very arbitrarily on some one point which he maintains to be the "object" of each Epistle, and then complains that the point so selected is not properly kept in view. On such a ground we might equally reject the most undoubtedly genuine Epistles.
5. More importance is attached to external morality, and to "soundness" of dogmatic teaching, than in St. Paul's other Epistles.	5. This change is exactly what we should expect, when the foundations of Christian doctrine and Christian morality were attacked by heretics.
6. More importance is given to the hierarchical element of the Church than in St. Paul's other Epistles.	6. This again is what we should have anticipated, in Epistles written towards the close of the apostolic age, especially when addressed to an ecclesiastical officer. We know that, in the succeeding period, the Church was (humanly speaking) saved from destruction by its admirable organisation, without which it would have fallen to pieces under the disintegrating influences which were at work within it. When these influences first began to be powerful, it was evidently requisite to strengthen the organisation by which they were to be opposed. Moreover, as the time approached when the Apostles themselves were to be withdrawn, it was necessary to take measures that the element of order which their government had hitherto supplied should not be lost to the Church.
7. The organisation of the Church described is too mature for the date assigned: especially, the exclusion of *νεόφυτοι* (1 Tim. iii. 6.) from the Presbyterate shows a long existence of the Church.	7. There is nothing in the Church organisation which might not have been expected at the period of 68 A. D., in churches which had existed fifteen years, or perhaps more. The *πρεσβύτεροι* and *διάκονοι* are distinct orders as early as the Epistle to the Philippians. The ordaining of *πρεσβύτεροι* in every city was a step always taken by St. Paul immediately on the foundation of a church (Acts xiv. 23.). On the other hand, there are some points in the Church organisation described, which seem clearly to negative the hypothesis of a date later than the Apostolic age; especially the use of *πρεσβύτερος* and *ἐπίσκοπος* as synonymous.
8. The institution of an *Order of Widowhood* (1 Tim. v. 9.) is not probable at so early a period.	8. The institution of such an order (so far as it is at all implied in this Epistle) is nothing more than what might be expected to arise immediately from the establishment of a class of widows supported by the Church (as described Acts vi. 1.), such as existed from the very earliest period of the Church.

Objection.	*Answer.*
	Baur (by a mere arbitrary hypothesis) supposes that the *Widows* of our Epistle were the same with the order of Virgins (τὰς παρθένους τὰς λεγομένας χήρας, Ig. Smyrn. c. 13.) which existed in the time of Ignatius: whereas this very passage is a proof of the earlier date of our Epistle; because the χήραι of 1 Tim. are especially to be selected from among those who had *borne children*, so that no virgin would have been admissible.
9. Timotheus could not have been considered *young*, after St. Paul's first imprisonment.	9. This is fully answered above, p. 552.
10. The somewhat depreciatory tone in which Timotheus is addressed, does not agree with what we know of St. Paul's great value for him.	10. We must remember that St. Paul had witnessed the desertion of many of his disciples and friends (2 Tim. iv. 10.), and it seems probable that Timotheus himself had shown some reluctance to encounter the great danger to which a visit to Rome at the close of Nero's reign would have exposed every Christian. On the other hand, what motive could have induced a forger to represent Timotheus in this manner?
11. The Gnostic heresy is plainly attacked in the Pastoral Epistles; yet it did not exist till towards the close of the 1st century. (Baur adds that the peculiar heresy of Marcion is distinctly attacked in 1 Tim.; but this is allowed by De Wette to be a mistake. See note on 1 Tim. vi. 20.)	11. It is not the Gnostic heresy in its full development which is attacked in these Epistles, but the incipient form of that heresy. We see the germ of it so early as in the Epistle to the Colossians. And even in the Epistles to Corinth, there was a party which prided itself in γνῶσις (1 Cor. viii. 1.), and seems to have been (in its denial of the resurrection, &c.) very similar to the early Gnostics, and at least to have contained the germ of the Gentile element of that heresy. (See Vol. I. p. 482.)
12. The heretics are vaguely described as future, yet occasionally as present; the present and future seeming to be blended together.	12. This suits very well with the fact that the Gnostic heresy had as yet only appeared in its incipient form. Worse was still to come. Moreover, the same phenomenon occurs in the description of the μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας (2 Thess. ii.).
13. Passages from the other Pauline Epistles are interpolated into these.	13. A writer very naturally expresses the same thoughts in the same way, by an unconscious self-repetition. So we have seen in the Colossians and Ephesians, and in the Romans and Galatians.

Having thus considered the objections which have been made against the genuineness of these Epistles, we may add to this negative view of the case the positive reasons which may be given for believing them genuine.

1. The external evidence of their reception by the Universal Church is conclusive. They

are distinctly quoted by Irenæus[1], and some of their peculiar expressions are employed in the same sense by Clement, St. Paul's disciple.[2] They are included in the Canon of Muratori, and in the Peschito, and are reckoned by Eusebius among the Canonical Scriptures universally acknowledged. Their authenticity was never disputed in the early Church, except by Marcion; and that single exception counts for nothing, because it is well known that he rejected other portions of Scripture, not on grounds of critical evidence, but because he was dissatisfied with their contents.

2. The opponents of the genuineness of these Epistles have never been able to suggest any sufficient motive for their forgery. Had they been forged with a view to refute the later form of the Gnostic heresy, this design would have been more clearly apparent. As it is, the Epistles to the Colossians and Corinthians might have been quoted against Marcion or Valentinus with as much effect as the Pastoral Epistles.

3. Their very early date is proved, as we have before remarked, by the synonymous use of the words *πρεσβύτερος* and *ἐπίσκοπος*.

4. Their early date also appears by the expectation of our Lord's immediate coming (1 Tim. vi. 14.), which was not entertained beyond the close of the Apostolic age. See 2 Peter iii. 4.

5. Their genuineness seems proved by the manner in which Timotheus is addressed. How can we imagine a forger of a subsequent age speaking in so disparaging a tone of so eminent a saint?

6. In the Epistle to Titus four persons are mentioned (Artemas, Tychicus, Zenas, Apollos); in 1 Tim. two are mentioned (Hymenæus and Alexander); in 2 Tim. sixteen are mentioned (Erastus, Trophimus, Demas, Crescens, Titus, Mark, Tychicus, Carpus, Onesiphorus, Prisca, Aquila, Luke, Eubulus, Claudia, Pudens, Linus). Now supposing these Epistles forged at the time De Wette supposes, viz. about 90 A.D., is it not certain that some of these numerous persons must have been still alive? Or, at any rate, many of their friends must have been living. How, then, could the forgery by possibility escape detection? If it be said that some of the names occur only in the Pastoral Epistles, and may have been imaginary, that does not diminish the difficulty; for would it not have much surprised the Church, to find a number of persons mentioned, in an epistle of Paul from Rome, whose very names had never been heard of?

7. De Wette himself discards Baur's hypothesis that they were written in the middle of the second century, and acknowledges that they cannot have been written later than about the close of the first century, *i. e.* about A.D. 80 or 90. Now surely it must be acknowledged that if they could not have been *later* than 80 or 90, they may well have

[1] Irenæus contra Hæres. iii. sect. 3. and 4. distinctly quotes 2 Tim. and Titus as Epistles of St. Paul.

[2] *Εὐσεβεία* is an instance. It will be observed that we do not rely on the supposed quotations from the Pastorals in Clement, because we do not think them sufficiently clear to be convincing. For the same reason we abstain from referring to Ignatius, Polycarp, and Justin Martyr, because the passages in their writings which we believe to be allusions to the Pastoral Epistles are not distinctly expressed as *quotations*, and it might therefore be said (as it has been said by Baur) that the passages in the Pastorals were taken from them, not they from the Pastorals.

been *as early* as A.D. 70 or 68. And this is all which is required to establish their genuineness.[1]

Taking this point, therefore, as established, we come now to consider the order of the three Epistles among themselves:—

1. 1 TIM. In this we find St. Paul had left Ephesus for Macedonia (1 Tim. i. 3.), and had left Timothy at Ephesus to counteract the erroneous teaching of the heretics (iii. 4.), and that he hoped soon to return to Ephesus (iii. 14.).

2. TITUS. Here we find that St. Paul had lately left Crete (i. 5.), and that he was now about to proceed (iii. 12.) to Nicopolis, in Epirus, where he meant to spend the approaching winter. Whereas in 1 Tim. he meant soon to be back at Ephesus, and he was *afterwards* at Miletus and Corinth between 1 Tim. and 2 Tim. (otherwise 2 Tim. iv. 20. would be unintelligible). Hence Titus[2] must have been written later than 1 Tim.

3. 2 TIM. We have seen that this Epistle could not (from the internal evidence of its style, and close resemblance to the other Pastorals) have been written in the first Roman imprisonment. The same conclusion may be drawn also on historical grounds, as Huther has well shown (p. 23.), where he proves that it could neither have been written before the Epistle to the Colossians nor after the Epistle to the Colossians during *that* imprisonment. The internal evidence from style and matter, however, is so conclusive, that it is needless to do more than allude to this quasi-external evidence. In this Epistle we find St. Paul a prisoner in Rome (i. 17.); he has lately been at Corinth (iv. 20.), and since he left Timothy (at Ephesus) he has been at Miletus (iv. 20.). Also he has been, not long before, at Troas (iv. 13.).

The facts thus mentioned can be best explained by supposing (1) That after writing 1 Tim. from Macedonia, St. Paul did, as he intended, return to Ephesus by way of *Troas*, where he left the books, &c. mentioned 2 Tim. iv. 13. with Carpus; (2) That from Ephesus he made a short expedition to Crete and back, and on his return wrote to Titus; (3) That immediately after despatching this letter, he went by *Miletus* to *Corinth*, and thence to Nicopolis; whence he proceeded to Rome.

To complete this subject, we add a summary of the verbal peculiarities of the Pastoral Epistles:—

[1] The above discussion of the arguments for and against the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles was written before the appearance of Dr. Davidson's third volume. The reader who is acquainted with that valuable work, will perceive that we differ from Dr. Davidson on some material points; nor, after considering his arguments, do we see reason to change our conclusions. But this difference does not prevent us from appreciating the candour and ability with which he states the arguments on both sides. We would especially refer our readers to his statement of the difficulties in the way of the hypothesis that these Epistles were forged, pp. 149—153.

[2] Had 1 Tim. been written after Titus, St. Paul could not have hoped to be back soon at Ephesus, 1 Tim. iii. 14.; for he had only just left Ephesus, and (on that hypothesis) would be intending to winter at the distant Nicopolis.

PECULIAR WORDS AND PHRASES IN THE PASTORAL EPISTLES.

It will be observed that most of the following words or phrases occur in *more than one* of these Epistles, and but one of them (καλός) in any of the other Epistles written by St. Paul.

The words or phrases marked * occur nowhere else in the New Testament.
a means 1 Tim.
b means 2 Tim.
c means Titus.
Thus $a^2 b^3 c$ means *occurring twice in* 1 Tim., *three times in* 2 Tim., *and once in* Titus.

* αἱρετικός . . . . *c.*
* ἀνεξίκακος . . . *b.*
* ἀνόσιος . . . . *a b.*
ἀρνοῦμαι . . . . $a\ b^3\ c^2$.
* ἄρτιος . . . . *b.*
* ἀστοχεῖν . . . . $a^2\ b$.
βέβηλος . . . . $a^3\ b$.
* γενεαλογίαι . . . *a c.*
* γυμνασία . . . . *a.*
* διαβεβαιοῦσθαι . . . *a c.*
* διάβολος (for *calumnious*) . *a b c.*
* διάγειν . . . . *a c.*
διδασκαλία (*objectively* used) $a^4\ b\ c^3$.
δι' ἣν αἰτίαν . . . $b^2\ c$, also used once in Hebrews, and four times by St. Luke. (St. Paul always elsewhere uses διό, which occurs twenty-seven times in his other Epistles, but not once in the Pastorals.)
ἐκτρέπεσθαι . . . $a^3\ b$.
ἔντευξις . . . . a^2.
* ἐπιστομίζειν . . . *c.*
* ἐπιφανεία (for παρουσία) . *a* b^3 *c.*
* ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν . . . a^2.
εὐσεβεία . . . . $a^3\ b\ c$, } altogether thirteen times; not used once in any other of St. Paul's Epistles.
εὐσεβῶ . . . . *a*, }
εὐσέβως . . . . *b c*, }
* ἔχειν (*to hold fast*) . . *a b.*
ζητήσεις . . . . $a^2\ b\ c$.
ἡδοναί . . . . *c.*
καθαρὰ (συνείδησις or καρδία) $a^2\ b^2$.

καλός . . . . a^{17} b^3 c^5 (used twenty-five times in the Pastorals, and only sixteen times in all the other Epistles written by St. Paul).

* κενοφωνίαι . . . . *a b*.

* λογομαχίαι (or -εῖν) . . *a b*.

* μακάριος Θεὸς . . . a^2.

* ματαιολογία (or -οι) . . *a c*.

μῦθοι . . . . a^2 *b c* (only once besides in New Testament, viz. 2 Pet. i. 16.).

* νεόφυτος . . . . *a*.

* οἰκουρὸς . . . . *c*.

παγὶς τοῦ διαβόλου . . *a b*.

παραιτεῖσθαι . . . a^2 *b c*.

* παρακαταθήκη . . . *a* b^2.

παρακολουθεῖν . . . *a b*.

* πάροινος . . . . *a c*.

* περιίστασθαι . . . *b c*.

* περιούσιος . . . . *c*.

* πιστὸς ὁ λόγος . . . a^3 *b c* (this phrase seems always to introduce or accompany a *quotation*).

* πλήκτης . . . . *a c*.

προσέχειν . . . . a^4 *c*.

* σεμνότης . . . . a^2 *c* (also σεμνος is only used in Phil. iv. 8. and in a^2 *c*).

* σωτὴρ (applied to God) . a^3 c^3.

σώφρων and its derivatives . a^3 c^5 *b* (σωφροσύνη alone occurs elsewhere in N. T., viz. Acts xxvi. 25.)

* τυφοῦσθαι . . . . a^2 *b*.

* ὑγιὴς (and derivatives, applied to *doctrine*) . . a^2 b^2 c^5.

ὑπομιμνήσκειν (and derivatives) . . . . *b* c^2.

* ὑποτύπωσις . . . *a b*.

* χάρις, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη (in the Salutation) . . . *a b* (not *c*, though in T. R.; see Note on Tit. i. 4.).

APPENDIX II.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A.D.	Biography of St. Paul.	Cotemporary Events.
36	(?) St. Paul's conversion [supposing the ἔτη τρία of Gal. i. 18. Judaically reckoned]. See Vol. I. p. 251. and note (B.) below.	
37	(?) At Damascus.	Death of Tiberius and accession of CALIGULA (March 16).
38	(?) Flight from Damascus [See Vol. I. p. 251.] to Jerusalem, and thence to Tarsus.	
39	(?) During these years St. Paul preaches in Syria and Cilicia, making TARSUS his head-quarters, and probably undergoes most of the sufferings mentioned at 2 Cor. xi. 24—26., viz. two of the Roman and the five Jewish scourgings, and three shipwrecks. See Vol. I. p. 115. and 128., and note on 2 Cor. xi. 25.	
40	(?)	
41	(?)	Death of Caligula, and accession of CLAUDIUS (Jan. 25.), Judæa and Samaria given to Herod Agrippa I.
42	(?)	
43	(?)	Invasion of Britain by Aulus Plautius.
44	He is brought from Tarsus to Antioch (Acts xi. 26.) and stays there a year before the famine.	Death of Herod Agrippa I. (Acts xii.) [see note (A.) below] Cuspius Fadus (as procurator) succeeds to the government of Judæa.
45	He visits Jerusalem with Barnabas to relieve the famine.	
46	At ANTIOCH.	Tiberius Alexander made procurator of Judæa (about this time).
47	At ANTIOCH.	
48	His "First Missionary Journey" from Antioch to Cyprus, Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe,	Agrippa II. (Acts xxv.) made king of Chalcis;
49	and back through the same places to ANTIOCH.	Cumanus made procurator of Judæa (about this time).
50	St. Paul and Barnabas attend the "Council of Jerusalem." [See Vol. I. p. 244—252. and note (B.) below.]	Caractacus captured by the Romans in Britain; Cogidunus (father of Claudia [?], 2 Tim. iv. 21.) assists the Romans in Britain.
51	His "Second Missionary Journey," from Antioch to Cilicia, Lycaonia, Galatia,	
52	Troas, Philippi, Thessalonica, Berœa, Athens, and CORINTH — *Writes* 1 *Thess.*	Claudius expels the Jews from Rome (Acts xviii. 2.).
53	At CORINTH. *Writes* 2 *Thess.*	The tetrarchy of Trachonitis given to Agrippa II.; Felix made procurator of Judæa. [See note (C.) below.]
54	(Spring) — He leaves Corinth, and reaches (Summer) — Jerusalem at Pentecost, and thence goes to Antioch. (Autumn) — His "Third Missionary Journey." — He goes To EPHESUS.	Death of Claudius and accession of NERO (Oct. 13.).
55	At EPHESUS.	
56	At EPHESUS.	
57	(Spring) — *He writes* 1 *Cor.* (Summer) — Leaves Ephesus for Macedonia, (Autumn) — Where *he writes* 2 *Cor.*, and thence (Winter) — To CORINTH, where *he writes Galatians.*	
58	(Spring) — *He writes Romans,* and leaves Corinth, going by Philippi and Miletus (Summer) — To Jerusalem (Pentecost), where he is arrested and sent to Cæsarea.	
59	At CÆSAREA.	Nero murders Agrippina.
60	(Autumn) — Sent to Rome by Festus (about August). (Winter) — Shipwrecked at Malta.	Felix is recalled and succeeded by Festus [see note (C.) below].
61	(Spring) — He arrives at Rome.	Embassy from Jerusalem to Rome, to petition about the wall [see note (C.) below].
62	At ROME. (Spring) — *Writes* { *Philemon, Colossians, Ephesians.* (Autumn) — *Writes Philippians.*	Burrus dies; Albinus succeeds Festus as procurator; Nero marries Poppæa; Octavia executed; Pallas put to death.
63	(Spring) — He is acquitted, and goes to Macedonia (Phil. ii. 24.) and Asia Minor (Philem. xxii.).	Poppæa's daughter Claudia born.
64	(?) He goes to Spain. [For this and the subsequent statements, see Chap. XXVII.]	Great fire at Rome (July 19.), followed by persecution of Roman Christians;
65	(?) In Spain.	Gessius Florus made procurator of Judæa. Conspiracy of Piso, and death of Seneca.
66	(Summer) — From Spain (?) to Asia Minor (1 Tim. i. 3.).	The Jewish war begins.
67	(Summer) — *Writes* 1 *Tim.* from Macedonia. (Autumn) — *Writes Titus* from Ephesus. (Winter) — At Nicopolis.	
68	(Spring) — In prison at Rome. *Writes* 2 *Tim.* (Summer) — Executed (*May* or June).	Death of Nero in the middle of June.

NOTE (A.).—*Date of the Famine, in* Acts xi. 28.

We find in Acts xi. 28. that Agabus prophesied the occurrence of a famine, and that his prophecy was fulfilled in the reign of Claudius; also, that the Christians of Antioch resolved (ὥρισαν) to send relief to their poor brethren in Judæa, and that this resolution was carried into effect by the hands of Barnabas and Saul. After relating this, St. Luke digresses from his narrative, to describe the then state (κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον) of the Church at Jerusalem, immediately before and after the death of Herod Agrippa (which is fully described Acts xii. 1—24.). He then resumes the narrative which he had interrupted, and tells us how Barnabas and Saul returned to Antioch, after fulfilling their commission to Jerusalem (Acts xii. 25.).

From this it would appear, that Barnabas and Saul went up to Jerusalem, to relieve the sufferers by famine, *soon after the death of Herod Agrippa I.*

Now Josephus enables us to fix Agrippa's death very accurately: for he tells us (Ant. xix. 9. 2.) that at the time of his death he had reigned three full years over the whole of Judæa; and also (Ant. xix. 5. 1.) that early in the first year of Claudius (41 A.D.) the sovereignty of Judæa was conferred on him. Hence his death was in A.D. 44.[1]

The famine appears to have begun *in the year after his death;* for (1) Josephus speaks of it as having occurred during the government of Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander (Ant. xx. 5. 2.). Now Cuspius Fadus was sent as Procurator from Rome on the death of Agrippa I., and was succeeded by Tiberius Alexander; and both their Procuratorships together only lasted from A.D. 45 to A.D. 50, when Cumanus succeeded.[2] (2) We find from Josephus (Ant. xx. 2. 6., compare xx. 5. 2.), that about the time of the beginning of Fadus's government, Helena, Queen of Adiabene, a Jewish proselyte, sent corn to the relief of the Jews in the famine. (3) At the time of Herod Agrippa's death, it would seem from Acts xii. 20. that the famine could not have begun; for the motive of the Phœnicians, in making peace, was that their country was supplied with food from Judæa, a motive which could not have acted while Judæa itself was perishing of famine.

Hence we conclude that, the journey of Barnabas and Saul to Jerusalem with alms took place in A.D. 45.

NOTE (B.).

In Vol. I. p. 251. we have remarked that the interval of 14 years (Gal. ii. 1.) between the flight from Damascus and the Council of Jerusalem might be supposed to be either 14 full years, or 13, or even 12 years, Judaically reckoned. It must not be imagined that the Jews arbitrarily called *the same interval* of time 14, 13, or 12 years; but the

[1] See additional authorities for this in Wieseler, p. 130.

[2] Wieseler, p. 67. note 1.

denomination of the interval depended on the time when it began and ended, as follows. If it began on September 1st, A.D. 38, and ended October 1st, A.D. 50, it would be called 14 years, though really only 12 years and one month; because it began before the 1st of Tisri, and ended after the 1st of Tisri; and as the Jewish civil year began on the 1st of Tisri, the interval *was contained in* 14 *different civil years.* On the other hand, if it began October 1st, A.D. 38, and ended September 1st, A.D. 50, it would only be called 12 years, although really only two months less than the former interval which was called 14 years. Hence, as we do not know the month of the flight from Damascus, nor of the Council of Jerusalem, we are at liberty to suppose that the interval between them was only a few weeks more than 12 years, and therefore to suppose the flight in A.D. 38, and the Council in A. D. 50.

NOTE (C.)—*On the Date of the Recal of Felix.*

We have seen that St. Paul arrived in Rome in *spring*, after wintering at Malta, and that he sailed from Judæa at the beginning of *the preceding autumn*, and was at Fair Havens in Crete in October, soon after "the Fast," which was on the 10th of Tisri (Acts xxvii. 9.). He was sent to Rome by Festus, upon his appeal to Cæsar, and his hearing before Festus had taken place about a fortnight (see Acts xxiv. 27. to xxv. 1) after the arrival of Festus in the province. Hence the arrival of Festus (and consequently the departure of Felix) took place in the *summer* preceding St. Paul's voyage.

This is confirmed by Acts xxiv. 27., which tells us that Paul had been in prison two complete years (*διετίας πληρωθείσης*) at the time of Felix's departure; for he was imprisoned at *a Pentecost*, therefore Felix's departure was just after a Pentecost.

We know, then, the *season* of Felix's recal, viz. the *summer*; and we must determine the date of the year.

(*α.*) At the beginning of St. Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea (*i. e.* two years before Felix's recal), Felix had been already (Acts xxiv. 10.) "*for many years Procurator of Judæa*" (*ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ὄντα κρίτην τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ*). "Many years" could not be less than 5 years; therefore Felix had governed Judæa at least (5 + 2 =) 7 years at the time of his recal. Now Felix was appointed Procurator in the beginning of the 13th year of Claudius [1] (Joseph. Ant. xx. 7. 1., *δωδέκατον ἔτος ἤδη πεπληρωκώς*), that is, early in the year A.D. 53. Therefore Felix's recal could not have occurred *before* A.D. (53 + 7 =) 60.

(*β.*) But we can also show that it could not have occurred *after* A.D. 60, by the following arguments.

1. Felix was followed to Rome by Jewish ambassadors, who impeached him of mis-

[1] Tacitus places the appointment of Felix earlier than this; but on such a question his authority is not to be compared with that of Josephus. See Wieseler, p. 67. note 1.

government. He was saved from punishment by the intercession of his brother Pallas, at a time when Pallas was[1] *in special favour with Nero* (Joseph. Ant. xx. 8. 9.). Now Pallas was put to death by Nero in the year A. D. 62; and it is improbable that at any part of that or the preceding year he should have had much influence with Nero. Hence Felix's recal was *certainly not after* A. D. 62, and *probably not after* A. D. 60.

2. Burrus was living (Joseph. Ant., quoted by Wieseler, p. 83.) at the time when Felix's Jewish accusers were at Rome. Now Burrus died not later than February A. D. 62. And the Jewish ambassadors could not have reached Rome during the season of the *Mare Clausum*. Therefore they (and consequently Felix) must have come to Rome not after the autumn of A. D. 61.

3. Paul, on arriving at Rome, was delivered (Acts xxviii. 16.) τῷ στρατοπεδάρχῃ, not τοῖς στρατοπεδάρχαις[2]; hence there was a *single* Præfect in command of the Prætorians at that time. But this was not the case after the death of Burrus, when Rufus and Tigellinus were made joint Præfects. Hence (as above) Paul could not have arrived in Rome before A. D. 61, and therefore Felix's recal (which was in the year before Paul's arrival at Rome) *could not have been after* A. D. 60.

Therefore Felix's recal has been proved to be neither after A. D. 60, nor before A. D. 60; consequently it was in A. D. 60.

(γ.) This conclusion is confirmed by the following considerations: —

1. Festus died in Judæa, and was succeeded by Albinus; we are not informed of the duration of Festus's government, but we have proved (α) that it did not begin before A. D. 60, and we know that Albinus was in office in Judæa in the autumn of A. D. 62 (at the feast of Tabernacles), and perhaps considerably before that time. (See Wieseler, p. 89.) Hence Festus's arrival (and Felix's recal) must have been either in 60 or 61. Now, if we suppose it in 61, we must crowd into a space of fifteen months the following events: — (*a*) Festus represses disturbances. (*b*) Agrippa II. builds his palace overlooking the temple. (*c*) The Jews build their wall, intercepting his view. (*d*) They send a deputation to Rome, to obtain leave to keep their wall. (*e*) They gain their suit at Rome by the intercession of Poppæa. (*f*) They return to Jerusalem, leaving the High Priest Ishmael as hostage at Rome. (*g*) Agrippa on their return nominates a new High Priest (Joseph), the length of whose tenure of office we are not told. (*h*) Joseph is succeeded in the high priesthood by Ananus, who holds the office three months, and is displaced just before the arrival of Albinus. This succession of events could not have occurred between the summer of A. D. 61 and the autumn of A. D. 62; because the double voyage of the Jewish embassy, with their residence in Rome, would alone have occupied twelve months. Hence we con-

[1] Pallas had been mainly instrumental in obtaining Nero's adoption by Claudius; but by presuming too much on his favour, he excited the disgust of Nero at the very beginning of his reign (A. D. 54). In A. D. 55 he was accused of treason, but acquitted; and after this acquittal he seems to have regained his favour at court.

[2] The official phrase was in the plural, when there was more than one Præfect. So Trajan writes, "vinctus mitti ad *præfectos* prætorii mei debet." — Plin. Ep. x. 65.

clude that from the arrival of Festus to that of Albinus was a period of not less than two years, and consequently that Festus arrived A. D. 60.

2. The Procurators of Judæa were generally changed when the Proprætors of Syria were changed. (See Wieseler, p. 97.) Now Quadratus was succeeded by Corbulo in Syria A. D. 60; hence we might naturally expect Felix to be recalled in that year.

3. Paul was *indulgently treated* (Acts xxviii. 31.) at Rome for *two years* after his arrival there. Now he certainly would not have been treated indulgently after the Roman fire (in July, 64). Hence his arrival was at latest *not after* (64 − 2 =) A. D. 62. Consequently Felix's recal was certainly not after 61.

4. After Nero's accession (October 13, A. D. 54) Josephus[1] mentions the following consecutive events as having occurred in Judæa: —(*a*) Capture of the great bandit Eleazar by Felix. (*b*) Rise of the *Sicarii*. (*c*) Murder of Jonathan unpunished. (*d*) Many pretenders to Inspiration or Messiahship lead followers into the wilderness (*e*) These are dispersed by the Roman troops. (*f*) An Egyptian rebel at the head of a body of Sicarii excites the most dangerous of all these insurrections; his followers are defeated, but he himself escapes. This series of events could not well have occupied less than three years, and we should therefore fix the insurrection of the Egyptian not before A. D. 57. Now when St. Paul was arrested in the Temple, he was at first mistaken for this rebel Egyptian, who is mentioned as ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ὁ πρὸ τουτῶν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀναστατώσας (Acts xxi. 38.), an expression which would very naturally be used if the Egyptian's insurrection had occurred in the preceding year. This would again agree with supposing the date of St. Paul's arrest to be A. D. 58, and therefore Felix's recal A. D. 60.

5. St. Paul (Acts xviii. 2.) finds Aquila and Priscilla just arrived at Corinth from Rome, whence they were banished by a decree of the Emperor Claudius. We do not know the date of this decree, but it could not, at the latest, have been later than A. D. 54, in which year Claudius died. Now the Acts gives us distinct information that between this first arrival at Corinth and St. Paul's arrest at Jerusalem there were the following intervals of time, viz.: From arriving at Corinth to reaching Antioch $1\frac{3}{4}$ years, from reaching Ephesus to leaving Ephesus $2\frac{1}{2}$ years, from leaving Ephesus to reaching Jerusalem 1 year. (See Acts xviii. xix. and xx). These make together $5\frac{1}{4}$ years; but to this must be added the time spent at Antioch, and between Antioch and Ephesus, which is not mentioned, bnt which may reasonably be estimated at $\frac{1}{4}$ year. Thus we have $5\frac{1}{2}$ years for the total interval. Therefore the arrest of St. Paul at Jerusalem was probably not later than ($54 + 5\frac{1}{2} =$) A. D. 59, and may have been earlier; which agrees with the result independently arrived at, that it was actually in A. D. 58.

It is impossible for any candid mind to go through such investigations as these, without seeing how strongly they confirm (by innumerable coincidences) the historical accuracy of the Acts of the Apostles.

[1] For the references, see Wieseler, p. 78. et seq.

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